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W. U. COTTON, S.A. S.O.B., Managing Editor
ROY WILKIN, Associate Editor

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THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE EXPROPRIATORS

KARL KAUTSKY, IN THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

THE DAY AFTER THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

must first of all clear away a suspicion which will be aroused in many people by the title of this work. "On the Day after the Revolution" does not mean that we "overthrow" the bourgeoisie once and for all. The Marxists are only disingenuous when they expect by a coup d'etat to make themselves dictators, and is not it a return to Utopianism when I attempt to describe a movement of which we can know nothing as to the circumstances under which it will take place?

I hasten then to remark that I consider the revolution an historical process that may easily draw itself out into a decade of hard battles. On the other side I am thoroughly convinced that it is not our task to invent recipes for the kitchens of the future, and when more than ten years ago the German Social Democracy proposed to include in its program demands for such measures as would accelerate the transformation from a capitalist to a socialist manner of production, I opposed this because I maintained that the party could not lay out a definite road for conditions of which we can have only a dim presentiment, and which may easily surprise us with much that is wholly unexpected.

But I maintain that it is a help to political clearness to examine the problems that will grow out of the conquest of political power by us. This is also valuable for propaganda since our opponents frequently assert that our victory will give us unsolvable problems, and we have in our own ranks also people who are unable to paint the results of our victory black enough. According to these people the day of our victory is also the day of our downfall. Therefore it is important to investigate and know how far this is the case.

But if one wishes to attain definite results in this direction and not get lost in endless windings, then we must investigate these problems in a simple form such as never exists in reality and abstracted from all complications. This is a customary process in science whereby one remains entirely conscious that in reality things are never so simple, or develop so smoothly as is the case in the abstraction. I have already said that the social revolution is a process of many years. But to reduce things to their simplest forms we must proceed from the idea that on some fine day the proletariat captures entire political power without restrictions at one stroke and is enabled to exercise it in strict accord with its class interests. The first, certainly could not occur and the latter can never be completely the case. The proletariat itself is not sufficiently united nor enough of a uniform mass to permit such a condition. The proletariat divides into perceptibly different grades, different in their rate of development, different also in their intellectual and economic stage of evolution. It is also very probable that simultaneous with the rise of the proletariat other social grades close to them will be raised, such for example as a portion of the small bourgeoisie, or the small farmers, whose intellectual attitude is not yet fully proletarian. Friction and mistakes of manifold forms will arise from this, so that we shall never come to just what we wish, and shall never have exactly that which we should have. We must however at this time leave these disturbing factors out of consideration.

On the other hand we must proceed through-out this investigation from certain assumptions. We cannot accept as our foundation a picture of the conditions as they may develop in the future for this would lead us into fantasies. And yet it is certain that we shall not gain our victory under present conditions. Revolution itself presupposes a long and profound struggle that will in itself greatly change our present social and political structure. After the conquest of political power by the proletariat, problems will arise of which we know nothing and many with which we are occupied to-day will by that time be solved. New means to the solution of these different problems will also arise of which we to-day have no suspicion.

Just as in natural philosophy the law of falling bodies are investigated in a vacuum, and not in moving air so here we investigate the situation of the conquering proletariat under presumptions which cannot occur in their complete purity; that is under the postulate that some morning we shall at a single blow come into complete domination while the means which will be at hand for the solution of our task will be those that exist today. We can by this means attain results that will be differentiated from the actual course of coming events in exactly the same way as the laws of falling bodies from the actual fall of various substances. But in spite of these variations the laws of falling bodies actually exist and govern the fall of every single substance and the rate of fall of these can only be determined when we have first understood these laws.

So it is that the outlooks and obstacles for the conquering proletariat actually will be distorted in the road we shall take (taking as a point of departure that we apply our method correctly) and they will undoubtedly play an important role in the social revolution and its results, even if the actuality is something wholly different from that we here consider it. And it is only in this way that one can come to scientifically definite judgments concerning the outcome of the revolution. Those to whom this road appears too uncertain to form a basis for prognostication must remain silent whenever this subject is under discussion and simply declare: "Whoever lives will know how it will come out and what is undeniably the proper road."

Only such problems of the social revolution are capable of discussion as can be determined in this manner. Concerning all others no judgment can be made either in this or in any other direction.

THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE EXPROPRIATORS.

Let us imagine then that this fine day has already come, in which at one stroke all power is thrown into the lap of the proletariat. How would it begin? Not how would it begin upon the grounds of this or that theory, or opinion, but must begin, driven thereto by its class interests and the compulsion of economic necessity.

In the first place it is self-evident that it would recover what the bourgeoisie has lost. It would sweep all remnants of feudalism away and realize that democratic programme for which the bourgeoisie once stood. As the lowest of all classes it is also the most democratic of all classes. It would extend universal suffrage to every individual and establish complete freedom of press and assembly. It would make the state completely independent of the church and abolish all rights of inheritance. It would establish complete autonomy in all individual communities and abolish militarism. This last could be brought about in two ways; through the introduction of universal armament and the dissolution of the army. Universal armament is a political measure and dissolution of the army is a financial one. The former can under certain conditions cost as much as a standing army. But it is essential to the security of democracy, in order to take away from the government its most powerful means of opposing the people. Dissolution again aims mainly at a diminution of the military budget.

It can, however, be carried through in such a manner as to strengthen still further the power of the government, if in place of an army built on universal compulsory military service an army of characterless slum proletarians is substituted which will lend itself to anything for money. A proletarian regime would necessarily find a way to unite both methods so as to arm the people and to simultaneously make an end of the disturbance brought about by the installation of new weapons, cannons, warships and fortresses.

Undoubtedly the victorious proletariat would also make fundamental reforms in taxation. It would endeavor to abolish all the taxes that today rest upon the laboring population—first of all the indirect ones that increase the cost of living, and would draw the sums necessary to the covering of governmental expenses from the great properties by means of a progressive income tax supplemented by a property tax. I shall return to this point later. This must suffice for the present suggestion.

A particularly important field for us is that of education. Popular schools have always occupied the attention of proletarian parties and they even played a role in the old communist sects of the Middle Ages. It must always be one of the aims of the thinking proletariat to deprive the possessing classes of the monopoly of culture. It is self-evident that the new regime would increase and improve the schools and pay their teachers better. But we would go still further. To be sure the victorious proletariat, no matter how radically minded it may be, cannot at a single stroke abolish class differences, for these have risen from many centuries of development and these causes and their results are not swept away as easily as a chalk mark is wiped from a slate with a sponge. But the school can prepare the road in this direction and contribute very essentially to the abolition of class differences in that all children will be equally well nourished and clothed, and instructed in the same manner while at the same time the possibility of a diverse development of their intellectual and bodily activities is retained.

We must not overvalue the influence of the school. Life is mightier than it and where it comes in opposition to actuality it will certainly be forced to give way. When, for example, the effort is made today to abolish class difference through the schools not much progress can be made. But the school when it works in the direction of the existing social development, powerfully assists this movement. Where these social conditions are also operating in the direction of class interests the school can co-operate and at least within a limited sphere, realize for the generation coming the conditions in which the whole society of this generation is simultaneously growing toward.

All these means that bourgeois radicalism has already placed before itself, but a certain power, and a disregard of capital of which no bourgeois class is capable are essential to such an attainment. Such a school as is here outlined would, in Germany, for example, according to the reckoning which I have made in my Agrarfrage demand one and a half or two million marks yearly. Almost double the present military budget! Such a sum for school purposes can only be obtained by a proletarian ruled community that does not have a respectful attitude towards great incomes.

But the revolution would naturally not stop at these transformations. It would not be simply a bourgeois democratic, but a proletarian revolution. We shall not, as we have already stated, investigate what the proletariat would do upon the basis of this or that theory, for we do not know what theories may appear or under what circumstances the next revolution will be carried through. We only investigate what a victorious proletariat, if it is to advance purposefully, will be compelled to do by the pressure of economic conditions.

There is one problem above all others with which the proletarian regime must primarily occupy itself. It will in all cases be compelled to solve the question of the relief of the unemployed. Enforced idleness is the greatest curse of the laborer. For him it signifies misery, humiliation, crime. The laborer lives only from the sale of his labor power, and when he can find no purchaser for this he is delivered up to hunger. And even when the laborer has found his labor the unemployed still torture him, for he is never secure from the loss of his labor and consequent misery. A proletarian regime would in every case make an end to this condition even if the proletarians were not Socialists but simply Liberals as in England. In just what manner the problem of the unemployed would be solved we shall not here attempt to investigate. There are many different methods, and many plans to this end have been made by economists. For example it has been sought from the bourgeois point of view to insure against the necessity of unemployment by taxation, and in part this has been done. But a bourgeois society can only create the most insufficient patchwork in this field because it is itself the bough from which unemployment hangs. Only the proletariat and

the victorious proletariat can and will enact the measures which are capable of completely abolishing the necessity of the unemployed whether this be through sickness or otherwise. An actually effective maintenance of all the unemployed must completely alter the relative strength of the proletariat and capitalist. It will make the proletariat master in the factory. That the laborer of today is compelled to sell himself to the employer and that the latter can exploit and enslave him is because of the ghost of the unemployed and the hunger whip that swings above his head. If the laborer can once be secure of existence even when he is not working, nothing would be easier than for him to overthrow capital. He no longer needs capitalists, while the latter cannot continue his business without him. Once things have gone thus far the employer would be beaten in every conflict with his employees and be quickly compelled to give in to them. The capitalists could then perhaps continue to be the directors of the factories, but they would cease to be their masters and exploiters. Once the capitalists recognized, however, that they had the right to bear only the risk and burdens of capitalist burdens, these men would be the very first ones to renounce the further extension of capitalist production and to demand that their undertakings be purchased because they could no longer carry them on with any advantage. We have already had similar results. This was the case, for example, in Ireland at the time the anti-rent movement reached its highest point and the land owners were not in a position to forcibly collect their rents. Accordingly it was the landlords themselves who demanded to purchase all their lands and to hold sessions. We could expect the same from the capitalist undertakers under a proletarian regime, even if this regime was not dominated by Socialist theories and did not proceed directly from the point of view of bringing the capitalist means of production into social possession. Capitalists would themselves demand that their means of production be purchased. The political domination of the proletariat and the continuation of the capitalist system of production are irreconcilable. Whoever concedes the possibility of the first must also grant the possibility of the disappearance of the latter.

The question then arises as to what purchasers are at the command of capitalists when they wish to sell their undertakings. A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be sold directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion could be sold to co-operative industries, and still another to the communities or to the states. It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous purchaser in the States or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of the industries would pass into the possession of the State or the municipalities. The Social Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well recognized. On the other side, even a proletarian which was not governed by Socialist ideas would proceed from the point of view of transforming the State or municipal property those industries which for natural reasons—for example, mines—or through the form of their organization—as, for example, trusts—have become monopolies.

These private monopolies have become unbearable, not simply for the wage-workers, but for all classes of society who do not share in their ownership. It is only the weakness of the bourgeois world, as opposed to capital, which hinders it from taking effective action against these monopolies. A proletarian revolution must from its very necessity lead to the abolition of private property in these monopolies. They are today the extreme and dominant form in which the whole economic life and develop with great rapidity. Their nationalization and communalization signifies simply the domination of the whole productive process by society and its organs—the State and municipalities.

The industries which are most prepared for nationalization are the national means of transportation, railroads and steamships, together with those which produce raw materials and partially produced goods: for example, mines, forests, iron foundries, machine manufactures, etc. These are also the very industries in which the capitalist concentration is highest developed. The manufacture of raw material and partially produced articles for personal consumption as well as small trading have many local characteristics, and are still largely decentralized. In these spheres the municipality and co-operative governmental production interests, and trust-national industries to play a secondary role. But with the increasing division of labor, production for direct personal consumption becomes of less and less importance compared with the production of means of production, and therewith also the sphere of governmental production increases. On the other side this field is extended by the development of commerce and of the great industries, which bursts the local bonds of the market for each branch of production one after another, and transforms one after another from a local into a national industry. For example, gas lighting is clearly a municipal business. The development of electric lighting and the transformation of power in mountainous regions makes the nationalization of water power necessary. This operates also to transform illumination from a municipal to a national business. Again, the business of the shoemaker was formerly confined to the local market. The shoe factory does not supply simply the community, but the whole nation, with its production, and is ripe not for communalization, but for nationalization. The same is true of sugar factories, breweries, etc.

The trend of evolution under a proletarian regime would be towards making the national form of industry predominant.

So much then concerning the property—in the means of production of the great industries, including those in agriculture. What then is to happen to money capital and landed property? Money capital is that portion of capital taking the form of interest-bearing loans. The money capitalist fulfills

no personal function in the social life, and can without difficulty be at once expropriated. This will be all the more readily done as it is this portion of the capitalist class, the financier, who is most superfluous, and who is continually usurping domination over the whole economic life. He is also the master of the great private monopolies, the trusts, etc., and it is therefore impossible to expropriate industrial capital without including money capital. They are too completely bound up in each other. The socialization of capital industries (as one may designate for short the transformation to national, municipal and co-operative possession) will carry with it the socialization of the greater part of the money capital. When a factory or a piece of landed property is nationalized, its debts will become public debts, and private debts will become public debts. In the case of a corporation the stockholders will become holders of government bonds.

In this connection comes the consideration of landed property. I refer here to property in land, and not agricultural industry. The great capitalist socially operated agricultural industries will be subject to the same evolution as the other great industries. They will lose their wage-slaves and be compelled to offer their possessions to the State or municipality for purchase, and will thereby become socialized. The little farming industries may well remain private property. But I shall return to this subject later.

But we are not here discussing agricultural industry, but the ownership of land, independent of industry, the private property in the ground that yields to its possessor ground rent, through leasing or renting or interest on a mortgage, whether the property be urban or rural.

What we said of the money capitalist holds true also of the land owner. He likewise has no longer any personal function to fulfill in the economic life, and can easily be shoved to one side. As noted above in the instance of private monopoly, so with regard to private property in land, we find much opposition even in bourgeois circles, which expresses itself in a demand for socialization, since this private land monopoly is constantly growing more oppressive and injurious, especially in the cities. Here also nothing is lacking but the necessary power to bring about socialization. The victorious proletariat will furnish this power.

The expropriation of the exploiting classes presents itself purely as a question of power. It proceeds essentially from the economic necessity of the proletariat, and will be the inevitable result of their victory.

CONFISCATION OR COMPENSATION.

The question of the possibility and necessity of the expropriation of the exploiters can be answered with much greater degree of certainty than the question which naturally arises therefrom: Will the expropriation proceed as a process of confiscation or compensation? Will the previous possessors be indemnified or not? This is a question which it is impossible to answer today. We are not the ones who will have to complete this development. It is now impossible to determine any force inherent in conditions which make either one answer or the other necessary. In spite of this, there are, however, a number of reasons which indicate that a proletarian regime will seek the road of compensation, and payment of the capitalists and landowners. I will here mention but two of the reasons which appear the most cogent to me. Here also nothing is lacking but the necessary power to bring about socialization. The victorious proletariat will furnish this power.

The first assumption I do not need to discuss further. It is too foolish. The people who expect to see capital expropriated by the increase of savings are blind to a much more rapid increase of large private capitals. On the other hand, it is not wholly unjustifiable to say that a proletarian regime pledged to universal confiscation would also confiscate the savings of small traders. That would not be a reason why the laborers should find their own rule unnecessary. (One must be hard up for plausible arguments against a social revolution when he makes use of such anticipations.) But it might become a reason for the conquering proletariat to stop in the confiscation of the means of production.

If, however, that should happen, one could ask, What justice has the laboring class received from expropriation? It works simply to make all capital become simple money capital; and all the capital being transformed into national, state and co-operative bonds, any surplus value which the capitalists have drawn directly from the laborers will flow to them from the nations, states and co-operatives. Is this in any way to change the condition of the laborer?

This question is wholly justifiable. But even if a proletarian regime should permit the same amount of profit to flow to capital that it had formerly received, the expropriation through a continuance of proletarian rule would have brought great advantages with it, in that a further increase of exploitation from then on would be impossible. Any new application of capital as well as every increase would be excluded, together with all increase in ground rent. This alone would be a significant result of proletarian

transformation. Every further increase of social wealth would from then on inhere to the good of all society.

But together with this there would come still another advantage. As soon as all the capitalist wealth had taken form of bonds of states, municipalities and co-operatives, it would be possible to raise a progressive income tax without either income or property tax height until then was impossible. It is one of our demands at the present time that such a tax shall be substituted for all others especially for an indirect tax. But even if we had today the power to carry through such a measure with the support of other parties, which is plainly impossible because no bourgeois party would go so far, we would at once find ourselves in the presence of great difficulties. It is a well known fact that the higher the tax the greater the efforts at tax dodging. But when a condition exists where any concealment of income and property is impossible even then we could not be in a position to force the income and property tax as high as we wish because the capitalists, if the tax on their income or property pressed them too closely, would simply leave the State. There have already been instances of this. The State then has the income and property tax without either income or property. Above a certain measure such taxes cannot rise today even if we had the political power. The situation however, is completely changed when all capitalist property takes the form of public debts. The property that today is so hard to find then lies in broad daylight. It would then only be necessary to declare that all bonds must be public and it would be known exactly what was the value of every property and every capitalist income. The tax could then be raised as high as desired without the possibility of tax frauds. It would then also be impossible to avoid taxation by emigration for it is then a matter of the nation itself from which all interest must flow and the tax could simply be taken from the interest before it was paid out. Under such conditions it would be possible to increase the progressive income and property tax as high as desired. If necessary it might be put so high as to be equivalent, or nearly so, to a confiscation of the great properties.

It might well be asked what advantage is offered by this roundabout way of confiscation of great property instead of taking the direct road. Is it not mere piggery simply for the purpose of avoiding the appearance of confiscation if capital is first compensated for at its full value and then confiscated through tax legislation? The difference between this mode and that of direct confiscation appears to be but formal.

But the difference is not so trifling. Direct confiscation of all capitalists would strike all the same and the great, those utterly useless to labor and those the most essential to labor in the same manner. It is difficult, often impossible, in this method to separate the large possessions from the small when these are united in the form of money capital in the same undertaking. Direct confiscation would complete this quickly, often at one stroke, while confiscation through taxation permits the disappearance of capitalist property through a long drawn out process proceeding in the exact degree in which the new order is established and its benevolent influence made perceptible. It makes it possible to extend the process of confiscation over a decade so that it will be fully operative in the new generation that will have grown up under the new conditions and is therefore not accustomed to reckon with capital and interest. Confiscation in this way loses its harshness, it becomes more acceptable and less painful. The more peacefully the conquest of the political power by the proletariat is attained and the more firmly organized and enlightened it is, the more we can expect that the primitive forms of confiscation will be softened.

Hughes' Bloodthirsty Bombast

By J. C.

Sam Hughes, Canadian Minister of Militia, Cabinet Minister, Dividend taking dependent, gives his opinion of soldiering and says to the Cobalt working men—"If you were to honestly study the principles underlying MY Militia and Cadet ideas you would adopt the only policy that has ever produced a proper system of human government and would be greatly benefited by joining the militia."

This is Sam Hughes, either slavishly anxious to further capitalist aims or ignorant of the use he is put to.

Napoleon, who formerly had a suspicion of being an instrument in the then rising trading class, says of soldiers—"The profession of a soldier, is the trade of barbarians." Wellington, who described his soldiers as the scum of the earth, wrote on one occasion, "War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of war, you would pray God you might never see another."

Thus far the opinions of Napoleon and Wellington, who knew something of soldiers, agree.

General Grant, asked to attend a review, declined, saying he never wished to look upon a regiment of soldiers again.

General Sherman writes as was tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. "It is only those who have never fired a shot, nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded, who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is Hell."

Sir John Sinclair's opinion was that "the profession of a soldier is a damnable profession." Will Sam Hughes say that these men had no knowledge of the problem of human government? Will he say they were too low, too case hardened, too depraved to realize the benefits of militarism? Yet such are the words he throws at you working men of Canada.

Remember that in civil troubles due to strikes, it will be the sons of the workers who will suffer. If this seems all right, then vote for Sam Hughes and his bunch. If not right, then help the Social Democratic Party of Canada to fight such conditions. Join the local. Remember this about the cadets. Napoleon once said—"A boy can stop a bullet as well as a man."

by Louis C. Fraina

Single Subs 50 Cents the Year

July 16th, 1914

Clubs of Four 40-Week Subs One Dollar

Learn the science of society and foot in argument the capitalist ignoramus.

The kept press says that the King and Queen of England will have a busy time in Scotland. What doing?

Conan Doyle says Britain is tired of the suffragettes. He means the master class of Britain. Any democratic move makes the master class tired.

Hail smiling morn, when the votes of the proletarian will have decreed that the plut shall go to work and do his share of the world's producing.

Plute papers say that the I.W.W. is becoming a "serious menace." Labor of all descriptions is becoming a serious menace to the rule of rent, interest and profit.

There is little worth while in this world except labor. Yet labor and those who perform are despised by the very people who fatten off the skill and ingenuity of others.

Recently a magazine offered a special prize for a national song for Canada. Some comrade should have sent them the "International." It would sound better than the wishy-washy muddle which is now used.

The best of brawn and muscle from the youth of the land is what the masters are looking for. The man of forty or so is not wanted. He can't keep pace with the vigor of youth. The scrap heap for him.

Fifteen hundred cadets have gone into training at Three Rivers, P.Q. Boys from the schools were enrolled. The fathers are paying enough sense not to join the militia. Hence the masters are robbing the cradles for murderers to carry out their will.

A Philadelphia minister told his congregation that "rotten politics" was behind the whole trouble in Colorado. We would ask this gentleman what other kind of politics he ever saw? "Rotten politics" are the very foundation of the old parties, and will so remain till the whole capitalist system is swept away.

West Virginia has gone dry. The referendum to abolish places of selling liquor within the state carried by over 90,000 majority. The big employers of labor threw the weight of their political power upon the side of prohibition. A sober wage slave is a more profitable one than a drinking slave, and the masters are out after profits.

Fifty-five children faced the judge in the Montreal juvenile court one day recently. Capitalism plunges these children into a life among the slums where everything vicious may be easily learned. They have no chance to live the life they should be allowed to lead. They are marked from birth by their environment. The courts of law are the natural end of their lane of life.

The Toronto Globe in its abolition the bar campaign out liquor ads for a time. Now it is crying over the great financial sacrifice which it made in its efforts to abolish the bar. Poor old Globe! Its feet has not been in the public trough for years, it has cut itself off from the revenue of the booze makers, and it is altogether a sorry sample of what old party politics lead one to.

Thirteen persons were drowned while going to a Fourth of July celebration at Juneau, Alaska. Patriotism spells death to the patriot no matter where he may be. Rivers, lakes, oceans, the very earth, are full of misguided individuals who had the patriotic bug. They are dead now, and patriotism still weaves its dirty web to catch the unwary and makes cannon fodder for the armament trust.

The world's wheat crop shows an increase this year. A daily paper says "That ought to help." Pray tell us who it will help. Will it help the slum dwellers? Will it help the out of work? No. If there is a bumper crop of wheat it will help nobody but the grafters who fatten on the sweat of the farmers. Under the present system a huge crop does not even help the farmers who produce it. It is taken away from the farmer by the railroads, elevator companies and brokers.

Ten thousand people signed a petition asking that the life of Kragchenko, the Plum Coulee murderer, might be spared. A daily paper says that most of us now living will see capital punishment abolished in Canada. If it is to be abolished, and most everybody is sure that it will be, why not abolish it now, at once? What is the use of waiting years and years and stretching the necks of dozens of poor unfortunates if the crazy custom must be abolished? Banish the devilish capitalist system, and the crop of murderers will soon disappear entirely.

"With all the complications of this vast and confusing interplay of the forces of this age, the city is metrically bound by its awful responsibility for so much that is bad, for so much that is good, in our time. And in the cities, now as always, the struggle for liberty will go on, the old leaders will pass, and the new will pass, and pass swiftly, for they are quickly consumed in the stress and heat of the passionate and savage struggle. To them must ever come the fatigue of long drawn opposition, of the repeated and unavailing assaults on the cold, solid and impregnable walls of institutions. In this fatigue they may grow conservative after a while, and they should pray to be spared the acquiescence of the middle years, the base capitulation of age."—Brand Whitlock.

The city of Montreal made a threat that they would deport thousands of laborers who had been in the country three years and under, on account of the starving condition of the Montreal labor market. These men have become public charges to a large extent. The railroad companies, which coaxed the immigrants to this country on false promises have no further use for them, as work has largely ceased on the railroads. They foisted them on the cities to get along as best they could. Since the announcement of the deportation hundreds upon hundreds of the foreign element have applied for deportation. They are sick of the "land of milk and honey," and anxious to get back to their native land, broke and weary, where at least they will not starve to death. Now the authorities are in a quandary. They are sending about five hundred each month, and cannot handle the applications. In the meantime the agents of the steamship and railroad companies in Europe are breaking their necks trying to induce others to come to this country. Sweet promises in the old country, sweet merry hell and starvation when they land here. Then they tell us that workers could not possibly conduct the affairs of the country. Possibly true, looking at it from a capitalist standpoint.

CAPITALIZED FARMING

There is many a little farmer who imagines he is on the way to prosperity because he works night and day and owns the title deeds to a few acres of dirt.

This kind of a farmer is the one who came off the back of South Africa at the call of Premier Botha and carried out the orders of martial law against peaceful strikers.

This is the kind of a farmer who went down to the waterfront in New Zealand and applied force to peaceable transport strikers.

This is the kind of a farmer who joined the Canadian militia and longed to poke holes in the workers who refuse to work in the hot July and August weather in harvest time, and be turned loose with a few dollars to face the rigors of a Canadian winter.

These little farmers are at present the backbone of the capitalist support in Canada.

Their hours are interminably long, and when they have paid for depreciation on farm buildings, help, tools, work animals, their net income does not come up to that of a skilled mechanic.

The capitalists have been willing to allow the farmers to take the risk of ownership, manage the farm, and work. The capitalists thus save the cost of management and get the work done for less than they would pay a skilled helper. They have been content to own the railways, the harvester machine companies, the elevators, etc. They have skinned the farmer to a fine, glossy finish, (you can see this glossy finish on the farmer's sweating face.)

The railway building era is drawing to a close in Canada. The government is beginning to take over the railways, so the capitalists are going into farming.

The traction pulverizer replaces the horse-drawn plough. The milking machine replaces the farm hand. The corn cutter replaces the sickle.

The small farmer cannot own these tools. If he attempts to buy them the price and interest eat up his farm and he is separated from his title deeds.

He sticks to hand methods, works longer, gets smaller pay and eventually goes broke. If he buys he busts and if he does not buy he busts.

The farm becomes an estate and the wage slave replaces the working owner.

The hard times in the west is the capitalist squeeze applied to shake out the small owner. The small owner is hard hit but Socialism advances. For Social production replaces individual production and prepares the way for social ownership. The army of propertyless slaves increase and the deluded army of small farmers diminishes.

The wise small farmer of the west turns Socialist. He throws in his lot politically with the wage workers and votes to overthrow the system of private ownership.

EDUCATION NECESSARY

The wage workers of Canada need education as to their class position in society and the necessity of abolishing capitalism.

This task rests upon the Socialists. We must permeate the mass with knowledge.

If we do not know the fundamentals of Socialism we cannot communicate them to others.

Every local, therefore, should have an economic class in which Marxian economics are taught. Once the fundamentals are grasped, questions can be answered and there is no danger of being blown about by unsound winds and capitalist doctrine.

A speakers' class should also be formed. Not only must we know, but we must be able to communicate our knowledge to others. Soap box orators must be trained to effective public speaking. The greater the number of good speakers we have in the movement, the quicker the task of permeating Canada with Socialist economics will be accomplished.

If these economic and speakers' classes are not already a part of your local's activity, start them as soon as possible.

OIL FOR FUEL

Oil is the fuel of the future. On the Pacific coast oil is displacing coal on the ships.

Coal in San Francisco costs seven dollars a ton. A barrel of oil costs sixty cents, and four barrels of oil are equal to one ton of coal. The saving in fuel on medium sized ships trading out of San Francisco is seven dollars a day, a saving which means eventual bankruptcy for shipping companies using coal.

Besides the saving in the cost of fuel, labor is displaced on the ships. In putting coal on board many hands are employed. The oil is simply pumped into the ship. No dust, no scrubbing of decks after coaling. The pump replaces the wage slave.

In feeding oil to the furnaces little labor is used. The oil is automatically sprayed and all the labor needed is an occasional regulation of the spray. No stokers down in the heat. On one ship as many as twenty-one wage slaves were sacked when the change in fuel was made.

Oil burning engines are displacing coal burning engines on railways. This is having a significant influence upon the coal mining industry.

A despatch from Wilkesbarre, Pa., declared that the Lehigh Valley and Wilkesbarre coal companies employing thirty thousand men, shut down from July 1st to July 6th. Over supply of coal was given as the reason. The Susquehanna Coal Company and the Kingston Coal Company put their miners on half time. Coal production, moreover, in British Columbia and in Colorado has been seriously curtailed by the stoppage of work through labor disputes. And still the market is oversupplied.

The miners strike for better conditions, in certain quarters, and the masters shut down the mines in other places also because too much coal is produced. How far can trades unionism get us, then, in solving the problems of unemployment and competition for jobs? Unionism gets us a very little way save with regard to crafts requiring special skill, and then in those crafts the wages correspond only to the more costly care of the wage rule necessary to carry on the labor.

The workers will have to adopt the Socialist remedy, namely, that the collective working class shall own and operate the whole of industry. Then if labor saving appliances or more economical fuel are introduced, the workers will either have more leisure by less work, or more comfort, by the same amount of work. The present system pays the workers a beggar's wages while working, and turns him out to starve when he has overstocked the market by his labor.

From Jest to Earnest

C. P. Calliford, Beachville, Ont.

An empty headed duke once said to Thomas Carlyle a dinner?

"The British people, sir, can afford to laugh at theories."

Carlyle, scowling, replied:

"The French nobility of a hundred years ago thought that they could afford to laugh at theories too. But a man came and wrote a book called 'The Social Contract.' This man was Jean Jacques Rousseau, and his book was a theory and nothing but a theory. The nobles could laugh at his theory, but their skins went to bind the second edition of the book."

Some people today laugh at Socialism. They say that it is impracticable, and that Socialists are a lot of theorists. While we have no desire to dishonor the memory of Karl Marx by binding the second of third edition of Capital with the skins of these scoffers, we would remind them that all great advances in the reconstruction of society must first be worked out in theory. Socialism has never yet been tried, so that right has anyone to say it is impracticable? Socialism can never be tried until capitalism is abolished. You cannot put new wine into old bottles, because it will burst the old bottles.

When Socialism is tried, then Capitalism will have to be abolished. A certain newspaper tried to make out that Socialism had proved a failure in Milwaukee, because the Socialists were not re-elected to office. Seidel and his associates certainly accomplished a lot of good during the two years they held office, as anyone can ascertain, by looking in their records; but how could any sane person expect these men to practise Socialism with the State and Federal authorities opposing them at every turn. The railroads were still privately owned, the profit-mongers were still exploiting the labor of wage slaves and everything controlled under a capitalist regime, and in spite of these impediments the Socialists accomplished much for the advancement of the working classes. I used to think it took brains to own even a capitalist paper, but as long as the public is gullible enough to swallow the dope some of the fat-headed editors hand out, then a plaster-of-paris brain would do to edit a capitalist paper.

People with money to burn, don't usually sift ashes; but frequently sift asses, mules, or working men to different locations.

Capitalist:—"Not all who ought to, auto." Socialist:—"Not all who auto, ought to."

THE PRESIDENT "PULLED A FACE."

A good story is told apropos of the human side of the President of the United States.

The President was out for a ride in his motor car one afternoon. The machine passed a small boy standing beside the road.

"Did you notice that that boy did when we passed?" the President asked.

"No, Mr. President, I did not."

"He made a face at me."

"Is it possible?" exclaimed the shocked companion. "I didn't observe him."

"He did," said the President, "but did you notice what I did?"

"Well," answered the President happily, "I made a face right back at him!"

In this age of deference and fawning upon those in authority, it is indeed refreshing to read of even a small boy making faces at the President.

To witness the boot-licking demonstrations which take place when royalty travels is repulsive to any sensible person.

One of the great evils of our present educational system is the inculcation into youth of the idea of royalty. It not only induces the natural prejudices of the child but frequently retards the development of independent thought. Whenever I meet a young man who is scrupulously polite, and constantly exclaiming, "I beg your pardon," I usually size him up as having rooms to let in the top story. I do not imply that we should be rude to one another, but let us at least be natural; and as capitalism creates unnatural conditions, then let us remove capitalism and inaugurate Socialism, which will create natural conditions with freedom for all classes of society.

Politeness is on the curriculum of all our educational institutions, because, like charity, it covers a multitude of sins, and the chief aim of capitalist supporters is to hide sins instead of removing them.

Grannie:—"Why should I take another chair Gerald? Don't you think I'm comfortable here?"

Gerald:—"Yes, gran'ma; but I'm afraid my little kitten isn't—she's there too."

The workingman is something like the kitten in this joke; he lever the capitalist sit all over him, and when Gerald, the Socialist, remonstrates, the capitalist says, "I'm quite comfortable thank you." The time is not far distant when the Capitalist will leave to take another chair, and release the wage workers beneath him. The Socialist kitten is tired of being "sot on," and Mr. Capitalist is already beginning to feel his claws.

Cotton's Weekly is educating the worker to a sense of his position, and points the way to economic freedom.

You wage workers who are already class conscious, can best sharpen up your claws for the coming fray, by putting Cotton's Weekly into the hands of those who are ignorant of this position and power.

Of every hundred persons subject to military duty in Germany, 58.9 per cent of the farmer lads are fit for service. This is a capitalist report. The soldiers of the Kaiser in the towns and cities are union men and Socialists, and not to be relied on to the extent that the authorities require. Therefore the country lads are enlisted to the skies, and declared to be excellent examples for soldiers. The same in Canada. Sam Hughes cannot handle his city regiments when it comes to active murder work. He therefore recruits among the ignorant country class as far as possible. Boys of any age are taken. They will be taught to shoot, and they will shoot when told to, for they know no better. The enlightened union soldier will not shoot his brother worker. This state of affairs nettles the Hon. Sam, but what can he do?

The Duke of Connaught, Canada's royal figurehead, is certainly earning his idle inspecting boy scouts and cadets and incidentally shooting the stereotyped strike of royal taffy at the boys. Poor old duke! The capitalist government of Canada is giving him the best time it can. It has no useful thing for him to do, and he could not do it if he was asked to, so the government lets him down as easily as possible. There are some people who ask us what Socialists would do with such men as the duke. We Socialists in answer, The bronze answer should be: Nothing, just let him fade away.

THE UNEMPLOYED

A host of unemployed are on the verge of starvation throughout Canada.

A few years ago when the capitalists began to develop their property of the Dominion of Canada they needed slaves, thousands and tens of thousands of slaves. Canada had a sparse population and so the slave class had to be imported.

The masters did not advertise for slaves or tell the immigrants the real conditions. They lied. The government agents lied. Immigration courts were placed in all important centres of Western and South Western Europe and were paid on the basis of the number of dupes they could inveigle into coming to Canada.

Glowing pictures were painted of the prosperity in this new country. The slaves were told how they could escape from slavery by emigrating to Canada.

The slaves came and were flung into the mines or on the railway lines, were exploited to the limit and maimed and killed.

In the Hillcrest district the majority of the persons killed in the Hillcrest explosion were by the tales of prosperity. The reward for their foolishness in coming was to be blown into unrecognizable shape by a mine explosion.

How many have been killed on the railway construction lines, no one knows. For the victims were buried in unnamed graves and the contractors kept the news of deaths quiet. However, we may guess the enormous toll by the capitalist figures from Africa. The average number of victims killed on the Cape to Cairo line, which is nearing completion, was ten workers to the mile, and the capitalist papers put the capitalists on the back for the small toll of lives exacted.

The railway lines are nearing completion. The construction slaves are being sacked and are flocking penniless into the cities. They are clamoring for work and food. They were robbed of their surplus values by contractors who have become multi-millionaires, and they were robbed even of their wages by exorbitant charges for food and supplies.

The government has a remedy. The Dominion government has announced its intention of deporting to the lands of their origin all slaves who have landed within the last three years and who have had food given them by public bodies.

The immigrants came full of hope, slaved and are to be returned broken and penniless to the countries from which they came. This is how the capitalist government treats the working class.

The masters own the railway lines and the mines and mills built by the slaves, and the slaves are returned as undesirable aliens to the lands whence they came and the slaves picture carry the germ of the plague, in fact rats, and the rats spread the disease in inhabited houses. People become infected and infect other people. So the rat is to be exterminated as much as possible.

In the dark ages when the church controlled, religious processions were held and the beggarly powers were invoked to stop the spread of the affliction. The affliction kept on working overtime till it wiped out millions of people.

Now rats are hunted, and the plague is stayed.

We look back upon the ancient Egyptians as being heathenish and unenlightened. They worshiped animals such as the cat. But the ancient Egyptian worshipping the cat protecting it showed more sense than the medieval Christian holding processions and dying.

For the cat caught the rat that spread the plague and there were such an abundance of cats religiously protected that the rat had no chance and Egypt was free of this disease.

When we get down to material causes and find out the laws governing physical life and death, we will be more reasonable than now.

THE BUBONIC PLAGUE

The bubonic plague has invaded American southern ports. To stop the ravages of the plague a rat hunting campaign is on. Thousands of rat traps in various cities have been set. Fleas carry the germ of the plague, in fact rats, and the rats spread the disease in inhabited houses. People become infected and infect other people. So the rat is to be exterminated as much as possible.

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RACE SUICIDE

"War is a good thing as it kills off the surplus population."

That is a remark frequently made to Socialists.

If too many people are born into the world and have to be killed off by the horrors of war, is it not better to have fewer people born into the world? In other words, race suicide is preferable.

Robert Ingersoll in one of his lectures used to picture with all the wealth of his imaginative vocabulary, the love and tender solicitude of the mother for her child. He would picture her sufferings and longings and hopes and the beauties of family life, and he would conclude by asking his audience of all that wealth of love and suffering were lost to produce "kindling wood for hell."

Is the end of a mother's suffering, anxiety, love and labor to be to produce food for cannon? Then by all means let us practice race suicide.

In former ages plague, famine and pestilence, war and religious persecutions wiped out tens of millions of people. The birth rate had to be high to replace the waste. Now plague, famine, pestilence and religious persecutions have ceased and war is near an end. Babies born are being saved instead of dying from preventable causes. The waste of human life is vanishing. Therefore, a high birth rate is no longer necessary and race suicide is coming into vogue.

This is looked upon with horror by many persons but the immorality of one age becomes the morality of the next.

The king will visit the mine districts of Scotland. What the miners should do with dapper little Georgie is to take him down and lose him in some of the dangerous passages of the mines, where the slaves are forced to toil night and day risking their lives for the class to which Georgie belongs.

By the time the boot-licking sycophants of royalty found him, he would have a better conception of what labor has to perform in the bowels of the earth in order that his royal shins may be kept warm. Down with Georgie!—in the mines we mean.

Political democracy is a great step in advance over political tyranny. Political democracy gives the workers the ballot. It is not an end but a means to an end. The ballot is a means, a leverage in the hands of the workers which they can use to become masters of industry and enjoy the wealth they create.

To understand a man's actions, study his economic interests.

The man who wears the blinders of prejudice can not have a social vision, he cannot see the meaning of the world's unrest.

President Wilson has been inviting the big capitalists to Washington to discuss the business outlook. Morgan went and came away smiling.

It is a certainty that if capitalists enjoy the product of labor without doing useful work, others do useful work without enjoying what they produce.

To a capitalist an "honest" government means one which will hand the swag over to the capitalist class without the politicians demanding a rakeoff for their services.

Report comes of a woman who has milked nineteen cows every day for a whole year. And it is a one best bet that she is wearing the same old calico dress she wore when she started on the cows.

The growing contempt of the scab shows how sentiment is changing. The changing sentiment is due to economic conditions. The producing class are realizing that the scab is a traitor to the working class.

This high cost of living Commission appears to be about the biggest fool proposition yet foisted upon a long suffering Canadian public by the Borden government.—Regina Leader.

The parsons' grasp of fulness and richness of life. How can the wage slave have richness and fulness of life when he is humped over a machine all day grinding out profits for a fat parasite? The true parson is lined up with the Socialists in their demand for the abolition of wage slavery.

By a recent decision of the Privy Council, Dan and Bill are the richer by a million and a half dollars. Go to it, Dan, go to it, Bill, there is not much left in Canada that you have not got a cinch on, and you may as well have the rest. The rest of the robbers are beginning to look like counterfeiters beside you.

You are a maker, a producer. Your master is a loafer and a waster. Yet you encourage him to the utmost. You must, because he owns the machinery with which you labor. Before you can get him off your back you will have to use your ballot in an intelligent manner. Then, and not until then, will he cease to exploit you.

The Kaiser trod the decks of a British man of war decked out as an admiral of the British fleet. Probably trying to see how many Krupp guns the ship carried, as you know the Kaiser is financially interested in the sale of Krupp steel and arms. And of course he doctored the British uniform through his abounding love for King George! All's fair in love and war.

Eighteen people met death in the United States by automobiles the past week. On first glance it would appear that eighteen enemies of the working wage slaves had been obliterated. Not so, however, the majority killed were children crossing the street, and one father of six children. The hide of the plute is generally safe, while the worker or his family get the bumps.

"I challenge you to cite me an instance in all the history of the world where liberty was handed down from above. Liberty always is attained by the forces working below, underneath, by the great movement of the people. That, leavened by the sense of wrong and oppression and injustice, by the ferment of human rights to be attained, brings freedom."—President Woodrow Wilson in the Saturday Evening Post, May 23rd, 1914.

An automobile ran over a dog the other day in Montreal. Almost at the same moment and at the same place a boy was run over by another auto. The crows surged around, and finally the dog proved the greater attraction, while the boy was left lying on a set of stone steps. Finally the kid's mistress came along, grabbed him, hired a cab and took the poor beastie home, while the human animal had to make out the rest he could. What is the meaning of the word humanity, anyway?

An aerial torpedo is the latest. It is intended to be dropped from machines which fly, and promises complete annihilation of towns and cities underneath it. Another weapon in the hands of the masters. Looks as if Jack London's "Iron Heel" will not prove so far wrong in its prophesies after all. If the working class is to be taught a lesson by wholesale butchery, this latest method promises to be real cute in its work, as there is no come back, and it will do the work in a manner that would make a machine gun look utterly useless.

Henry Ford is a charmingly naive cuss for a capitalist. He says his profit-sharing scheme is a success. It increases efficiency 20 to 30 per cent and enables men to be laid off sooner because of the unprecedented gain in factory output. The laid off men can go harvesting in Kansas. In the meanwhile Henry has taken over the unfinished Detroit hospital. This, most likely, is done to afford his exhausted workers, who don't turn hobo, the needed rest cure. Hoboes and hospitals are a solution of the social problem—this is what Henry Ford offers to 20th century civilization. Oh, you Henry; how the I.W.W. would rejoice to see your tribe increase. You sure are doing some damage to present day society!—though you don't know it.—Solidarity.

Fifteen hundred boys are in camp at Three Rivers, P.Q., learning the gentle art of legalized murder. One little lad in answer to a question, said: "A soldier's life is the life for a man." This is the spirit which Sam Hughes loves in the youth of Canada, and the reason that he nurses his boy scouts and cadets. The lad who made the above statement is ignorant of the faintest idea of the life of a soldier. He has never had the pleasure of marching on short rations and no water for long hours under the boiling sun of a foreign country; nor has he laid in trenches under the murderous fire of machine guns and the bursting shells of the enemy (?) unable to even put his head above the trench to see where the enemy (?) were; he has never witnessed a bursting shell lay his comrades out by dozens, while their bodies were riddled into ribbons by small fire; never has he heard the meaning, shrieking and sobbing of the wounded exposed in such a position that help could not be extended to them. He knows nothing of the life of a soldier, yet he must be taught by the carrion who draw revenues from the capitalist government, of this miserable country, under the dictation of the military mad, murderous Sam Hughes.

