THE LARGER ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM

Recently, before the Social-Democratic local at Point St. Charles, Montreal, Horace Traubel gave a little talk upon the larger aspects of Socialism. He declared that the problems which so much worried us were soon to be solved, and then the real problem of Socialists would be reached, that problem was how to live the social life.

He maintained that Socialism was not only an economic doctrine, an analysis of society, a class struggle to be fought. He held that Socialism was an atmosphere to be created, a spirit to be developed, a life to be lived.

After the class struggle is over, after collective ownership has come and we have industrial democracy, that is not the end. That is but the beginning. We will have to learn to live the new life. What will our pleasures be? Ford has given big wages, but he is investigating how those wages are spent. He wants those wages spent to the benefit of the slaves. Not in booze or red lights, but for the development of character.

A mine manager told me that he had paid off the miners employed by him when the mine was being closed down. The employes received from two hundred to three hundred each, and in three or four days, all but two or three of the miners were dead broke. Booze, gambling, women, had received the money.

One of the keenest minded young Socialists I know, declared that after the coming of the co-operative common-wealth, a competitive struggle will arise far keener than the present one. That struggle will not be an economic one, but a biological one. It will be a struggle for moral and intellectual efficiency.

At present economic determinism governs society. But when, by a new system of society, co-operation and collectivism, economic determinism is abolished, other natural laws will come into play, laws which we can only dimly foresee at present.

It is well to remember the words of Karl Marx on this point. He declared that with the passing of capitalism, an epoch in history would close and mankind would definitely pass out of the animal kingdom.

Karl Marx's Capital is an analysis of the capitalist mode of production. If we are to abolish the capitalist mode of production and substitute another mode, Marx's Capital cannot then guide us.

It is well to remember this and keep our minds and spirits open to the perception of new facts and principles as we enter new phases of social development.

SOCIALIZATION OF HUMANITY

The socialization of humanity proceeds apace.

The ideas of the people are not the ideas they had twenty years ago.

We have passed a long ways from the individualism and competitive principles which ruled a couple of decades ago.

On May 26th, 27th and 28th the International Conference on City Planning meet in Toronto. The city is no longer being considered as an aggregation of individuals. It is being looked upon as a social whole. It is to be dealt with as something for all the people. This conference will have important results. It is a first step in making the city a place of homes instead of a place of shacks, jerrybuilt tenements and fetid slums.

Pressure is being brought to bear to establish a department of public health. The worker is no longer to being regarded as a thing to be worn out as quick as possible and thrown on the scrap-heap. He is to be conserved.

In all departments of activity and thought problems are being regarded from the viewpoint of all the people instead of from the viewpoint of the few.

It is true that the privileged classes still hold control of the political machine. Borden and Gouin and McBride and Laurier and the rest of the premiers and leaders of opposition must obey the commands of the plunderbund.

But opposition is developing. In the C.N. R. raid upon the Dominion, strong opposition developed. That opposition to exploitation is broadening and becoming more intelligent.

This results from the development of capitalism and the persistent agitation of the Socialists.

We have every reason to be encouraged at the signs of the times.

DO YOU SEE THE PLUTE ?

Do you see the plute in his family circle? How nice he is. How kind and gentle. The wife wants a trip down the St. Lawrence. The little girl wants a nice new big dolly. The boy wants an automobile. The plute father is all compassion. They receive out of his bounteous love their desires.

Do you see the plute in his office? He is a different creature. He is a tiger seeking meat. He gives orders to the mill superintendent to slice ten per cent off the wage bill. If the mill hands strike, he gets in touch with the military and the private detective office. The militia are called out. The detective agency sends thugs among the workers to raise a riot. The thugs make their getaway and the soldiers open fire.

You see the worker in the mill. He is speeded up. He works under the eye of a slave driver. He gets hardly a living wage. And he produces wealth far more in value than the meagre wage he gets.

At home the worker is all compassion for his wife and children. He would like to give them the things they desire. But he cannot give his wife the new dress, nor the children the toys their hearts crave. For his wage is equal only to a bare subsistence.

These conditions will continue as long as the wage system continues. They will continue as long as one class own and the other class work. There is bound to be under present conditions, wealth for non-producers and poverty for producers.

The remedy is simple. Let the two classes become merged. Let the producers become the owners and the producers. Then we will not have capitalists and workers. We will have one class, collective producers.

The remedy is so sane and reasonable that it is bound to be adopted in the near future.

There is only one rule of capitalism, and that is—Get the money. Never mind how it is got; but get it..

City of Lethbridge on the Map

Nothing in Municipal Ownership or Commission Govt. for Workers

BY T. EDWIN SMITH.

To whom it may concern :—Take notice that I assume all responsibility for the statements made in this article. Signed, T. EDWIN SMITH, Vetwood, Alberta.

At a public meeting held in the city a year or two ago, a prominent Lethbridge lawyer and pseudo-capitalist waxed eloquent over the progress of Lethbridge. In his sing song monotone he handed this out to the long suffering audience.

"We have no need for Socialism in this city, for already we have more than the Socialists propose. We have our municipally owned power plant. We have our municipally owned water system. We have our municipally owned street railway. We have got more already than the Socialists ever dreamt of."

When the Ohio Editors' Association was touring the country at the expense of the C. P.R. and the Dominion Government one of these unpaid immigration touts was loud in his praise of municipal ownership as he had seen in Western Canada, and prophesied that the dawn of the millenium was breaking even now with the advent of municipal ownership. A few near Socialists thought it was a step in the right direction, and one man told me that Lethbridge had taken a revolutionary step when the voters decided to have the street railway owned and operated by the city, rather than by a private corporation.

In Lethbridge at least the municipal ownership sham has now been shown up in all its hideousness. It is class ownership out and out. True enough, it is not private ownership, but it is ownership by a class, and that class the property owning class, and it is operated in the interests of the property owners. In Lethbridge the street railway men have learned this lesson and they have learned it thoroughly.

During the boom period of a few years ago people were coming in by the thousands, the merchants were supplying goods to the homesteaders for forty miles around, land prices were going up over night by leaps and bounds and farms for miles around were subdivided into city lots and put on the market. The town spread rapidly over the greater part of a township, yet so few people actually lived in it that something had to be done.

A problem was presented. To sell outlying city lots, to raise rents and to attract suckers from other parts of the world to pay for the lots and to pay the rents without costing the people anything. To solve this problem a street railway was needed. No private corporation cared to risk its money in a city of less than ten thousand inhabitants, so the real estate dabblers decided the city into building the railway.

The street railway was built. Rents went up with a jump. The stream of city suckers flowed in. The price of city lots four miles away doubled in price, and the fame of the Lethbridge system spread over the continent. Then the inevitable reaction came. Business slackened. The stream of suckers diminished, slackened and dwindled away. The grafters were threatened with the prospect of working for a living. Alone with the other depression the revenues of the street railway, which had never paid expenses, decreased until it was producing a deficit of $2,500 per month.

The city had started a lot of public works which must be completed. A lot of high salaried men were on the pay roll, including three commissioners for $11,000 per year, so the tax rate took a jump too. To can the climax, the powers that be suggested another parasite. The city accordingly engaged one, J. P. Tracy, as industrial commissioner, at $6,000 per year, and $12,000 expenses. He was to act as a "whipper in" to round up suckers for real estate agents. His ostensible purpose was to attract factories and so bring about a new era of prosperity. These four commissioners separate the tax payers from $29,000 per year; no wonder the tax rate went up.

The Lethbridge Board of Trade held a secret session to deal with the matter, and the next day the commissioners raised the assessment 10 per cent in a vain attempt to conceal the facts from the outside. Taxes were so high that every other property owner in the city was trying his hardest to get out. In one way it was approached five times to trade my farm for city property by men who were hard put to pay their taxes.

To cut down expenses the glorious and most high commissioners conceived the brilliant idea of firing a bunch of men from the street railway, and then have each car operated by one man, who was to be both motorman and conductor for the pay of one. The Street Railway Men's Union promptly opposed the scheme. As soon as the proposal was announced, a publicity committee consisting of the president and secretary of the union was appointed to arouse public sentiment in favor of the men. Four lengthy articles were prepared by this committee and published and a circular was issued the day before the vote.

The Trades and Labor Council also opposed the change and a resolution not enough to scorch the paper was passed unanimously.

The commissioners, glimpsing the hint of Recall in the resolution, dodged the issue by submitting it to a vote. Polling day was May 8, and the measure was carried by a majority of 24 votes. Now one man will do two men's work on the street cars and get one man's pay.

The grasping, pusillanimous, petty trader spirit of the modern bourgeois came to the fore in this vote as nowhere else. The issue was plain. To fire the men who had done enough to operate the street cars or lose a half a mill tax. The petty business men and the real estate dabblers looked at their tax notices and voted to fire the men.

Though the men were beaten there was one or two things from which the Socialists can take great comfort.

The class nature of modern society was illustrated in this event, much more clearly than if the conflict had been between the men and a private corporation. It was not a squabble between master and men, but between owners and non-owners. The votes were cast upon a property basis. The property owners or part owners, even though their ownership was slight, voted against the non-owners who had to do the work. As soon as opposition started the city commissioners simply referred the matter to the voters and so escaped all responsibility.

That the street railway men recognized the class nature of the struggle is evidenced by this paragraph in one of their publicity statements.

"We would especially point out to our fellow trade unionists that it is not trade union principles to make one man do two men's work, and ask them to remember this when you vote. Also remember not to vote your fellow workman out of a job, to enable the property owner to save half a mill on the dollar."

The property owner who had paid two hundred dollars on a two thousand dollar property thought of the half a mill extra tax and voted the non-owning worker out of a job.

One other beneficial result of the agitation in this connection is that it has torn the mask of hypocrisy from the face of two self styled "Friends of Labor." In all this controversy regarding the one man, one car system, the Lethbridge Herald, edited by W. A. Buchanan, M.P. for Medicine Hat, opposed the men and supported the commissioners. In an editorial of April 6, it said this—

"However, we cannot see that the question is what the street railway men may or may not want."

Nearly every day for a month the Herald supported the one man, one car system, and did not in all that time say one word in behalf of the men.

Last spring, J. O. Jones, President of the Alberta Federation of Labor, ran for the Alberta Legislature on a Lib-Lab ticket, and the Lethbridge Herald, posing as a great friend of Labor, supported his candidacy. "A lot of the labor men of Lethbridge fell for the game. In this connection, J. O. Jones, who lives at 43 12th St. S., Lethbridge, never gave the street railway men a particle of help or one word of support. This is the first time the issue has been put squarely before them since last election, and both Jones and the Herald fell down. The workers will probably remember this next time.

The commission form of City Government has been exposed in all its autocratic brazenness by this same little episode.

A lot of people have loudly touted the commission form of government as a democratic measure, and a few near Socialists have been misled by the same illusion. Capitalist papers and capitalist minded papers like the Grain Grower's Guide, have devoted columns to the fact that Lethbridge was the first city to adopt the commission form in its entirety. It is interesting to watch results. In Lethbridge, instead of being a step toward democracy, it has brought the most glaring autocracy in the world. The famous ring of "Boss" Tweed in all his glory never wielded the arbitrary authority exercised by a small clique of Lethbridge business men.

Before the election last fall seventeen business men drew up a slate of three names and managed to elect the three elected to the three commissionerships. These three men, W.D.L. Hardie, A. M. Grace, and Arthur Reid, in local matters are but puppets of the Board of Trade to obey the orders of the Board of Trade. Now whenever the principal business men want anything the Board of Trade goes into secret session, and the next day the commissioners come through with the desired order. There is not a shadow of democracy, no discussion, no attempt to get the desires of the remaining people. They get their orders and obey like good little boys.

Says the Montreal Gazette with regard to "Crime in the West." "Banks have been held up and robbed of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Bank managers and other employes have been wounded or killed when they attempted to guard the money in their care. Paymasters have been sand-bagged and their cash taken from them. Trains have been held up and the money and valuables in the express cars stolen. On the streets of the cities there have been numerous cases of highway robbery," etc. The Gazette supports the present system of legalized robbery and murder and raises a blue howl when robbery and murder not legalized occurs. Change the system and both legal and illegal robbery will be no more.

Analyze the banking business and it proves to be one of the most foolish business in existence. The banker borrows money from the public at three per cent, and lends it back to the public at seven and eight per cent. And the god of profit hides his face and laughs.

Man is the only creature that will suffer for food in the midst of plenty.

The following paragraph from a circular issued by the Street Railway Union prior to the plebicite gives one of the counts against them :—

"That some of the commissioners' actions are not in the interests of the ratepayers is evidenced by the following : Mr. G. W. Robinson, was given three months salary ($750) and fired; Mr. J. P. Tracy "resigned" and he was given $6,000; workmen on the city receiving 25c per hour, fired at a moment's notice. Mr. W. Steven given position of secretary without advertising, as was also Mr. W. Morris, street supt., both of whose salaries are unknown to the general public. These facts should open the eyes of the electors who are asked to show their disapproval by getting out on Thursday to vote against the one man car system."

In this connection some past history may be useful. Mr. Hardie, Mayor, and Chief Commissioner at $4,000 per year, was several years manager of the A.R. & I. mines at Lethbridge. This is a C.P.R. concern. In 1910 he "resigned" from the A.R. & I. and "accepted" a position with the Diamond Coal Co., an important competitor of the A.R. & I. Co. There he lorded it over the Board of Directors, and in two years the Diamond Coal Co. suspended, and it is doubtful if it ever does get started again unless the C.P.R. takes it over. Hardie got fired and was immediately pitchforked into the job of Mayor of Lethbridge.

G. A. Grace was chief engineer of the Irrigation Dept. of the A.R. & I. Co., when the Southern Alberta Land Co., was organized and threatened to become a serious competitor with the C.P.R. irrigated land selling game. Mr. Grace "resigned" from the A.R. & I., and "accepted" the position of chief engineer with the new concern. While there he made pretty nearly every blunder possible, blunders a freshman in a technical college could have avoided if he wished, delayed operations of the company indefinitely, and put it into a position where competition with the C.P.R. will be impossible for years to come. He got canned and was at once shoved into a berth as commissioner of public works of Lethbridge.

The C.P.R. must have a card up their sleeve with regard to Lethbridge, but I do not know what it is. However, whatever designs they have upon the city will be easy of execution.

The commission form of government is a fine thing for the pirates who wish to milk the city. With a load of aldermen it is necessary to bribe a dozen men in order to slip a deal over, but with the commission form it is only necessary to get two. With a dozen men in the secret, some one is almost sure to blab, but with only two commissioners in the "know" the news is less likely to leak. It is cheaper and much safer, no wonder the plute papers all favor it.

In the case of the street railway affair the commissioners dared not be too arbitrary.

When the next Federal election comes off, Dr. J. S. Stewart, sitting member for Lethbridge in the Alberta Legislature, is to resign (so the plans are now) and contest the federal riding. In case he is elected, Mayor Hardie is to contest the Provincial seat in the bye election made necessary by Stewart's resignation. Hardie is unwilling to assume the responsibility of picking a dozen men out of their jobs so he referred the matter to the property owners, knowing the result would be.

It is hoped that the comrades in other cities will be warned by the example of Lethbridge and will refuse to be side tracked in their revolutionary activities by any municipal ownership or commission government scheme. It is more autocratic than any board of aldermen could ever be.

The street railway men of Lethbridge now know that a city government is not a government by the inhabitants, but only a government by the tax payers for the benefit of the property owners. This little defeat has done more to open the eyes of the workers than hours of talking or volumes of printed matter.

It may help a few who call themselves Socialists to understand that Municipal Ownership and Government measures tending toward Socialism, but only the most perfect form of capitalism. Exploitation is as severe and brutal as in the case of those employed by a private corporation.

The only remedy for exploitation is Social Ownership of the agencies of production with direct and Democratic Management of Industry by the Workers Themselves. That is Socialism and as the steady trend of revolution concentrates the property of the world into fewer and still fewer hands, and transforms the great majority of the people into propertyless proletarians, this next change will come inevitably, and will come quickly.

In Montreal leases of houses are made for a year. They terminate the first of May. On that date carters charge as high as ten dollars an hour for men and a team. The expense is so high that many people refuse to move even when the landlord boosts the rent a couple of dollars a month. This system is bound to change. The landlords are boosting rent so high that the employing class have to raise wages. But whether the landlords or the employers get the dough, the workers lose out. They get barely a living wage no matter what happens. They themselves vote for it as they have put Borden in power at Ottawa and Gouin in power at Quebec to keep them in slavery.

The first trade union congress ever held in Portugal has been held this year. 108 delegates from 208 organizations representing fifty-thousand workers were present. The organizing of the slaves bodes ill for the unearned revenues of the owning non-producers.

Workers, love your foreman. Exonerate, chase the workers, for thereby profits may be piled up for your masters, who despiseth you both.

THE DUKE OF TECK

Emmerson in the House of Commons, objected strongly to the Duke of Teck, Queen Mary's brother, becoming governor-general of Canada. Emmerson no doubt wanted to be see some skinflint contractor, or labor skinning manufacturer become governor-general.

There is a reason why the Duke of Teck is appointed governor. Queen Mary is a business woman. She manages the income of the royal family with an eye to efficiency. If she did not, the expenses would run beyond the income and George would be worried with debts like Edward was.

There is a salary of $45,000 attached to the governor-generalship. Mary figures that the Duke of Teck might freeze on to that salary as well as the next man. It will help just that much.

The wage worker is not interested very much in the question of what puppet becomes governor-general to act as a rubber stamp for the labor skinners in their legislation. The workers are interested in what legislation is passed and what legislation is kept on the statute books.

The enemy is not the Duke of Teck. The enemy is the capitalists and the capitalist system.

THE CAPITALISTS

Sometimes we get letters protesting against our attacks upon the capitalists.

We are told that the system is to blame, and not the capitalists. Attack the system, not individuals.

We are perfectly well aware that it is the system at fault. The system of capitalist ownership creates the division of non-producing employers and of non-enjoying producers.

But did you ever see a system kept going of itself?

When you attack the system, the capitalists fight you. You are blacklisted. The capitalist system does not blacklist you of itself. You are blacklisted at the instance maintained by the capitalist class.

The capitalist system is perpetuated and upon the order of the beneficiaries of the system.

You cannot fight the system without fighting the capitalists. The fight does not resolve itself into a fight between capital and labor, but into a fight between capitalists and laborers.

On the political field, the fight resolves itself into a fight between capitalists and laborers for the control of the political power.

As long as the capitalists hold the political power, they will use that power to keep the workers in slavery. When the workers seize that power, it will be used to abolish the capitalist class.

GOOD ROADS

The Good Roads Congress recently met in Montreal.

The necessity and benefit of good roads were emphasized and announcements were made that the governments of Canada and Quebec would adopt a forward policy of road building.

Good roads are a fine thing. In Russia a few centuries ago there would be a surplus of grain in one neighborhood which would rot for lack of people to eat it, while ten miles away people would be starving for the lack of food. The lack of roads and intervening marshes would prevent the surplus of one village relieving the hunger of the other.

But good roads in themselves will not relieve misery. Under the Roman rule in ancient times the most magnificent roads were built. They led out of Rome straight to the provinces. Those roads were built by soldiers and over them slaves walked wearily to Rome to be sold for a mere song and to enter the ergastula, the underground workshops of Rome. Many of the slaves never saw sunlight again. Or they were set to work on the big estates of the nobility and worked half starved under the lash of the overseers.

Of what benefit will the roads be to the producers of Canada if the masters are still allowed to rule and exploit? Shall they be used by the throngs of the unemployed to walk wearily over seeking work that cannot be found?

Good roads will benefit the workers nothing so long as they remain propertyless slaves.

Only when the producers shall cease to be slaves will the roads be of benefit to them.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

Now the remedy for unemployment is being sought in national employment bureaus.

Let the Dominion government, it is said, establish Dominion wide employment agencies so the unemployed may be drafted from where work lacks to where jobs are to be found.

But from all over Canada comes the word that slaves are many and jobs are few. Fifty thousand unemployed in Montreal. Where can they be drafted to? Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, and in the lesser places the unemployed throng the streets.

For advertising remedies which are no remedies the petty reformers and political lickspittles of the masters are pastmasters.

How long will the working class live in misery which they themselves can easily abolish through their collective vote.

A new murder machine has been adopted by the U.S. army. The new machine guns weigh but 35 pounds. Two men who operate it lie flat on the ground. One feeds bullets to the gun, while the other aims and directs the firing mechanism. This gun is far more efficient than those formerly used. It will be able to shoot up far more workers and their wives and children per minute than was ever dreamed of by the old methods. These guns came too late for the sanctimonious psalm-singing John D., Jr., to send to Colorado, but he can easily manufacture an excuse for a trial on the workers in some other place. The gun proves to be able to mow down workers in an up-to-date style, and Rockefeller's conscious again acquits him. The U.S. government will probably be ordered to buy thousands of them.

Under Socialism the worker will get all he produces. He does not get it now, nor any way near it, yet many will fight Socialism because their masters do not want it.

Look at the worker leaving the sweat pens of the masters after his day of slavery. Heart bowed down with sorrow, back bent with toil, feet crippled with rheumatism, knee sprung, and arms so tired they can scarcely hold the rusty old dinner pail. He is a sample of what capital demands and gets from the working class. He is pushed for the last dollar in his hide, and soon will be pushed aside to the dump, while a younger and more agile man steps into his place, and the world goes on as ever, and the capitalist system goes on as ever, taking the youth and brawn of the land and exploiting it for the god of profits.

The Province of Ontario has only one labor member in the whole legislative assembly. There will soon be a chance to send more to Toronto. Labor men and Socialists will be nominated for the different constituencies. Working men should hesitate before they cast a vote for the Whitney-Rowell system of robbery and oppression. If there is a candidate from their own class, they should vote for him. It is the Henry Dubb vote which keeps the capitalist system on its feet and the worker in the mine. Don't be a Dubb.