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SOCIALISTS OF CANADA! Fasten Yourselves Upon Your Own County with the Firm Resolve of Tanning the Political Hides of all Capitalist Politicians Therein

THE POINT OF ATTACK

In last week's issue I intimated that I would unfold a plan of campaign in this week's paper that would make Socialism a live issue in Canada within a short time. It needs but the active co-operation of Comrades to put the campaign into effect.

Socialism, I think, can be divided into two branches of activity. The one can be called state political activity, and the other is known as industrial unionism.

Socialism aims at the overthrow of the dominant capitalist class and the rise of the workers to political and economic supremacy. Socialism aims at handing over to the working class the means of production and distribution in order that the workers may run industry themselves. The industrial unionists aim at what is known all over the world as direct action. They seek to organize the workers into one big union to take possession of the means of production and distribution. In Canada we have craft unions and strikes occur, not to force the capitalists to abdicate their ownership of the mills and other means of production, but to give the wage slaves a little larger share in the social value of the wealth they produce. In France there are industrial unions. Strikes there are not so much a commodity struggle as a class struggle. The workers strike to try the temper of the master class and the progress of the revolution among workers. The industrial unionists hope that in some big strike the workers will smash the capitalist state into smithereens just as the feudal system was smashed by the bourgeois revolution.

The political state as we know it in Canada is the instrument of the exploiters. The political state appoints the judges to enforce wage slavery. It prepares and arms soldiers to shoot at striking wage slaves. It passes laws to allow banks, industrial companies, railroad corporations to own the machinery of production and distribution and to hold the workers in wage slavery.

The political state, therefore, is the instrument which the capitalist class employ to keep the wage slaves in slavery. Before Socialism comes the political state must either be captured by the revolutionary working-class through ballot box action, or else overthrown by the revolutionary industrial unionists.

Whether we are industrial unionists or political actionists, or both combined, we Socialists realize that the capitalist state as at present controlled is the enemy of the working-class. It is our duty to do our utmost to either capture that political state or else to put the fear of the revolution into the hearts of the present capitalist organization that it will yield to the rising working class peacefully so that the working class may come to its rightful inheritance.

The capitalist state, therefore, is the point of attack of all revolutionary Socialists.

METHODS OF ATTACK

Have you noticed the speeches of Socialists? Have you noticed the questions hurled at the Socialist speakers? I have spoken myself in vague manner and have had questions hurled at me as to how we Socialists were going to act.

The working class of Canada realize that they are robbed. They realize that the capitalist is an exploiter. When the Socialist orator gets up on the street corner and talks to the workers they applaud quite frequently. They know they are robbed. They want to know how to stop that robbery. And the Socialist speaker answers, "By political action," and frequently the workers go away without being satisfied by what to them is a vague phrase.

We spread our speakers throughout our cities. We organize our locals. We spread our literature, and still comes the insistent cry from the working class, "What must we do to have Socialism?"

Discontent is strong and rampant throughout Canada. Our speakers go abroad and inflame that discontent. The capitalist papers decry our efforts. They say we have no plan of action. And the whole movement beats time, waiting for some definite method of action.

I think that the time is ripe in Canada for a great onward sweep. I have talked with many people and their hearts are aching for Socialism.

The selfish worker wants more wealth and an easier time. The unselfish worker wants more wealth that he may provide better for those dependent upon him. The small dealers who are being crowded out, the farmers who are being forced to mortgage their farms, small salaried brain workers who are feeling the pinch of higher prices, all these want Socialism. And the cry goes up, "What shall we do to get Socialism?"

Is the time not ripe for answering this question with action? Is the time not ripe to come down out of metaphysical reasoning about materialist monism and get practical? Is it not the time for itinerant denouncers of capitalist robbery to give way to the practical revolutionists?

The hosts of labor are waiting. Recruits are willing to join in their thousands. They ask but to be directed against capitalism in some practical way. Shall we not show them, not only by words, but also by conduct, how the capitalist state may be made to tremble? Forward then, dear Comrades unto the assault.

OUR CONSTITUTION

The political state of Canada has for its fundamental law the British North America Act, passed by the British Parliament on the 29th of March, 1867, with a few amending acts such as those which allowed for the admission of British Columbia, Manitoba and other provinces.

According to the B. N. A. act and amending acts there are nine provinces with provincial legislatures and a dominion government sitting at Ottawa. Certain things are handed over to the Dominion government to legislate about and certain things are handed over to the provincial legislatures to make laws over.

The Dominion government is composed of the Governor-General who takes the place of the king, a Senate and a House of Commons. All three must assent to a law before it is passed.

The Governor-General is appointed by the king over in London. He is some person who is agreeable to the Canadian Cabinet.

The Senators are appointed by the Governor-General from certain districts. They must be thirty years of age and British subjects, must hold four thousand dollars worth of real estate and live in the province for which they are appointed. The senators are appointed by the Governor-General in theory but practically he appoints to the senatorships those persons chosen by the government of the day.

The House of Commons is composed of Members of Parliament elected by the qualified electors throughout Canada. The electors vote according to electoral districts. All the electors of one electoral district vote for one candidate only among the various candidates who are running in his district.

We have, besides the above, a cabinet composed of the prime minister and the ministers of the various departments. The cabinet is chosen by the majority of the house of commons. The cabinet members are always of the political stripe of the successful party. When the two parties are so evenly balanced that neither side possesses a working majority we sometimes have a coalition government. The two capitalist parties unite and divide the graft of office between themselves.

The Members of the House of Commons are elected directly by the voters, the common mutts who do the work and get robbed.

The Representation Act of 1906, as amended in 1907 to provide for an increased representation for the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, declares that the House of Commons shall consist of 221 members, of whom 86 shall be elected for Ontario, 65 for Quebec, 18 for Nova Scotia, 13 for New Brunswick, 10 for Manitoba, 7 for British Columbia, 4 for Prince Edward Island, 10 for Saskatchewan, 7 for Alberta and 1 for the Yukon Territory.

Elections must be held every five years at any rate. They may be held oftener. As the last general Dominion elections were held on the 26th of October, 1908, elections need not be held again until October 1913. As a matter of practice elections are held every four years. If they are held sooner or later it is a sign of weakness in the government of the day and as the present Liberals have a

big majority it is not likely that we will have the general elections until 1912.

The common mutts every four years elect 221 members of parliament from 221 electoral constituencies. The majority of these 221 members choose a prime minister and the prime minister chooses a cabinet. The cabinet chooses a governor-general from the available titled parasites of Great Britain. The governor-general chooses the new senators when death removes the old. So you see it is a pyramid of choosing based on the political choice of the common mutts.

THE CHOICE OF THE MUTTS

The theory of our constitution is that government is carried on by the free consent of the governed. The theory is that the electors freely choose the members of parliament and that the member is an honorable gentleman who is there to fulfil the wishes of his constituency. I am going to go a little into this question to show where the theory and the practice are very different.

Even taking the vote of the people as recorded in the report of the eleventh general election, 1908, it will be clearly seen that the will of the people has not been registered.

Roughly speaking there were 1,100,000 votes cast at the last election. Out of all these votes there was a popular majority for the Liberals of only 31,000. In the House of Commons upon this basis the majority for the Liberals should be only six members in a division. As a matter of fact the majority of the Liberals in the House of Commons is forty-five members. This majority allows the Liberals under Laurier to ride roughshod over the people. The opposition is not strong enough, does not represent the popular opposition to Laurier and his gang. It allows Laurier to buy railroads, fling millions into a navy, train thousands of additional troops, fling open the country to American exploitation, and force the workers into deeper slavery. The small popular majority of the Liberals shows that the common mutts trusted Laurier but a mighty little way. The practical result is that Laurier can whitewash the Lanctots, the Olivers, the Brodeurs, the Lemieux and the country can be damned for all the government cares.

Even according to the theory the will of the people has not been carried out. What choice the common mutts had expressed has been outrageously distorted and abused.

But the common mutts have not expressed a free choice. I was talking to a wage slave of Montreal who votes in Ste. Anne's division. I asked him if Judge Doherty, who got down off the bench to practice law again as he found it more profitable, represented his views. He said that he certainly did not and that he had not voted for him but had voted for the Liberal candidate. I asked him if the man he voted for would have represented his views in parliament if he had been elected. He replied, "Not a bit. He was another lawyer."

There you have the common experience of the wage slaves and farmers. They have a choice between two men neither of whom represents their views. They are represented by men who do not represent them. They vote for creatures in whom they have no faith. The choice of the common mutts is a choice between two capitalist henchmen who make laws giving the wealth to the parasite class and forcing the common mutts, upon whose votes they rise, to still remain in the condition of common mutts.

THE REASON

The reason for this state of affairs, I think, is plain. When we know the cause of a thing and that cause is

FOR POLITICAL ACTION

COTTON'S WEEKLY

I believe we have a Fighting Chance in my Constituency. Put me on for full information in regard to your Political Action Campaign.

I am in the Electoral District of _____ whose M.P. is Mr. _____

Name _____

Town _____ Province _____

removable, then we are in a straight way to remove the defect.

Civilization arose on the rivers first. Civilization comes from the contact of mind with mind. In early days rivers were the means of communication. So we have the oldest civilizations we know of rising on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Nile. The Syrian and the Palestinian civilizations were the secondary results of the caravan routes between the Babylonian and Nilian civilizations. Another old civilization was the Cretan and Aegean that rose in the islands and indented coasts of Greece. Then when men got to building more powerful vessels we have the maritime civilizations of Tyre and Sidon, Rome on Tiber, London on Thames, etc. It was not till the steam age and the railway that civilization struck inland from the water.

Men must talk with men and learn their mutual ideas. Men must cease to be isolated units and must become socialized creatures capable of communicating their ideas the one to the other and finding what they mutually desire.

Canada is a country of immense distances. From Montreal to Sydney is 910 miles. This is just about the distance between Glasgow, Scotland, and Nice on the border of Italy. From Montreal to Winnipeg is 1,422 miles. From Winnipeg to Vancouver is 1,482 miles. From Vancouver to Victoria is 94 miles. Across the Dominion of Canada is 3,908 miles to travel. From Vancouver to Dawson is a distance of 1,540 miles.

This is a mighty territory and the wage slaves therein are chained to their jobs. They cannot travel. They can only get the personal opinions of their fellow wage slaves and of the occasional union official or itinerant Socialist soapboxer. The news they get in the capitalist papers is tainted in almost every line with the coloring imparted by the hopes and ambitions and economic interests of the capitalist class. The politicians spread themselves across the country and give false views of what the country wants. They seek to poison each section of the country by misrepresenting the other sections. The Nova Scotians desire to be freed from the grip of rent, interest and profit. The politicians of that section declare that Canadians want to be led by the international money kings for of such bleeding is prosperity compounded. The Nova Scotians are muffled by hopelessness. And in the same manner the longings of all sections are silenced because of the lying tongues of the politicians and the venal press that serves the interests of the master class.

Civilization, the progress of humanity, revolution, these things depend upon the contact of mind with mind, the making patent to all the will of each, disgust with old conditions, and a common desire for a new order.

THE REMEDY

The wage slaves of Canada are discontented. The farmers are sore-sinched. The little business men are being crushed out. Capitalism concentration is proceeding at rapid pace. Fortunes are being made in a day. The parasite incomes are growing by leaps and bounds. And ever the slaves of Canada are forced to toil long hours for a quarter of the wealth they produce. The lying politicians, the venal press, the slobbering priests and ministers, declare how prosperous and contented the people are and each oppressed and robbed individual is silent for fear that he alone is discontented.

What is the remedy? The remedy is to get right down to political action IN YOUR OWN COUNTY. Kick, kick like a horse. Be discontented. Express your discontent aloud. AND MAKE YOUR DISCON-

TENT KNOWN TO YOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT!

You think that Socialism is growing but that your county is not ripe for a real Socialist agitation. And the Socialists in the vast majority of counties in Canada are thinking the same thing. Wherefore the capitalist politician plunders the workers and gets away with the goods without a protest.

The members of parliament of Canada are labor oppressors. THEY MAKE THE LAWS AND THE SOCIALISTS IN THEIR COUNTY DO NOT PROTEST.

Here is a little thought that the Socialists of Canada can do well to thoroughly digest. EACH MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT CARES MIGHTY LITTLE ABOUT THE POLITICAL FATE OF HIS FELLOW MEMBERS. HE CARES A WHOLE LOT WHEN HIS OWN POLITICAL HIDE IS BEING TANNED.

What does Ralph Smith, elected from Nanaimo, B. C., care who represents Inverness, N. S., four thousand miles away? What does he care whether A. W. Chisholm, elected from that constituency, has a hard bunch of Socialists tacking him or not? But Ralph Smith cares a whole lot about anything in Nanaimo, B. C., that will take his nice, soft job away from him. Sir Frederick Borden, does not care a hang whether the present Manitoba Liberals are returned or not as long as he himself can by hook or by crook get the common mutts of Kings, N. S., to return him to political power so that he may still devise ways and means of increasing the efficiency of the Canadian organized butchers.

Here is the plan of action that will tell big for Socialism. WILL YOU START RIGHT OUT TO TAN THE POLITICAL HIDE OF THE CAPITALIST MEMBER FROM YOUR ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCY? Don't bother about the others. Let the other constituencies look after themselves. You have the votes in your own constituency. You haven't got them in the other constituencies. You can influence votes in your own constituency far better than you can influence them in other constituencies. You can make it far more disagreeable for the political henchmen in your own county than you can in the other counties. WHY NOT GET BUSY AND WORK WHERE YOU CAN DO THE MOST DAMAGE TO THE POLITICAL HOPES OF CAPITALIST POLITICIANS?

Political action, does not consist alone in mutely dropping a piece of paper in a tin box once in four years. Political action does not consist only in denouncing the capitalist system in general and explaining to a bunch of wage slaves just where they are robbed. There are many other lines along which political activity can be expressed.

Parliament is being adjourned from May 23rd to July 17th. The members of Parliament are going to spend themselves abroad over the land. R. L. Borden is going to tour the west. His dates as given forth where he will speak are as follows: June 19th, Winnipeg; June 20th, Carberry and Brandon; June 21, Weyburn and Moosejaw; June 22, Indian Head and Regina; June 23, Maple Creek and Medicine Hat; June 24th, MacLeod and Lethbridge; June 26, High River and Calgary; June 27, Lacomb and Red Deer; June 28, Wetaskiwin and Edmonton; June 29, Vegreville and Lloydminster; June 30, North and South Battleford. July dates include, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Rosthern, Yorkton, Birtle, Minnedosa, Grandview, Dauphin and Portage La Prairie.

The Nova Scotia Provincial elections are going to take place on June 24th and the N. S. M. P's will hasten there to help the local politicians of the labor skimmers.

The other members will hasten to their constituencies and probably deliver long winded harangues about reciprocity and protection. The capitalist papers will give long winded accounts about the rival politicians and the rival doctrines of whether Canadian labor shall be skun by American trusts or by the home brand of parasites. NOT ONE NEWS-PAPER, NOT ONE POLITICIAN WILL DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF ABOLISHING RENT, INTER-

EST AND PROFIT AND THE PARASITE CLASS.

Shall your local county have the wool pulled over its eyes, Comrades? Shall the capitalist politicians avoid longer this greatest of issues that faces the Canadian people? Shall the political henchmen of the master class who passes infamous laws on the constitutional lie that he represents your interests get away without being forced to explain his position? You can make it mighty uncomfortable for your member AND YOU CAN DO IT BY CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS.

The constitution is based on the idea of the consent of the governed. Your member in theory represents you. He comes before you to get your vote. He puts forth your views. YOU AS A SOVEREIGN ELECTOR HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT TO SOUND HIM ON HIS POSITION UPON ANY PUBLIC QUESTION UPON WHICH HE AS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE MAY VOTE IN PARLIAMENT.

Why not take advantage of your constitutional rights? When Borden goes west to you why not have a train of questions to fire at him? When the M. P's spread themselves over Nova Scotia, Ontario and the other provinces, why not ask them to answer questions? Here are some.

Are you in favor of doing away with rent, interest and profit?

Have you used your political influence to abolish wage slavery?

If returned to power will you oppose all capitalist legislation and fight for Socialism?

Are you a revolutionary Socialist?

Will you repudiate the national debt?

Will you confiscate the railroads and hand them over to the collective working class?

Have you followed the tactics of the suffragettes of England? Why not apply them to your member? Why not play rag with him? Write him letters and force him to define his position with regard to Socialism. Get your fellow workers and fellow farmers doing the same.

If we wish to use the capitalist state for the spread of Socialism the best way we can do this is for each Socialist to tackle the members where it hurts, among the votes in the constituency of the member. If you are only a handful of Socialists in the whole country you can put up a good fight. FASTEN YOURSELF UPON YOUR OWN COUNTY WITH THE FIRM RESOLVE OF TANNING THE POLITICAL HIDES OF ALL CAPITALIST POLITICIANS THEREIN.

If you will do this Socialism will be a big issue by next election. It will be brought down from the realm of cloudland into practical politics. Every member will find he has a new fight on his hands. The capitalist papers will not be able to keep the news out. They will have to give Socialism a place even if it be but to denounce your tactics. Then the days of the lying of the politicians will be over for the people will see that every county in Canada has been tackled by the Socialists and they will see that the country from end to end is on fire with the revolution.

ARE YOU IN ON THIS?

Are you with us in this political game? Do you want to know more about it? By signing the blank below and mailing to Cotton's you will be put in line for valuable information and plans.

Venizelos, premier of Greece has declared himself in sympathy with Socialism. This has created a great sensation in Greece, but Drakoules, leader of the Socialists, only smiled over the incident. The Socialists know that a capitalist prime minister may express an academic adhesion to Socialism but must do nothing to help the workers in the class struggle if he wishes to hold office. Still the announcement is gratifying as it shows that Socialism is getting so strong even in Greece that the capitalist rulers are compelled to flirt with it.

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COMMENTS ON CURRENT EVENTS

Gustave Prager, Berlin.

Now that the McNamara case is attracting great attention, it is not to be wondered at that the "oracle" again speaks. The mighty "Teddy" warns the unions to move carefully. In an article written for the "Outlook," entitled "Murder is murder," Theodore Roosevelt says it is grossly improper to create prejudice against a corporation. He is kind enough this time to venture the opinion that these men are deserving of a fair trial, but the question of organized labor or of organized capital, or of the relations of either with the community at large, has nothing whatever to do with the issue. But the workers of America have not forgotten that Roosevelt denounced as guilty Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, before their case went to trial. And against them he coined his infamous phrase "undesirable citizens." The workers are getting mightily tired of Roosevelt's "buncombe" at \$1.00 per word.

The workers of France are a revolutionary lot. They have shown this on many occasions very recently. In their struggles they not so much strive for economic gains, as for political advantages. They are more concerned with changing the conditions of government than to slightly improve the conditions of their jobs. They use the means of sudden and of general strikes to embarrass the capitalist regime. As a recent news item puts it:

"The policy of French workers in fighting for better conditions, is not difficult to understand. It is to diminish the output, with the three-fold object:

1. First because small wages deserve small effort.
2. To make work for more hands.
3. To cripple and ultimately destroy capitalist industries and thus sooner pave the way for Socialism."

A great cry is raised in the daily press about Lloyd George's reforms in England, of his measures which mean drifting toward "state Socialism." As Cotton's recently pointed out, state ownership is far from the industrial democracy aimed at by socialists. It matters not, if a girl works for starvation wages for a private capitalist or for the government printing bureau at Ottawa. In either case the system forces many of them on the road of prostitution.

In the editorial columns of the Toronto "Globe," May 8th, we find the following illogical, foolish fling at Socialism:

"The police confiscated the Socialist banners in Montreal. But this has not weakened the Socialist faith in the wisdom of trusting all things to constituted authority." The workers are beginning to see, as this sample of editorial wisdom points out, that the modern state is the power in the hands of the few to bulldoze the many. The ruling class having at their beck and call the army and the navy and the policeman's club, it is not to be wondered at that "constituted authority" orders the police to confiscate the banners of those, who are arousing their fellow workers to an understanding of their position in society. The workers have no fear of "constituted authority" in the industrial democracy of the future.

The Stratford "Beacon" reports that at the recent meeting of the Synod of Hamilton and Lennox at Woodstock the complaint that ministers were poorly paid was repeated. The increased cost of living was dwelt upon. Says the Beacon: "The workman is worthy of his hire, and a man cannot be expected to preach good sermons if he is worrying about financial obligations and how to make ends meet. The minister has a physical side to him, which needs to be taken care of as well as the spiritual."

Let us agree to all that! But what about the mass of the toilers, who are up against the same problem in a more aggravated form! Can other workers do good work under present day conditions? And isn't it refreshing to have it admitted that even ministers of the gospel have a "physical" side. Why, they pointed at us the finger of scorn, because we are "materialists," when we maintain that the "bread and butter" question is a vital one. Well, as Ruskin said: "Whether there be one god or a hundred—the children must be fed!"

Capitalism gives little chance for reward for merit. It reduces the vast mass of workers to one dead level of wage slavery. Socialism will allow the wage slaves an opportunity for individual effort and improvement.

The capitalist class love the working class just as they love the sweet leg of a well cooked spring chicken which they are devouring.

The many toil and the few despoil.

The class war is on in Canada. It will end only by the abolition of the capitalist class.

Compromise with the capitalists? There can be no compromise with the class who live by the slavery of others.

The fight against slavery is on in Canada. Will YOU join in the fight for the abolition of slavery in Canada?

Canada is a land of slavery. The grim humor of the situation lies in the fact that the poor, fool slaves think they are free men.

The capitalists cry peace, peace to the sullen workers. But there can be no peace as long as the black flag of capitalist piracy floats aloft over the slave pens of Canada.

The revolutionary Socialist is the salt that is leavening the slave thoughts of the workers. The more of them we have and the more revolutionary they are the better it will be for humanity.

The Socialists make the workers discontented, is the lament of the plutocrats. We Socialists rejoice at the charge. For a contented wage slave is one of the poorest curses that nature ever shaped.

The big financiers prate of freedom under the Canadian flag. They do not know what freedom means. For freedom in their sight means license to them to fatten and rot on the wealth produced by hundreds of thousands of slaves.

There are many pious capitalists who would like to become Socialists, press Socialism to their bosom—in order to strangle the dam thing. But Socialism is beyond the power of the capitalists to kill. For it is cherished in the hearts of millions of slaves.

Socialism will abolish some homes. It will abolish the rented shack. It will abolish the homes where prostitutes live herded together. It will abolish the castle home of the multimillionaire. But from the ruins of squalid misery and overblown wealth will rise true homes of the people where labor can enjoy family life and children will be a blessing instead of a curse.

Just think of it! There are slaves in Canada who actually think it is noble to be a hard working, honest slave. They worship work and hope the boss will let them have a lot of it. The boss does as long as he can make a profit. Is it not tragic that the slaves should worship their slavery?

Capitalism forces an ever growing army of women into the ranks of prostitution and then the soft headed brainslaves of the capitalist exploiters urge the workers to fight Socialism as it will break up the home. Rot! The homes of millions are already broken up by the international capitalist class.

Yes. The capitalists would like the workers to be satisfied and contented. The capitalists would like the workers to be weak kneed slaves who thankfully take a job when the master class can make surplus profits out of them and to thankfully take the sack trusting to the good lord to care for them in the days when they are forced to hobo it and get garnered into the jails as tramps and set to work on Whitney's rockpiles and government roads.

The capitalists of Denmark have locked out forty thousand workers. The workers will now perform idle. They cannot produce wealth because the owners of the mills have declared that the workers shall no longer be allowed to enter the mills and work at the machines. Under Socialism the working class will own the mills and machines. There will be no capitalist class to prevent the workers from working. Will not Socialism be a glorious thing for the present wage slaves?

The depopulation of Scotland is now causing alarm. The blame for the stagnation in the population of Glasgow and Edinburgh is laid upon the great co-operative stores where a large proportion of the working people and others do their shopping. It is declared that these stores have squeezed out the small traders and their wives and compelled them to take their wives and children to new homes across the seas. Co-operative effort produces the same effect as capitalist effort as long as the iron system of wages exists. The co-operative stores cheapen the cost of distribution and squeeze out the little dealers. The co-operative stores sell to the workers. The price of goods fall, workers can live on less and therefore either wages go down or rents go up. As long as capitalism exists the workers will get but a bare living and many of them will not be able to get that through unemployment.

BUNCOME & SCRAPP'S

By R. W. NORTHEY

WRITTEN EXPRESSLY FOR "COTTON'S WEEKLY"

CHAPTER XV.

Alan Maynard, Soapboxer.

(Continued.)

"The chattel slave had to be bought at a cost of several hundred dollars or bred and fed from infancy; the wage slave costs nothing. The chattel slave had to be clothed, housed and fed all the year round and kept in a good state of health whether he was at work or not; he was property, you know, and if his value depreciated there was a money loss. The wage slave is only paid for the actual time he works; when there is no work for him he is no expense to his master, and there is no money loss if he falls sick or dies. Which system was most profitable for the masters? Why, wage slavery, of course. Wage slavery cheapened production! Therefore wage slavery continued and chattel slavery was relegated to the scrap heap with all other obsolete and expensive systems of the past. This was the economic determinism—and there could be no other outcome. There is no sentiment in economic determinism. It is hard, scientific fact, but it has always been the greatest of evolutionary forces; it has forced the hand, so to say, of every tribe and every nation in working up to the splendid achievements of this wonderful twentieth century. And here we are today, a world waiting in expectancy for the next step upward; some nations further advanced and more prepared than others, but all on the qui vive, as one might say, waiting for the great change that a scientific reading of history tells us must come as soon as the conditions are ready for it—and in most countries the conditions are ready now—the change from the private ownership of public utilities, better known as the competitive system, to the Co-operative Commonwealth. And of all the nations and races of present day civilization there is no race so fully and completely ready for it as the Anglo-Saxon race, because in the grand old Motherland, the cradle of that race, Capitalism, the competitive system, first came into existence, fought its first battles and won its first victories over its proud but ignorant predecessor—Feudalism. Because of this, because in that race Capitalism is further advanced, because the profit system has become rotten ripe and ready to fall, and because the desire for liberty and true freedom has never been really crushed out of the Anglo-Saxon people, we may confidently predict that that great race will again lead the new evolution—the evolution that will put Capitalism and the profit system on the scrap heap for all time.

"In my remarks on wage slavery I have hardly touched on any of the evils that are depicted in the newspapers from day to day. I have said nothing of the slavery of little children in Southern factories, of the slavery of the sweatshops in all our great cities, of the ghastly white slave traffic, of the peonage in the South, or the worse than slavery of the thousands of coal diggers in more than one of the coal areas in the south-eastern states and Nova Scotia. There is no need for me to go into any of these, because the daily papers are most effective witnesses to the fact that wage slavery does exist. And to the man or woman who has an understanding of the matter it is rendered as clear as daylight that the cause of all this barbarity is that same economic determinism, or, in plain words, the cheapening of the cost of production in the greed for profits.

"I stand here tonight for the purpose of explaining to all who are willing to listen how the Co-operative Commonwealth can be brought into existence. There is no need for force of arms in this new evolution, although the plutocrats who are now in possession of the earth and all its utilities may show fight, but without the police and the army at their back they would necessarily have to submit to the will of the majority. The only weapon needed is the ballot. The combined votes of a class-conscious proletariat is the most powerful weapon in the government of any nation. If the workers would only begin to understand their position—that they are only hewers of wood and drawers of water to the governing classes—if they would only begin to realize that they are wage slaves and not free men in the true sense of the word, they would vote as one man. They would get possession of the law-making power, because the most ignorant cannot fail to see that the laws enacted have always been in favor of the labor skimmers and the trust magnates, and whenever a law favorable to the people has been passed by the legislatures the courts have quickly proclaimed it unconstitutional. While this latter injustice has been illustrated more shamelessly

in the United States there is no guarantee that it will not be copied by the other Anglo-Saxon nations.

"For many years there has been a workers' political party in existence—the Socialist party—which has lately been causing great perturbation amongst the wealthy classes of all countries. It is an international organization, and its aims and objects are the uplifting and ennobling of all humanity by giving equal opportunity to every individual, male and female; by abolishing all class distinctions and unequal privileges; by utterly destroying the profit system and replacing it by production for use, and this will have a wonderful effect in lessening the drink traffic; by placing woman on an equality with man socially, industrially and politically; by putting an end to all wars, standing armies and navies, as well as all strikes and lockouts; by giving the best possible education to every child and congenial employment to every citizen, male or female, who wants it; by freedom of worship for all religions, as religion is a private matter and concerns the individual alone; by making life worth the living for all people instead of the ghastly mockery it is now for millions of our fellow creatures in the slums, the jails and the red light districts. Socialism does not claim to make all men equal, but it does claim that it will give all men and all women equal opportunity. It would take me more than one night to give anything like a competent explanation of Socialism and its aims, therefore I would ask you to read up on the subject and judge for yourselves; it would be useless and even foolish for me to ask you to vote for it unless you have a thorough understanding of this world wide movement. I am not asking for your votes. I am asking for your own sakes to read and find out what it stands for. You will then understand how we workers propose to recover the God-given heritage stolen from our fathers long ages ago. Do not be led astray by the jeers and ridicule of your boss, for he is more ignorant of what Socialism is than you are yourself. Don't let the denunciation of your priest or your minister frighten you away from the study of this vital matter, for he is prone to depicting a bogey and drawing a lurid picture of some frightful ogre that is not Socialism at all, but a phantasmagoria of his disordered brain.

"There is no finality in evolution. There will always be the mountains of Progress looming up in the distance ahead and there will always be pioneers in the forefront marking out the trail. Like a piece of ancient intricate machinery in this age of invention the Capitalist system has become too worn and decrepit to be of any further benefit to the race as a whole. It has been tinkered and patched and oiled and greased with loving yet greedy hands by those favored few who have been running it and who now see the finish of their sinecures and unearned increment with the finish of the machine. They want to keep it going at all hazards. When the Capitalist machine stops they are well aware that, like Othello's their occupation will be gone forever. And what is their occupation? Nothing very much. Only oiling the machine and taking possession of four-fifths of its products. They are magnanimous enough to allow the workers the other fifth.

"The new machine, Co-operation, will be run by all the people and its working will be so regular and so evenly adjusted that the jars and clashes so common to the old machine will never again be heard or felt. Its powers of production will be so vast that the physical needs of every man, woman and child in the country will be amply supplied. There will be no rake-off for anyone, but everyone will have enough, and when a man has enough to supply all his physical needs he can find time to turn his attention to the pursuit of knowledge or the pursuit of pleasure without the dread of having to carry Poverty around with him wherever he goes. Our old companion Poverty, that stuck closer than a brother, will have no part or lot in the new Commonwealth. This earth will know him no more. He will have winged his flight to some other planet less advanced in evolution than ours—if there be any such—and with him will go all of his numerous progeny, such as Starvation, Disease, Misery, Ignorance, Despair, Crime, Drunkenness, Worry and a host of other vampires that have lived with us and fed on us and sucked our blood and drained our manhood and womanhood for hundreds of years. But we must not forget that all these evils were absolutely necessary to the growth, expansion and decay of the Capitalist system. Neither must we forget that had there been no Capitalist system there could be no possi-

ity of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Capitalism is the progenitor of Socialism, and Socialism is merely the forerunner of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"When old King Capital is laid away and decently buried there will be another funeral immediately following; for the Socialist political party will cease to exist. It will have done its work and its services will no longer be required. In the ripe manhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth there will be no politics and no political parties as we know them today. There will also be many things besides politics that will be sent into oblivion under the new dispensation. It would be foolish for anyone, however gifted, with foresight, to attempt to lay down a cut-and-dried programme for the Co-operative Commonwealth, because the people of that day, however near or however distant it may be, will decide their own problems and make their own laws, just as they are supposed to do today. But while it would be out of place for any prophet or the son of a prophet to say what shall be under the new regime, there is very little difficulty in predicting what shall not be.

"As I have already exceeded my usual time limit of one hour I must ask you to be present next Friday night if you care to know what will not be in the new Democracy."

The speaker then stated that he was ready to answer any questions his hearers might desire to put.

(To be continued.)

Your Independence

I know you. You pretend you are wise and free and independent. You deceive nobody but yourselves. When you go to the city or town you don't stop at the fine hotels—not even if you have the price. You don't feel at home in them. You hunt around for some cheap place where they hand out fifteen-cent chucks. You feel more at home there, and you know it. You don't know how to act in a fine hotel; you are ashamed to eat for fear of showing your "bringing-up." I know you are. I have been there myself. How many times have I had money more than some of the swell dudes that pick their teeth in the hotels, but who eat outside, but I was ashamed to go into the lobbies! I am frank enough to admit it. What a damnable state of society to raise children in! Nothing is too good for the human race, but most of us are reared like cattle, until if we have any sense at all we feel our lack of those nice social qualities that are by right the heritage of the race. But the few who do no useful work are fitted from childhood for such association—and usually they are too degraded by maturity to be fit to associate with. But we are all entitled to proper training and not wait until late in life, to enjoy, if we even can then enjoy, the things that are made for us. Under Socialism every child will have condition of life under which he or she will develop all the fine social qualities that distinguish us from animals. But you prefer a system that makes you feel like a poor boy at a frolic—that makes you feel more at home in a fifteen-cent chop house than in a hotel fit for humans to dine. But, then, we Socialists, who want this for you and your children, are such damn fools that we ought to be hung. The good things of life are only fit for such fellows as corner the markets, bribe the legislators and do those fine things! Tag!—J. A. W.

All subs for Cotton's expire at end of time paid for, and all subscriptions, new or renewals, are treated as new.

YOUR HOME COUNTY

You Comrades have done a little better. But pshaw, you haven't begun to dig after your own freedom like what you will have to before you make this plutes let go.

Do you like your slavery? Are you hugging your chains? Are you a contented lot of slaves who want to play at revolution instead of working at it?

It would seem so. You only sent 375 new subs out of eight millions of people. Many of these were renewals. Just figure up to yourself in how many centuries your freedom will be achieved at that rate.

Now Comrades, this won't do. All respectable revolutionists are blushing for shame over that sub list. Get busy and make it humph.

Let the Comrades in other constituencies tend after their own affairs. Let each one of you make it your business to pump Cotton's Weekly into your electoral constituency.

You mildly rejoice over a Socialist victory in Germany. You rejoice more in a victory in the United States. Your joy is greater over a victory in some other Canadian province. But how great your joy will be when YOUR OWN COUNTY goes Socialist.

You are laughed at more or less as a visionary. You don't like it. None of us like to be sneered at. The way to overcome this is to work for the spread of Socialism in your own home county. When there is enough Socialism in it you will have a Socialist M. P. When you have enough Socialist M. P's you will have Socialism.

So get right down to work in your own home county and fill it full of Cotton's. We have our eye on each constituency in Canada. Get busy and put your county on the map as a red centre of revolt.

Circulation Statement

Following is the statement of circulation for the issue of May 18.

	OFF	ON	TOTAL
Ontario.....	82	94	3166
Alberta.....	35	123	1389
British Columbia.....	38	72	1312
Prov. of Quebec.....	31	32	1184
Nova Scotia.....	19	30	975
Manitoba.....	12	11	753
Saskatchewan.....	15	11	703
New Brunswick.....	0	5	156
Elsewhere.....	2	1	134
Yukon Territory.....	0	0	45
Newfoundland.....	0	1	19
Prince Ed. Island.....	0	0	10
Total.....	234	380	9,846

Gain for week 146

Total issue last week was 11,000

Lists Wanted

Cotton's needs lists for sample copies—and it needs them now. Comrades who will send us in electoral or other lists, with post offices marked will be remembered with a good premium. Make out lists carefully, as we want results.

New Souvenir Post Cards

We have just printed two nice post cards, one showing Jules Lavigne and the Socialist Young Guard on a parade at Springhill, N.S., the other putting before the public, the Canadian Temple of the Revolution, the home of Cotton's Weekly. They will be sent to every hustler who sends in a dollar or more at one time. Ask for Souvenir Post Cards, so the girls will not forget.

TORONTO, LOCAL No. 1, ENGLISH.—Business Meetings held on the first and third Thursday of each month at the Finnish Hall, 24 Adelaide St. W., at 8 p.m. Second floor. Economic class, second and fourth Wednesday of each month held at 17 Chestnut St., at 8 p.m. Organizer, A. W. McCall, 280 Carlton St. Secretary, Mr. E. Bellemare, 115 Spadina St.

Dr. W. J. CURRY
DENTIST
SUITE 901
1000-1001 TRINITY BUILDING
VANCOUVER, B. C. 106
PHONE 234

JOB PRINTING

SEND Cotton's Co-operative your orders for Letterheads, Envelopes, Statements, Billheads, Cards, Tags, Circulars, Programs, Handbills—in fact anything in the way of Printing. The facilities of Cotton's are such that it is enabled to turn out large quantities of this class of work at the very minimum of cost. The best grade of material is used in all work, and our finished product will compare favorably with that of any office in Canada.

Any job received from Cotton's that is not entirely satisfactory in every particular will not cost the customer a cent. If you have sent the money for the job it will be refunded, and you may keep the work besides. There is no question about this. Your word goes. Think you could lose on that kind of a proposition?

In sending for an estimate of a job, always send a sample of the work to be done, or a sample of a job as near like it as possible. We positively guarantee the prices—quality of work to be considered—to be as low as can be obtained anywhere in Canada, where the Union Label is used. We pay express charges. Send for our nifty line of samples. A Postal Card will do.

The Profits from Job Printing go into the General Propaganda Fund. It's better there than in the pockets of some old party publishing firm.

REMEMBER—We Pay the Express Charges

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THE FIRING LINE

Two yearlies from Comrade A. Leckie, Ottawa.

Comrade W. C. Paynter, Tantalum, Sask., puts another year on the list from his village.

Comrade Naylor, Cumberland, B. C., swings in with two yearlies.

Three more hallers from Comrade B. Daniels, Longueuil, P. Q.

A halfer from Comrade Edgar Kerton, Strathroy, Ont.

Comrade V. Meakin, Montreal, is responsible for five half yearlies.

Comrade A. E. Elderton, Kyleville, Sask., lands a bone and a half and takes a credit slip for Facts.

Three dollars for subs come from Comrade Edmund Arcand, Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade M. O. Sigstad, Barrier Lake, Sask., increases the sub list with two yearlies.

Comrade F. F. Liebscher, Silverton, B. C., is responsible for six yearlies.

Comrade Wm. Wilkinson, Ingersoll, Ont., makes five hallers take the road of the discontented.

Comrade John McNab, Toronto, renews for a year and raises the red flag over two new recruits.

A list of nine subs greet the bulldog. They come from Comrade Chas. Kernick, Sydney Mines, N. S.

Comrade Sam Stacey, Winnipeg, rushes a bone and a half to the growler.

Comrade Wm. Dalzell, Grand View, Man., makes another year on his eyes.

Comrade A. Hant, Crawford, B. C., renews his sub and pumps Cotton's into the heads of five country editors for a year.

Comrade Wm. Coulter, Central Park, B. C., is resolved to keep Socialism to the front. Sends seven yearlies at one whack.

Four yearlies are landed in Amherst, N. S., by the efforts of a wage slave who does not let his boss know what he is doing.

Comrade H. G. Ross, Glace Bay, makes the steel and coal plates stir uneasily with a list of twenty yearlies.

Five sub cards are undermining the influence of R. L. Borden in his constituency of Halifax, per Comrade Jas. LeBrocq, Halifax.

"More to come," says Comrade Jas. T. Johnson, Gowganda, Ont., with two yearlies and a bundle order of five copies for six months.

Watch the number before your name on the little red address label on your paper. Get your renewal in at least a week or ten days before expiry in order not to miss a copy.

"Enclosed find two wage slaves for a year to read up about how they play the skin game on the workers. Let the good work go on," Comrade C. A. Hill, Hamilton.

"Enclosed find a yearling kindly tend to at once as he is anxiously waiting. He is a new one for Socialism," Comrade E. Quimbach, Berlin, Ont.

Comrade W. J. Bishop, Lily Plain, Sask., sends five hallers and writes: "May be some of these chaps will stick. Hope to be able to send some more."

Place a copy of Cotton's in every place in your town where there is a chance of it being read. Barber shops, reading and waiting rooms, public libraries, etc.

"Enclosed please find my renewal for a year. I forgot all about it so kindly send me last week's paper. I don't want to miss any of that serial story. It's a dandy," Comrade Alex. Wilkie, Pembroke, Ont.

Comrade E. Newell, Providence Bay, Manitoulin Island, Ont., lands a string of six hallers. This is one of the lone outposts who are painting their districts with large splashes of red.

Twenty trials come from the Socialist local of Berlin, Ont., and twelve trials come from the Socialists of Guelph. Three months subscriptions to non-Socialists are prejudice breakers that count.

Comrade Franc. Fredrickson, Rich Valley, Alta., takes a bundle of twenty-five for three months. The plute politicians will spout in an uneasy manner round where Comrade Fredrickson sows the dragon's teeth of Socialist literature.

"I believe I am the only revolutionist in Newboro, Ont., and perhaps not a very active one. Still I believe I have sowed a good many seeds that may bear fruit later. I enclose one dollar for my own renewal and three half yearlies," Comrade Geo. Bowden.

Comrade Alain Burke brings in fifteen hallers. This is the fifty-first of his subscribers. Comrade Burke has landed since he began hustling last autumn. One sub hustler who lands over seven hundred and fifty hallers in less than a year is going some.

"Enclosed please find my renewal for the paper. I enjoy reading it so much every week. Cannot take a share as I have a homestead and seven children to look after and keep. I'll lose nothing under Socialism. Good luck to the paper," Comrade H. Antill, O'Malley, Sask.

"I am sending you another sub for Prince Albert, Sask. You should have at least five hundred papers coming here. It is a place of seven thousand inhabitants and I will do all I can to give you them after I settle. Have come from Dundurn and am a stranger here," Comrade John O'Hara.

"Enclosed please find two yearlies which completes my list for a book of Facts. Comrade C. M. O'Brien, M. P. P., has just put in some good work here. Held two open air meetings, and one in a theatre and one in our hall. The place is getting ripe for the revolution," Comrade P. Hyatt, St. John, N. B.

"Enclosed please find fifty cents for my renewal for one year. I am glad you are going to stay with the paper."

er. Will you please let me know if anyone is taking Cotton's Weekly in Lavo and in Innisfree, Alta.? If not I will see that a bundle goes to each place." Comrad: Martin Anderson, Ranfurly, Alta.

"A friend offered to subscribe to our paper for two years and I rustled two more to keep it company. So enclosed find two dollars. Send me a credit slip for facts and perhaps I can get a copy after awhile. Wishing you all sorts of success. Yours for the Salvation of the World," Comrade Mary M. Ingram, Phoenix, B. C.

Premium Books for Hustlers During June

Here's the Best Book Premium Offer yet put up by Canadian Paper. Any Socialist who wants to increase his library can't find an easier way to do it than by working for Cotton's.

The hustler sending in the largest amount of subs any week in June, counting from Friday to Friday, will receive Free, Marx's "Poverty, a Philosophy," a splendid cloth bound book. The hustler sending in the second largest amount has choice of Untermyer's "World's Revolutions" or Cohen's "Socialism for Students," both standard cloth bound books.

But there is yet more! To the hustler sending in the largest amount in subs from Friday, June 2nd, to Friday, June 30th, Cotton's will present Free, postpaid, Volumes I and II of Ward's "Ancient Law."

Our week runs from Friday to Friday. Subs are computed on the half-yearly basis. These books are in addition to "Facts" and other premiums.

The Labor Party of Great Britain are forcing to the front the questions of the right to work and the right to a national minimum wage. I would far rather see the workers fight for the right to be lazy. Why should not the people who produce the wealth of the world take a lazy holiday occasionally? But the workers are forced now to do nothing, to be lazy in fact, and to starve while doing it.

What with workmen's compensation acts, old age pensions, invalidity and unemployment insurance schemes, poverty, the bitter, grinding, degrading poverty as we know it today in England, will disappear. This does not mean that the social revolution will be won. These things still leave the workers in slavery. These things only mean that the present cruelty to animals in the form of men and women will be done away with to a large extent. The social revolution will not be won until the ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution is vested in the collective working class.

Those compelled to do the work were always trying to find easier ways to do it. As they found easier ways to do the things they had to give up to the strong men, they found they could give up more and still have more for themselves. The strong men were less cruel, when they got more without being forced to fight for it.

It is much pleasanter to have a good time than it is to fight. To keep in trim to fight, you have to do many disagreeable things. No one likes to do disagreeable things. Work-

Single strong men soon found out they could not whip a crowd of weak men. Then they joined together in force to go against the weak ones. When united they had no trouble in whipping the weak ones and making them turn over all they had.

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WHY A WORKING MAN SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

BY EDWARD MOORE

At one time the struggle for existence was a fight to conquer the forces of nature. Thousands died of cold and hunger because man did not know how to grow food and build himself a shelter.

He has learned from his experiences in this fight how to conquer Nature and how to use her forces for his own benefit. He has tamed the winds; tamed the flood; chained the lightning, and at will he turns the darkness of midnight into the brilliancy of mid-day.

His fight to conquer Nature taught him that single handed he could not make headway on the rough road he had to travel. So he joined with his fellows to fight for and defend the things that were good for all of them.

All parts of this world are not alike. In some parts nature is more easily whipped into submission than she is in others. Where she is easily whipped, men are weakest. It is easier for strong men to take the good things that weak men take from Nature than it is to fight her for them in places where she is hard to whip.

As soon as strong men found this out, they gave up fighting Nature, and they began to whip the weak men and to take from them what they had taken from Nature. From all men fighting to conquer her, some men began to fight other men to whip and rob them.

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It is much pleasanter to have a good time than it is to fight. To keep in trim to fight, you have to do many disagreeable things. No one likes to do disagreeable things. Work-

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Because the strong men were united they were able to force the unorganized weak men to do the work called labor.

Forcing people to do unpleasant things is called government. The strong men were the government. Government was a good thing for them for it took care of their interests. It was to their interest to make the weak men work for them. Just as now it is to the interest of rich Americans to make poor Americans fight for "American Interests" in Mexico.

You have got to think when you work. Bosses do not care to hire feeble-minded or stupid people. When the shops are closed wage-earners lose their incomes—the wages they get for doing work. Most of them think the boss is the source from which their wages come. They stop thinking about where wages come when they get up to the boss. Those who keep on thinking about this subject after they reach the boss find that he gets the money to pay wages out of the things made by the people he hires. They find, also, that it is out of the things he hires people to make, that he gets the money to spend on himself and has to invest in Mexican business ventures.

Any time the wage-earners try to get better terms from the bosses, they find the government is in the hands of the friends of the employers. Nowadays, the government acts like the strong men did to make the weak men work for them.

It is a strike when you fight the boss, but it is a revolution when you fight the government. As the government is the boss's partner, how can you fight one without fighting the other? And as long as one part of the people must sell their skill and ability to another part of it for wages, how can the part that works for wages stop fighting for better terms?

Fighting must go on until we get rid of the thing that causes the fight. The cause of the fight is working for wages. The government and the laws that it enforces are the grounds on which the wage system is resting. To stop the fighting, the workers must win for a boss is a disagreeable thing.

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THE INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST CONGRESSVIEWS OF WALTER THOMAS
MILLS.Off Australian Coast, Indian Ocean,
March 1st, 1911.

I am just now on board the largest ship south of the equator. I am on a five days trip on an ocean liner from Western to Southern Australia. Distances are magnificent. The trip is not quite as long as from New York to Liverpool.

Going over some left-over work, I am reminded that I solemnly promised to say something more about the International Congress at Copenhagen.

What I have in mind is something regarding the whole organized international movement of which, in a way the Congress is said to be the final spokesman.

I have already spoken words of appreciation of the work and of the workers who under innumerable difficulties are making headway in this "parliament of man, this federation of the world."

My task is now to make some explanation and then to submit some suggestions—suggestions which occur to one who has sought the help of the Congress and has felt the difficulties in the way of its greater possible efficiency.

Stated briefly, this is the general plan. The International Bureau is composed of International Secretaries chosen by the Socialists of the various countries.

This Bureau makes up the outline of the things to be considered in Congress. Each general topic is made the subject of a special commission at the Congress, the members of which are made up of representatives elected at the Congress, one or more from each country, by the delegations from the countries represented by them.

These topics are first discussed by these bodies in separate sessions and afterward their reports are submitted for further discussion and adoption or rejection by the whole Congress.

The Congress itself is made up of sections representing the Socialists of as many different countries as are taking a share in its work but there is no uniform plan by which elections are carried on or the number and position in the Congress of these delegates is determined.

The reports are printed in French, German and in another language reported to have been English. The explanation was made that the English was misleading because it was written by a gentleman who knew what he wanted to say but did not know the English way of saying it.

The discussions are carried on in the three languages and the votes all called for and taken in the same confusion of tongues.

A parliamentary body should be small enough so that actual deliberation is possible and with time enough to carefully cover the points involved. It is almost certain that the most important discussions take place in the sub-divisions but it is also true that a full and intelligent exchange of views and the proper expression in suitable reports is practically impossible in either the special sub-divisions or in the general session.

There is also the work of a spectacular demonstration of world-wide brotherhood in the general Congress and in special parades, mass meetings, banquets, excursions where well known figures from all countries mingle with each other and speak or to speak with the great throngs of comrades who have traveled weary miles and made great sacrifices in the hope of being able to hear these people.

No one can overstate the value of the work as it is being done but here are some suggestions which may or may not contribute to its greater efficiency.

The Congress is given too much to the discussion of what to do—not enough to how to do it.

This is a common fault of all Socialist gatherings. Speeches and documents on the theory of things rather than steps in doing things is the fault of the philosophers and all Socialists are philosophers.

In America we arranged for a special Congress of the workers. Those who got the idea adopted thought it would offer an opportunity to perfect organization. But the Congress was held and dealt more with theories and less with organization than the National Convention which it sought to supplement.

A paper was to be read on Organization, but it was prepared by a comrade—one of the most active in the movement but from a state whose organization can be hardly said to have a very visible existence and when half read the Congress refused to listen to it further. The International Congress has done better than that; still there is serious difficulty in its way because of the readiness which the comrades have for striking resolutions.

Church history commences with the "Book of Acts." Too bad that it speedily descended to a Book of Resolutions. The Congress has made a good beginning with its Book of Resolutions. May it speedily produce its "Book of Acts."

2. The Congress meets once in three years. The delegations from all countries should be elected by National bodies only and they should be elected because of their special relations to the topics to be considered and hence, each delegate should be elected for service on some of the special divisions of the Congress.

This would mean that the International Bureau should outline its work a long way in advance. But this will be easy and for many reasons most desirable. It means that a rule regarding the election of delegates shall be made uniform for all countries and this is most necessary. Great Britain had more delegates than America, ten to one, but the American delegates were elected by the Socialist Party of America. In Great Britain, any kind of a local club could send a delegate or delegates and many of them did so.

With the delegations elected two years in advance—elected to render special service on some special topic and the members admitted so limited in number that real deliberation will be possible, the situation will at once develop that the discussions, both in the sub-divisions and in the general Congress, will be carefully prepared will reach the real points in the matters dealt with and so become of the greatest value in the world movement.

3. But the popular features must not be lost. A series of great demonstrations where the world leaders in the movement could be heard—rational meetings on an enormous scale where comrades of all countries could be made welcome on tickets issued by their home organizations, would form a fighting part of the regular Congress.

Addresses here made could be prepared with care, would make important contributions to our literature and the power and influence of such gatherings would be beyond man's power to calculate. They would not need to interfere in any way with the regular sessions of the elected delegates. In fact they would at once deliver these sessions from the interference of the visitor by making most ample and satisfactory provision for him.

4. The co-operation of all the countries must be secured.

Canada, Mexico, the South American states, the Philippines, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the "oriental nations" must be made real factors in this International Bureau and in its Congress as they are real factors in the movement itself. The Bureau should set itself to work and keep busy on the task till all are there.

5. Esperanto should be added to the official languages.

I know the objections and the difficulties but the reasons for are greater than those against.

Three languages are used but twenty languages not used were represented in the Congress. Many of the delegates not speaking either French, German or English can speak Esperanto. More of them would speedily learn it if admitted on same terms as the other languages. The official printing should add the Esperanto also. It would be but a slight expense. It would be a world of advantage.

6. The International Congress and the International Bureau must be made a fighting machine in international affairs.

The German Socialists have great power at home but they have great power away from home. Over and over again, they have paid the bills for promoting Socialist organizations in neighboring countries. They sent \$50,000 to the Swedish strikers at a single stroke. They are felt in Europe because they are doing the things that make men feel. Neither Great Britain nor the United States, nor any of the other English speaking nations have had a share in International endeavor of this sort.

The Bureau must organize to advantage what Germany has done and must provoke all other countries to do the same. It must make the Congress a means of promoting, inspiring and directing this international solidarity by actual service, regardless of national boundary lines.

The Government of New Zealand the other day sent 500 pounds to the homes of the victims of a British mining disaster. Acts like this make the workers of the world unite and united they will rule the world.

The International Bureau could Congress must act in such a way as to quicken these acts of international solidarity.

I have before suggested that the best of all places to carry on the workers can live on less and therefore either wages go down or rents go up. As long as capitalism exists the workers will get but a bare living and many of them will not be able to get that through unemployment.

Freemantle, Australia, I spoke four times to the passengers on board and during the recent crossing of the Atlantic—three times in the last year. I have taken pains to try to act on my own suggestions. The results were most gratifying.

The International Bureau could easily collect the money necessary and the documents required from the countries most directly involved and every steamer leaving any country for any other could be supplied with complete information regarding the labor problems in the country of their destination.

The West Australian Labor Party has a service of this sort for all those who land in Freemantle. This is splendid but I have called their attention to the advantages of having their literature delivered in London, Southampton and Liverpool—have put them in communication with the British comrades who will be glad to co-operate and the committee in West Australia is already at work on the proposal.

This is good. The passengers will read everything, discuss everything, have just broken away from the moorings of a lifetime, are anxious to better their condition—that's why they are passengers—and on landing will be ready for more literature and will be filled with the purpose not to rot on their comrades in the labor market. If Unionists, they will report at once. If not they will seek for membership, will protect the organizations in all they have gained and join at once in the fight for more.

The men who have made the Congress the great power it is are entitled to the thanks and to the co-operation of the comrades everywhere.

These suggestions are an effort to co-operate.

AT THE CORONATION.

Duncan Campbell, Toronto.

Oh ye, who swell the mighty throng
To laud this passing, gilded show,
Oh ye, who raise the joyous song
While brothers wait a dirge of woe,
How can ye sing, "God save the King,"
While toiling hearts no respite know?

Where is there aught of Majesty
In all this glittering calvaude,
When many a weary groan and sigh
From burdened lives the price has paid?

Oh there is naught since tears have bought
And paid for Pride and Pomp's parade.

Oh hasten from this surging throng
Lest this false grandeur blind your eyes;
And come with us to right the wrong
And help our fallen brethren rise.

Thus hasten on the Social dawn;
O—Come, for Liberty's the prize.

SHARP SHOTS.

J. White, Woodstock, Ont.

If the workers kicked as much as a calf kicked when being taken to the slaughter house, there would be fewer casualties in the Industrial Army.

Capitalists think that if they stopped taking a good part of the products of the workers, religion would go pot, there would be many homes destroyed, etc.

It's awfully nice for the plutes to have some wage slaves allow themselves to be trained to shoot other wage slaves in case they disobey. But it's not very nice for the other wage slaves.

I was talking with a young lady who blamed the Socialists for wanting to shed blood. I asked her where she got her ideas and she said from the writings of Socialists. Then I explained that this is not where she got the idea but from her own reasoning of which she herself was not conscious. Here is how the non-Socialist reasons. "The Socialists want to deprive the capitalists of the ownership of their property. The capitalists will not surrender the ownership of this property without a bloody war and the killing of many people. Therefore the Socialists want to have a bloody war and kill many people." The young lady had to admit that that was the way her thoughts had run. She admitted that Socialism was just and finally had to admit that if the capitalists fought Socialism with soldiers and force, it would not be the Socialists who were responsible for the bloodshed but the capitalists.

The people want Socialism. I have talked to many people and they all declare they want Socialism, but that it is against human nature and that the other fellow does not want it. If so many people say that Socialism is good, why cannot they unite to bring it about? The people want Socialism but they do not know that they want it. The day they wake up to the fact that the demand for Socialism is a common one, capitalism will tumble.

THE WORKING
CLASS HYPNOTIZED

E. J. Nayr, Winnipeg.

All writers and students of psychology agree that man is endowed with a dual mind, each individual having as it were two minds. One is called the objective mind, the mind with which we observe the world around us, the active mind. This mind is supposed to be controlled by reason. The other is called the subjective mind. This mind is active when we are asleep. The subjective mind has not the power to reason. But it is receptive. It will receive, and having no defence it must receive as truth, suggestions and impressions that remain stamped upon it and which we afterwards find it almost impossible to eradicate or drive out.

A wise provision of nature has given us the reasoning mind, if we will but use it. It stands on guard like a sentinel to protect the inner citadel, the subjective mind, from everything that is false and not in accordance with sound logic.

This being the case, how are the capitalists going to get control of the subjective mind of the individual, and thus be in a position to rule and rob him? Clearly the best, the surest way is to put the sentinel, the outer guard, the reasoning, the objective mind, to sleep.

This is what actually takes place in hypnotism. Your dictionaries will give you the definition of hypnotism as "artificial sleep." There are many different ways of bringing about this result with regard to the present system of capitalism.

It is done, unconsciously perhaps, in the homes and the public schools. Under the capitalist system the teaching in the public schools must of necessity be such as will perpetuate that system.

It is done consciously, deliberately and for a purpose in the separate schools, in the church schools and in the Sunday schools. In these schools they claim to educate the child, but their real purpose is to prevent education. From long experience the ruling class, and their faithful servants the "sky pilots" know that "as the twig is bent the tree is inclined." This is why they are so eager to control what they falsely call the "education" of the children.

They know that the objective, the reasoning mind is not developed until maturity at twenty or twenty-five. They know also that the subjective mind of the child is always active, ready to receive impressions or ideas. Even under capitalism it is a crime, sometimes severely punished, to cripple the limbs or body of the individual. But the greater crime of crippling the mind of the child is not punished. Speed the day when the administration of the co-operative commonwealth will say to the black-robed parasites, "Hands off the helpless children!"

"Catch them while they are young," that is the capitalist secret of getting control of the working class. The children will be rich plucking in the days to come. By planting the seeds of capitalist ideas in the children's minds an abundant harvest will be yielded in surplus values.

The ruling class have hit upon a new scheme now that the workers seem to be getting wise to the war game, the game which in these days is nothing but a robbers' game to grab new territory, to exploit, to force trade on an unwilling people, to dispose of surplus commodities produced by the wage workers and which the wage workers cannot buy back. The masters are finding it difficult to get enough workers to enlist to fight their battles for them. So they are organizing the young boys, Boy Scouts they call them. They are taking advantage of the boyish simplicity and high spirits to hypnotize them with thoughts and tales of military glory and to train them to be human butchers and submissive slaves.

One way the masters hypnotize the simple, ignorant people is by brilliant robes and ceremonies, medals, jewels and titles, by organizing and advertising military or national shows on a large scale. In these last the working class can stand away in the background and watch with awestruck gaze the parasites flaunt their gorgeous display of wealth which the working class alone have produced.

Another way they hypnotize the workers is by political speakers on the public platform, and by editorials and political and news articles in the daily and weekly press. The more simple and undeveloped the intelligence, the more easily the subject is hypnotized.

Nearly all the daily papers are owned by corporations. They simply hire wage slaves to manage them, to write the editorials and to do the other work. The writers must write the dope required by the masters. If they do not they will soon find themselves out of a job and a more submissive slave in their place.

We can understand that when a worker takes one of these capitalist papers and reads the same line of dope day after day, it is going to leave its mark upon him. His intelligence is put to sleep and he becomes an easy victim of the cunning capitalist class. He will vote for his masters and if he is advanced in years he is almost a hopeless case. It will be nearly impossible to change the current of his thoughts or to break the hypnotic spell that binds him.

For the young men with bright, active minds, and red blood in their veins, Socialism has a message. It is a glorious fight we are engaged in. With intelligence, economic truth and the ballot for our weapons, the united working class will sweep every obstacle from their path, and will take possession of and hold that which the working class alone have created, the means of life, the machinery of wealth production and distribution.

THE PLUG PHILOSOPHER

FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

W. E. Hardenburg.

Be honest, boys, and serve your boss ten long and honest hours. Don't let him run things at a loss; he needs quite all your powers, for he's the man who gives you work, and you should show you're grateful. Don't talk and watch the clock and shirk, for that, you know, is hateful.

At least, that's what the preachers say; they cry, "Obey your masters; don't think; be good; work hard each day and listen to us pastors. Then, when you die, you'll go on high and have a spell of leisure to watch the rich men as they try the needle's eye to measure." But, still, it does seem rather queer that rich men are contented to have their joys and pleasures here on a scale unprecedented. The daily papers, west and east, all tell you: "Save your wages, and, as a millionaire, at least, you'll go down through the ages." They tell the old and hoary tale of Carnegie and Astor, of abstinence from beer and ale and profits for the master.

But, when we find statistics say that you boys earn your money the first two hours of the day, it certainly seems funny.

The workers work for wages and get one fourth of what they produce. The rest goes to the master class. Sometimes one section of the master class gets the swag and sometimes another section gets it. The workers are not interested in the failures of banks and in the smashing of companies. Suppose the Bank of Montreal went smash. That would not hurt the working class. The machines of labor would be still in existence. The labor power of the workers would still be in existence. The workers would still be robbed of three fourths of the wealth they produced. The only thing that would happen would be that the present parasites, who base their wealth on the labor skinning institutions known as the Bank of Montreal, would lose their parasite incomes. Some millionaires would become poor men. But the unearned incomes they formerly got would still be surging up to the master class from the products of slave labor.

Millionaires would grow overnight and leap into prominence in a day. One set of millionaires would rise from the wrecked fortunes of another set. The only hope of the workers is to so organize industry and politics that the workers will control the products of their own labor and enjoy the social value thereof. Then all millionaires would disappear. For millionaires are the gilded side of the overworked wage slaves and the slum and tenement areas.

On April 27th the new armories at Guelph, Ont., were opened by His Official Butchery, Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia. Hugh Guthrie, M. P., Wellington South, was also present and hoped that a city regiment of butchers might be formed by autumn. There were plenty of men available, the capitalist system producing a lot of unemployed which the capitalists would rather train to murder revolting workers than to train to produce shoes and clothing for the children of the slaves. Borden and his pack, besides inspecting the pen where the modern butchers were to be housed, also visited the Guelph prison farm where slaves are kept at work without pay, competing against slaves who have not the government at their back to feed and clothe them. Altogether Borden and his friends were highly pleased, having seen the two classes which the capitalists like to see, soldiers who shoot and prisoners who slave.

Socialism will give humanity the right to take a lazy holiday at times, the kind where you lay on the grass, gaze at patches of blue sky between green leaves, with never a care to worry you.

Socialism will abolish poverty.

Capitalism makes the worker a beast of burden.

Socialism is the political expression of the working class.

During the week ending May 13th there were 227 births in Montreal and 54 deaths of infants under five years of age. What else can be expected under capitalism which takes away the means of healthy living from the vast majority of the citizens?

The Canadian Car and Foundry Company earns over a million dollars a year net profits. You Nova Scotia wage slaves who work for this company, just figure up your own pay and then think of that million dollars which your bosses steal from you through the capitalist system, and reason out for yourselves whether Socialism will be good for you.

Wages have gone up. The wage slave gets more per hour for his labor power. But the cost of living has also gone up and the worker is no better off than he was ten years ago. As long as labor power is bought and sold, as long as the capitalist class own the machines of production and the commodities produced by the labor power of the workers, just so long will the workers get a bare living and all the wealth he produces beyond that will go to the parasites.

The Ontario government is highly pleased with its hydro-electric scheme. It is distributing cheap power and cutting down the cost and giving the slave employers a chance to make bigger profits. But the mean slaves who work in the city of Toronto on the hydro-electric lines, threaten to go on strike for higher pay. Is not that mean of them just when the capitalists were trying to make the workers believe that the cheap hydro-electric scheme was to benefit the workers?

The American courts have declared that Gompers and his associates need not go to jail for contempt of court in the Bucks Stove and Range case. Sammy has been a nice tame little labor leader and has not hurt the bosses. He has fought industrial unionism and has stood for craft unionism and the scabbing of one set of union workers on another set of union workers who strike. So the bosses tipped the Supreme Court judges the wink and Sammy is not jailed.

There is crookedness among the officials of the railroad workers' organization. When the Grand Trunk strike was on last summer, Lee and another international official came up, fraternized with King and Sir Frederick Borden, and then ordered the men back to work without the scratch of a pen to an agreement. A bill was introduced at Ottawa to compel the railways to pay their employees every two weeks. The Order of Railroad Conductors maintains a lobbyist at Ottawa by the name of Hall and this fellow opposed the bill on the grounds that if the wages were paid every two weeks instead of every month the men would squander their pay. Eugene V. Debs has been exposing the international officials of the railroad workers, showing where they have gone back on their pledges and where they have helped the bosses against the men. The officials have fought against industrial unionism and the railroad workers, the men who get the pay of slaves and support the officials in fine style, are coming to the conclusion that it is about time to sack their craft officials, become industrialized, and run their own business themselves.



"Cotton's Compendium of Facts" is a safe little book to have in your pocket all the time. It is always ready to land a straight one at capitalism. It contains Canadian Facts and Figures on life insurance, banks, railroads, agriculture, manufactures, wage earners, waste, infant mortality, etc., etc. of inestimable value to agitators. It takes a \$3.00 order for Subs, Sub Cards, Bundles or Agitation to get "Facts," then it comes free, postpaid. Not for Sale. It's a swell looking book, and built to wear.

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