

REASONS

Why you should Vote for

H. E. HOLLAND

International Socialist Candidate.



BECAUSE

He is the only Straight-out Working Class Candidate in the field.

He has a clean record of many years' vigorous service in the Working Class Movement.

He has a thorough knowledge of Working Class Politics, and will, therefore, be able to effectively voice the demands of Labor in the Legislative Assembly.

He holds that the people who produce this country's wealth should also own it.

Because, as a Socialist, he stands for economic justice, and is against every wrong, and in favour of every right.

A Last Word

BEFORE another issue of "The Review" appears the N.S.W. 1907 elections will have been decided.

To the Darling Harbor electors, therefore, the International Socialist Party directs this, its last word.

The fight is not between men—it is a conflict of principles. It is a war between straight Working-class Principles as voiced by the International Socialist candidate, and the principles of Modern Capitalism as set forth with slight variations by the stevedoring representative of "No. 1. Labor League," Mr. Daley; of the newspaper representative of "No. 2 Labor League," Mr. Norton; the selected "Liberal and Reform" candidate, Mr. Whatmore; and the non-selected "Liberal and Reform" candidate, Mr. Evan Jones.

Mr. Daley's side has followed the lead given some years ago by the Dill-Macky faction, and his supporters have not hesitated to crawl in the filth of the sectarian sewer. They realise the hopelessness of their position, and while they do not think to win on these tactics, they hope to defeat the Socialist, and apparently seek to secure the return of Mr. Whatmore. Mr. Daley, ac-

ording to press reports, advises the electors, if they can't vote for him, to vote for the Liberal and Reform man. Mr. Whatmore reciprocates by advising that, failing himself, Mr. Daley should be supported; both of them thus proving the correctness of our assertion that their aims and objectives are identical.

A feature of the contest in Darling Harbor has been the utter abandonment by the alleged Labor candidate of the ordinary professions of Labor principles. His speech at Flagstaff Hill last Saturday—if it should be dignified with the name of speech—was just a bitter and often untruthful attack on certain opponents; but, as the Coal Lumpers' Union has already decided to give Mr. Daley a chance of substantiating his charges against its officials in a law court, that phase of the matter may not be commented upon. Not once did Mr. Daley deal with the situation from a labor or working-class viewpoint. He hurled around indiscriminate statements concerning financial aid which he asserted he had rendered to certain people, and his attitude seemed to imply that a person he might have helped financially should consider himself under a moral obligation to vote for

Mr. Daley for all time; while Senator Lynch's taunt, thrown at a member of the Coal Lumpers' Lock-out Comm ttee, clearly implied that in future Mr. Daley's party will object to a trade union engaged in a strike or lock-out sending delegates to distant centres to seek financial aid unless said delegates pay their own expenses. No comment is needed to demonstrate the absurdity of such a declaration, which would eminently suit the Capitalists, because it would almost absolutely prevent the Unions in trouble from getting assistance from distant bodies.

All of the other middle-class candidates are at one with Mr. Daley in declaring that the workers cannot effect their own emancipation. One and all of them assert that Human Freedom may come in future centuries, but that it is now futile to seriously contemplate the overthrow of Capitalism. All of them—the two alleged Labor candidates, and the two alleged Liberal and Reform candidates—have nothing better to offer the workers than various Capitalist Governments have been offering them for nearly half-a-century in N.S.W.

The Socialists come—a new party—with the battle cry of the world's Social-Democracy, "Workers, Unite! You have

nothing but your chains to lose; you have a world to gain." They ask you to read again the barren records of this country where your interests are affected; to reflect how overflowing full are those records where the interests of the Master Class are affected. They assert, in the words of a well-known American writer, that nothing can obviate the hideous fact that here in New South Wales one class of human beings is living off another class—that the Capitalist Class is appropriating and heaping up the wealth produced by the Working Class. So long as the laborer is willing to be a mere wage-earner, so long as he is led about by professional politician and middle-class agitator, so long will his weariness and poverty, his dependence and hopelessness wax worse and worse. Labor must achieve its own liberty, if it is ever to be achieved. Liberty cannot be handed down by a superior class to an inferior class. Socialists are not appealing to you for support on the ground that Socialists are better than other men, but on the ground that Socialism is better than Capitalism.

The International Socialists appeal to you to vote for their candidate, because in so voting your votes will be cast for

your own interests and the interests of your wives and children. They ask you to remember the history of the great industrial battles fought so heroically by yourselves at this waterside centre, and by the men and women and children of your class in other centres—a history of maladministration and corruption on the part of the ruling class; a history of tragic failure and woeful inability to fight on scientific working-class lines by the middle-class politicians who sometimes label themselves "Labor," and in your own recent prolonged struggle a history of criminal abandonment of your class in the hour of its bitter need. That—all of it—is a history of shame which should be written in letters of indelibility on the tablets of your minds, strengthening your revolt against the politics of your masters and the politicians they would burden you with, and making still more decisive your verdict on Tuesday next, when every honest man and woman who understands the working-class position will at the ballot-box once again write "Victory" on the banners of the World's Social-Democracy by placing the International Socialist candidate at the top of the poll.

Campaign Notes.

Darling Harbor Election.

THE General Executive has decided to open a Fund for the purpose of helping to make the fight for Darling Harbor most effective in an educational direction. This is the most important single-constituency fight that has yet been made for Socialism in N.S.W., and the Executive desires to flood the electorate with propagandist literature. Contributions should be forwarded to E. HILLYER, secretary, International Socialist Group, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney. The following amounts are acknowledged.

	£	s	d
Previously ackn'ledged	26	6	1
R. Strauss	0	3	0
M. Sievers	0	5	0
Collected by O. Lormton	0	3	0
T. Nock	0	10	6
Collected by Mrs. Geo. Baker	0	9	0
Collected by W. Johns	1	5	5
Collected by R. Beashel	1	4	6
O. Ashe	0	2	0
Collected by J. Olsen	2	0	0
Collected by A. Ramsland	0	7	0
Collected at Hansa Cigar Factory	1	0	0
Collected by J. Johnston	0	17	6
Collected by H. J. Hawkins from Barrier Socialists	1	3	6
	£35	16	6

On Saturday last, at Mr. Daley's Flagstaff Hill meeting, attacks on the Socialist candidate were resented by many of the audience, and Mr. Daley and his supporters had an extremely bad half-hour.

On Saturday of this week three meetings will be held on Flagstaff Hill, in support of Messrs. Daley, Norton, and Holland respectively. There will be a big crowd present.

Every night this week successful meetings have been held by the Socialist candidate.

THE LANDLORD.

I sit like a king in my lordly tower,
 And all that I see is mine;
 And I reign supreme and I wield a power
 By virtue of right divine.
 And I look around me on every side,
 As far as the eye can see,
 O'er the fields and the woods and the pastures wide,
 And they all belong to me.
 And the farmer plows, and the farmer sows,
 And he toils with care and pain
 'Tis for me he plows, that he reaps and mows,
 And gathers the golden grain.
 And the miner digs in the darksome caves,
 Where the sun doth never shine,
 Though they work and toil like the galley slaves,
 The fruits of their toil is mine.
 And I eat the fat and I drink the sweet,
 And I neither toil nor spin;
 And I pass the time with companions meet,
 And ever the rent comes in.
 And the market may rise, or prices may fall,
 And men may be discontent;
 But though ruin should overwhelm them all,
 Yet still I must have my rent.
 For I make the laws that hedge me round,
 That none may my rights assail;
 And I've built them up with a skill profound
 And a cunning that must prevail.
 So I sit like a king in my lordly tower,
 And I reign supreme alone;
 And I wield a more despotic power
 Than a monarch on his throne.
 —Helen Hamilton Murphy.

SOCIALISM WINS

ALL OVER THE WORLD.

In January of this year, at the German Federal Elections the Socialists polled 3,260,000 votes—an increase of a quarter of a million on their previous vote, returning 43 members.

In May of this year, in the Austrian Elections, the Socialists returned 87 representatives, as against 13 in the previous Parliament.

In Finland, this year, the Socialists polled 293,021 votes, beating every other party in the number of representatives returned.

In the Holland elections, held in June of this year, the Socialists elected 19 representatives, as against six in the last Parliament.

In the Bavarian State elections this year, the Socialists elected 20, as against five in the previous Parliament.

In the Rome Municipal elections, held this year, the Socialists swept the polls, electing 35 Municipal Councillors.

Each English by-election contested by the Socialists this year has been won by them.

In every civilised country the working-class, organised on the lines of Scientific Socialism, are rapidly marching to the overthrow of Capitalism and the triumph of the People.

Workers of Darling Harbor! Strike another blow for Human Freedom on September 10 by voting for the International Socialist Candidate.

H. E. HOLLAND

and Straight Working-class Principles

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS.

"The Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are in the hands of individuals) leads to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of wealth and idleness among the wealthy classes, to bad and inartistic workmanship, to adulteration in all its forms, and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes—wealthy millionaires confronted by an enormous mass of proletarians—the issue out of which must be either Socialism or social ruin. To avoid these evils, and to secure the more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, the Socialists propose that land and capital should become the property of society, and be managed for the general good."—"Encyclopaedia Britannica."

"Let no man fear the name of Socialist. The movement of the working class for Justice by any other name would be as terrible."—Father Barry.

"Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men."—William Morris.

"Simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every-day life."—Professor Ely.

"A theory of policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is 'Every one according to his deeds.'"
—"Standard Dictionary."

"Socialism is an endeavor to substitute for the anarchist struggle or fight for existence an organised co-operation for existence. It is also a distinct historical theory which accounts for the progress of man in society by the command over the forces of nature by the economical development of the power which it has of producing wealth."—H. M. Hyndman.

"The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster's Dictionary.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

How, then, can a sum of commodities, of exchange values, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a portion of society, by means of its exchange for direct, living power. Capital necessarily presupposes the existence of a class which possesses nothing but labor force.

It is the lordship of past, stored-up, realised labor over actual, living labor that transforms the stored-up labor into capital.

Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labor is used by living labor as a means to further production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves as the means whereby stored-up labor may maintain and multiply its own exchange value.

What is it that takes place in the exchange between capital and wage-work?

The laborer receives in exchange for his labor the means of subsistence; but the capitalist receives in exchange for

the means of subsistence—labor, the productive energy of the laborer, the creative force whereby the laborer not only replaces what he consumes, but also gives to the stored-up labor a greater value than it had before. The laborer receives from the capitalist a share of the previously provided means of subsistence. To what use does he put these means of subsistence? He uses them for immediate consumption. But as soon as I consume my means of subsistence they disappear and are irrecoverably lost to me; it therefore becomes necessary that I should employ the time during which these means keep me alive in order to produce new means of subsistence, so that during their consumption I may provide by my labor new value in the place of that which thus disappears. But it is just this grand reproductive power which the laborer has to bargain away to capital in exchange for the means of subsistence which he receives. To him therefore it is entirely lost.

Let us take an example. A farmer gives his day laborer two shillings a day. For this two shillings he works throughout the day on the farmer's field, and so secures

him a return of four shillings. The farmer does not merely get the value which he had advanced to the day laborer replaced; he doubles it. He has thus spent or consumed the two shillings which he gave to the day laborer in a fruitful and productive fashion. He has bought for his two shillings just that labor and force of the day laborer which produces fruits of the earth of twice the value, and turns two shillings into four. The day laborer, on the other hand, receives in place of his productive force, which he has just bargained away to the farmer two shillings; and these he exchanges for means of subsistence; which means of subsistence he proceeds with more or less speed to consume. The two shillings have thus been consumed in double fashion; productively for capital, since they have been exchanged for the labor force which produced the four shillings; unproductively for the laborer, since they have been exchanged for means of subsistence which have disappeared forever, and whose value he can only recover by repeating the same bargain with the farmer. Thus capital presupposes wage-labor and wage-labor presupposes capital. They condition one another; and each brings the other into play.

Does a laborer in a cotton factory produce merely cotton? No, he produces capital. He produces value which serves afresh to command his own labor, and create new value by its means.

Capital can only increase when it is exchanged for labor, when it calls wage-labor into existence. Wage-labor can only be exchanged for capital by augmenting capital and strengthening the power whose slave it is. An increase of capital is, therefore, an increase of the proletariat—that is, of the laboring class.

The interests of the capitalist and the laborer are therefore identical, assert the bourgeoisie and their economists. And, in fact, so they are! The laborer perishes if capital does not employ him. Capital perishes if it does not exploit labor; and in order to exploit it, it must buy it. The faster the capital devoted to production—the productive capital—increases, and the more successfully the industry is carried on, the richer do the bourgeoisie become, the better does business go, the more laborers does the capitalist require, and the dearer does the laborer sell himself.

Thus the indispensable condition of the laborer's se-

curing a tolerable position is the speediest possible growth of productive capital.

But what is the meaning of the increase of productive capital? The increase of the power of stored-up labor over living labor. The increase of the dominion of the bourgeoisie over the laboring class. As fast as wage-labor creates its own antagonist and its own master in the dominating power of capital, the means of employment, that is, of subsistence, flow back to it from its antagonist; but only on the condition that it is itself transformed afresh into a portion of capital, and becomes the lever whereby the increase of capital may be again hugely accelerated.

Thus the statement that the interests of capital and labor are identical comes to mean merely this: capital and wage-labor are the two terms of one and the same proportion. The one conditions the other, just in the same way that the usurer and the borrower condition each other mutually.

So long as the wage-laborer remains a wage-laborer, his lot in life is dependent upon capital. That is the exact meaning of the famous community of interests between capital and labor.

The increase of capital is attended by an increase in the

amount of wage labor and in the number of wage-laborers; or, in other words, the dominion of capital is spread over a large number of individuals. And, to give the most fortunate event possible, with the increase of productive capital there is an increase in the demand for labor. And thus wages, the price of labor, will rise.

A house may be large or small, but as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social expectations as a dwelling place. But let a palace arise by the side of this small house, and it shrinks from a house into a hut. The smallness of the house now gives it to be understood that its occupant has either very small pretensions or none at all; and however high it may shoot up with the progress of civilisation, if the neighboring palace shoots up also in the same or in greater proportion, the occupant of the comparatively small house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more discontented, more confined within his four walls.

At least one Darling Harbor candidate hopes to win on dead men's votes and the votes of men who won't be there.

Campaign Notes.

On Wednesday night at Miller's Point a great meeting was addressed by Socialist speakers.

On Tuesday evening at Miller's Point, Mr. W. M. Hughes spoke for Mr. Daley. The meeting was exceedingly noisy, and refused to listen to the candidate and his chairman, Mr. Kelly.

On Wednesday night Mr. Bamford, M.P., spoke in support of Mr. Daley, and spent a good deal of time in advocating Socialism. (Mr. Bamford is a great admirer of Socialist Tom Mann.) Then the candidate followed, and proclaimed himself an anti-Socialist, and told the audience how a Socialist could never be a Christian, and villified Tom Mann, and said ever so many silly things, and wiped his perspiring countenance, and sat down while a sorrowful weariness crept over his exasperated features. It would constitute a breach of confidence on our part to print what Mr. Bamford said to Mr. Daley after the meeting had closed.

On Wednesday night a vast crowd listened to the Socialist speakers at the Palisade Hotel at Miller's Point. Speakers

were Peyton, Price, H. Scott - Bennett, Riordan, Mrs. Kenna, Holland, and Roche. They received an enthusiastic hearing, a magnificent vote being recorded in favor of the Socialist candidate, and the meeting closing with ringing cheers for revolutionary Socialism.

Immediately after the Socialist meeting, Mr. Whatmore addressed the crowd, and was interrupted from start to finish. At the conclusion of Mr. Whatmore's address, an overwhelming vote was recorded in favor of the Socialist candidate, for whom hearty cheers were given.

Society is divided into two classes, one class which owns everything such as mines, mills, factories and railroads, which enables them to live in luxury and rule thousands of other people whom they employ. This class is the capitalist class. The other class owns nothing and lives in poverty, dependent on the mercy of the capitalist class, although they are the creators of all wealth. This class is called the working class. The Socialists claim that a system like this has not right to exist.

The Evolution of Property.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

The bourgeois historians have invented the legend of the Revolution of 1789 bestowing the land upon the peasant, and freedom and happiness therewithal; whereas the plain truth is that the great Revolution stripped him of his rights of common and other secular rights of equal importance, delivering him up, defenceless, into the clutches of the usurers and middlemen; loading him with taxes and forcing him to enter into competition with the great landed proprietor, equipped with capital and machinery. The great bourgeois revolution was fraught with misery and ruin for the peasant. According to the official census, there were in 1857, 7,846,000 landed proprietors in France; out of these 3,600,000 were so poor that they paid no direct contributions; the number of proprietors, great or small, was consequently reduced to 4,246,000. In 1879 the various questions were ventilated of an agricultural credit, of the application to the landlords of the law of bankruptcy, of the simplification of the law of procedure in expropriations; and an inquiry was instituted to determine the number of landed proprietors entitled to a share in the famous credit. "La Republique Francaise," conducted by Gambetta, much interested in the question, stated in its issue of 25th August, 1879, that there existed in France only 2,826,000 landed proprietors, offering the necessary guarantees entitling them to a share in the credit. Thus from 1851 to 1879 the number of landed proprietors deserving of the name had dwindled to 1,420,000.

To dissipate the errors and falsehoods which the bourgeois writers have propagated respecting the status of the cultivator during the Feudal Period, and the benefits accruing to him from the Revolution, it suffices to compare the conditions of labour of the mediæval cultivator with those of the modern

agricultural labourer. The researches made by men of learning, during the last 50 years, and the numerous documents discovered in different towns and convents, enable us to institute such a comparison.

L. Delisle, in his afore-cited study of the condition of the labouring classes in Normandy, points out how the lord shared the fortune of the labourer; for the rent was based upon the harvest. For instance, the tenants of the monks of St. Julien de Tours contributed the sixth sheaf; in other parts the tenant contributed the tenth sheaf; in still others the twelfth. Now, we may rummage the bourgeois world and shall not find a landlord contenting himself with a twelfth or even a sixth of the crops gathered on his estate. These conditions were not confined to a single province, for in the south of France, at Moissac, we meet with identical ones. Enactments of 1212 and 1214 show us the monks of the Abbey of Moissac receiving only a third, a fourth, or even as little as a tenth of the crops harvested by the peasants who tilled their lands. Lagreze-Fossat, who has studied these enactments, remarks that "a mutual agreement was come to between the peasants and the monks, and the contribution of the produce demanded by the latter does not bear the character of an impost; it was debated beforehand, and freely consented to."

In the 11th and 12th centuries, when the vine was cultivated in Normandy, the landlords claimed only one half of the crops; the other half belonged to the cultivators. Nowadays, in the vine-growing countries, the peasant rarely tastes the wine he produces.

Guerard has discovered and published the account book of the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres; that precious document, which dates from the time of Charlemagne, enables us to study the lives of the serfs and peasants of the 9th century. The abbey lands were cultivated, not by individuals, but by collectivities of peasants, composed of from 20 to 30 adult persons living together, and the dues paid by them would appear ridiculously small to a modern farmer.

The abbey lands were divided into three categories, the *manse ingenuites*, the *manse liddiles*, the *manse serviles*. At that period certain qualities were inherent in the land; it was seigniorial, free, or servile; Guerard calculates that the peasants paid in labor and in kind 5s 6d per acre for the free lands, 8s 1d for the tributary lands, and 10s for the servile lands. The cultivators employed on the abbatial lands, and who, to judge from their names, were mostly Germans, attained, with their families, to the respectable figure of 10,026. The condition of these peasants, considering their great numbers, must have been the normal condition of the cultivators; and what laborer of our day, I ask, would not gladly consent to barter his bourgeois landlord of the 19th for the monk of the 9th century, and hold servile lands at the rate of 10s per acre?

The condition of the English laborer was no worse. "There is one very unpleasant remark," says Hallam in his *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, "which everyone who attends to the subject of prices will be induced to make, that those laboring in agriculture, were better provided with the means of subsistence in the reign of Edward III. or of Henry VI.

than at present. In the fourteenth century, Sir John Cullum observes, a harvest man had fourpence a day which enables him in a week to buy a comb of wheat; but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now (1784) work ten or twelve days. So under Henry VI., if meat was at a farthing-and-a-half the pound, which, I suppose, was about the truth, a laborer earning threepence a day, or eightpence in the week, could buy a bushel of wheat at six shillings the quarter, and twenty-four pounds of meat for his family. Several Acts of Parliament regulate the wages that might be paid to laborers of different kinds. Thus the Statute of Laborers in 1350 fixed the wages of reapers during harvest at threepence a day, without diet, equal to five shillings at present; that of 23 H. VI., c. 12, in 1444, fixed the reapers' wages at fivepence, and those of common workers in building at threepence-halfpenny, equal to 6s 8d and 4s 8d; that of 11 H. VII., c. 22, in 1496, leaves the wages of laborers in harvest as before, but rather increasing those of ordinary workmen. The yearly wages of a chief hind or shepherd by the Act of 1444, were £1 4s, equivalent to about £20; those of a common servant in husbandry, 18/4, with meat and drink; they were somewhat augmented by the Statute of 1496. Yet, although these wages are regulated as a maximum by Acts of Parliament, which may naturally be supposed to have had a view rather towards diminishing than enhancing the current rate, I am not fully convinced that they were not rather beyond it; private accounts at least do not always correspond with these statutory prices. And it is necessary to remember that the uncertainty of employ-

ment, natural to so important a state of husbandry, must have diminished the laborers' means of subsistence. Extreme dearth, not more owing to adverse seasons than to improvident consumption, was frequently endured. But after every allowance of this kind, I should find it difficult to resist the conclusion that, however the laborer has derived benefit from the cheapness of manufactured commodities and from many inventions of common utility, he is much inferior in ability to support a family to his ancestors three or four centuries ago."

When the French Revolution broke out in 1789 feudal property had not as yet succeeded in enfranchising itself from the manifold obligations which recalled its collectivist origin, and which prevented it from being converted into private property having the right to use and to abuse.

Secretary W. O'Connor (of the Coal Lumpers' Union), has been nominated for the Gipps Ward vacancy in the Sydney Municipal Council. The election takes place on Friday of this week, and should result in a victory for Mr. O'Connor. W.M. Daley, ex-M.L.A., is also a candidate.

Philanthropy is cheaper than restitution.—"Life."

The system that gives one man an income which he has not produced by his own labor is at the same time holding from some other man part of what he has produced.—Toilers' Defence.

In the paper working industry in India the average wage per day for men is 15 cents; women, 8 cents; and children, 3 cents. The annual output of the Titagarh mill, near Calcutta, is 14,000 tons.

The highest accident death rate among industrial workers in Great Britain is among seamen (53 per 10,000); and the death-rate of seamen in sailing vessels is three times as great as even this high ratio. The accident death-rate among seamen is five times as high as the average of the three next most dangerous occupations, mines, quarries and railroads.

The machine dreamed of by Aristotle—cunning, swift, and sure—sprang into existence, but it liberated no slave: it lifted no load from the worker. "It is doubtful," said John Stuart Mill, "whether machinery has lightened the burden of a single human being." But it has done one thing never done before—it has drawn the host of little children into the grim slavery of the profit-hunters. Remembering this fact, there are dark moments when we can see no fatherly providence in the modern use of lever and wheel and screw and pulley that lift and toy and run for us. There are darker moments when we ask whether they were not the dream of Demogogon, the enemy of man—contrivances "built in the eclipse" for man's undoing.—Edwin Markham.

A MESSAGE FROM BROKEN HILL

Barrier Socialist Propaganda Group,
Broken Hill, New South Wales, August 28, '07.

MY DEAR HOLLAND,

I am instructed by the Barrier Socialist Group to convey to you, and to the International Socialists of Sydney, our sincere and hearty desire that your candidature for the Darling Harbor seat in the New South Wales Parliament may be successful. Of this we are assured: that, whether you succeed in winning the seat for Socialism or, failing to achieve that, have perforce to leave the representation of Darling Harbor to one or other of the reactionary candidates—it matters little which!—by whom you are opposed, an excellent work will have been achieved in pushing forward true working-class political principles, and preparing the way for lasting success in the future. We earnestly hope that our fellow-workers in the Darling Harbor division will realise that their action is being watched with eagerness throughout this State, and indeed all over the Commonwealth. Nay, the election of the Socialist candidate in that constituency will find an echo in every civilised country, amongst organised, class-conscious workers the world over. The other candidates are but incidents in the ordinary hum-drum party strife of capitalist politics. What can it matter to the working-class whether the straight-out representative of capitalism on the larger scale be elected, or the small traders' political tool mis-called "Labor?"

Surely, if the workers can but see; if, in the short time which will elapse before the poll opens, they will but open their eyes, and, standing erect, take a broad and liberal view of their position, they will recognise that the ballot is useless to them unless they use it to send such men as yourself, SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVES, to voice the demands of our class in the Parliamentary strongholds of corrupt capitalism.

We are looking forward then with keen anticipation to the immediate results in Darling Harbor: and in confident certainty that ultimately our success is assured.

With fraternal greetings, Yours sincerely,

HORACE J. HAWKINS,
Hon. Sec., B.S.P.G., Broken Hill, N.S.W.

A SOCIALIST WAR SONG.

Tune—"O'Donnell Abou."

Shout, for the rage of the wronged has ascended,
Shout, for the tyrants no longer hold sway;
Shout, for the rule of the robbers is ended;
Shout, for the vengeance before us to-day.

They who ne'er pity knew
Now will have cause to rue.
Honor and hardship they made us to dree,
Helots in hunger nursed,
Slaves of their reign accursed
Stint not your vengeance till Labour is free.

Joy for the day when our standard as omen
And sign of salvation floats proudly on high;
When its grim, ruddy glare in the sun tells the foemen
Around it we've sworn to conquer or die.
Strong in our countless might,
Strong in our conscious right,
Down on their armies like waves of the sea,
On, know not break of pause,
On, in your children's cause,
Strike home and spare not till Labor is free.

The slogan is sounding, hurrah! how it gathers
The thousands from city and mountain and plain,
Who have vowed to be free in the land of their fathers,
No more to submit to the yoke and the chain,
Forward the red flag then,
On now, as valiant men,
Freedom looks on us and shouts her decree,
Deep must our vengeance smart,
Strike to the tyrant's heart,
Mercy we know not till Labor is free.

THE FIGHT FOR DARLING HARBOR.

IN Darling Harbor alone of all the N.S.W. constituencies was a fight made on Tuesday last for straight-out working-class principles. The International Socialists weighed well their action before deciding to contest the seat, and when they finally yielded to the demands of the local workers, the fight was entered upon and conducted with a spirit and determination never before carried into a Parliamentary fight in Australia. There was no pleading for votes. We stated our principles, stood on the groundwork of the Class Struggle, and, bunching our opponents as the candidates of Capitalism, we fought them uncompromisingly to the end.

Never before did any candidate or any party receive such unselfish, untiring, unremunerated help from any body of men and women workers as was given by those who fought for Socialism in Darling Harbor. Half a hundred women canvassed the electorate from end to end, delivering propagandist literature and bearing the message of Socialism to the voters; half a hundred men posted manifestoes

and handbills and posters, and painted the asphalt footpaths in the midnight hours. In this way, 15,000 propagandist leaflets were placed in the workers' homes in the electorate; 13,000 dodgers were delivered and posted, announcing various meetings; 14,000 election cards were distributed; and 1000 posters were placarded on balconies and walls and hoardings. The word Socialism was in everyone's mouth; and when polling day arrived the "red ribbon of revolt" (as the S.M. "Herald" put it) was everywhere. It fluttered conspicuously on the bright costumes of the women, and stood out in marked contrast on the sombre male attire. The magnificent drag secured by comrade Davis, and the well-groomed steeds that whirled it through the city streets, with its crowded freights of "Red Flag" voters, made with its trappings of red the most creditable turnout of the day; and on every cab and sulky plying for the Socialist cause the Red was conspicuous. All day long the vehicles plied, and the women worked, and the men too; and if the battle was eventually not won—a battle fought without compromise, and strictly on straight Socialist principles—it was through no

fault and no lack of energy or neglect of opportunity of these. We failed to capture the enemy's stronghold, it is true; but we drove in his outposts. In the previous Parliament Darling Harbor was represented by a middle-class politician standing on a pseudo-democratic platform. In the present parliament the position is still the same. But from a vote of 36 in 1901 the Socialist strength has increased to 746 in 1907—a gain of over 2000 per cent in six years!

The Socialists are never defeated. Speaking at the declaration of the poll on Tuesday, the Socialist candidate declared that, with the consent of his party, he would again enter the lists for Darling Harbor at next election, and wrest the seat from the middle-class party that now holds it.

In the Darling Harbor contest, the lies of sectarianism were started by Mr. Daley's party, and helped along by Mr. Norton in his paper on the eve of the election. Mr. Norton, mostly as the result of the boomeranging of the Daley lie, scored an almost solid church vote, and whether there is more of comedy or tragedy in that fact the his-

torian of the future must be left to say. Mr. Daley lost three-fourths of his erstwhile "Labor" vote, and received most of his support from the publican's vote. Shorn of that, his total would have been less than 500. He was the GENUINE Labor candidate; but since an "alleged" Labor candidate has scored a victory, and as the No. 2 man has fully made up his mind to sit in the caucus and "purify" its ways, the GENUINE people will undoubtedly rejoice that the seat is still held for and by middle-class interests.

In addition to the splendid work done by the coal lumpers and their wives, members of the Tailoresses' Union worked loyally and hard; Harry Scott-Bennett came from Victoria, and was a tower of strength in the campaign, with his clear grasp of the Socialist position, and his great platform ability; from Newcastle there came for the eve-of-battle meetings, Peter Bowling (the popular C.E.F. president, and a member of the S.L.P.), and W. McIlroy—an old-time warrior in the Labor movement in both N.S.W. and Victoria. Of local speakers there was quite an array.

The only money spent by the Socialists was spent on literature, hall rents, advertising, etc. Our opponents—especially the two alleged "labor" candidates revelled in an expenditure of money that seemed to have no limitations.

The result of the poll was:—

NORTON (Ind. Labor)	1696
DALEY (Labor)	1146
HOLLAND (Socialist)	746
WHATMORE (Liberal)	659
RYAN JONES (Ind. Liberal)	447
GREEN	6
Informal	168

This constitutes by a vast majority the largest vote ever polled in Australia for a Socialist candidate in a single-constituency Parliamentary election, and following on the magnificent vote recorded for E. F. Russell in the recent Port Melbourne municipal fight, it shows the advancing strength of the Australian Socialist movement.

Who is it speaks of defeat?

I tell you a cause like ours

Is greater than defeat can ever know—

It is the power of powers,

As sturdy as the world will stand,

As sure as the golden sun

Brings the great earth-verse

Must our cause be won!

The Ship Employees' award is practically a dead letter; the carmen award is impertinent; the railway and amusements employees are being made to understand that they are reckoned up as something considerably less than humans by the ruling class. And unless the unions in those trades are very willing slaves, they will see several big strikes shortly.

Campaign Fund.

Darling Harbor Election.

Previously acknowledged	£	2	s	4
Collected at Hansa Cigar Factory	25	16	6	
Collected by J. Simpson	1	15	0	
Collected by T. Nordstrom	1	6	0	
Collected by Mrs. Nordstrom	0	18	0	
Collected by Miss M. Johns	0	15	8	
Collected by W. Hodge	0	5	2	
Mrs. Henderson	1	1	6	
Collected by W. Johns	0	1	6	
Collected by Miss D. Eaton	1	17	1	
Mrs. Lee	0	6	4	
Collected by P. Pursfeldt	0	2	4	
Collected by P. Peyton	1	0	4	
Mrs. Nordstrom	2	4	6	
Mrs. D. McGarvey	0	8	0	
Collected by J.B.	0	5	4	
R. S.	0	0	4	
Mrs. Wetgrand	0	0	4	
P. Spenger	0	1	0	
S. P.	0	2	0	
W. Suss	0	2	0	
F. Busmann	0	5	0	
H. D.	0	5	0	
A. Gross	0	1	0	
T. McGarvey	0	1	0	

£49 5 9

After the declaration of the poll on Tuesday, there was a gathering of Socialists at the International Rooms, when speeches were made in favor of immediate organizing activity. Speakers were Holland, Bowling, McEly, Stuart Bennett, and Peyton. The "Red Flag" was sung, and the meeting closed with hearty cheers for Socialism.

On Wednesday evening, at the International Socialist Group meeting a special sub-committee was appointed to report to a scheme for organizing, and also re-election to be contested next election. A special meeting will be held on Monday evening next to discuss the report. All members are urged to attend.

Victoria's *Graveyard Journal* has been saying silly things concerning the Socialist candidature for Darling Harbor. The matter will be attended to in next "Review."

Special Group Meeting on Monday Night. Every Member is urged to attend.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

BOURGEOIS PROPERTY. CHAPTER V.

We have seen that landed property was originally common to the entire tribe in the shape of woodland, pasture, and even arable land; that it was converted into collective property when the clan broke up into the matriarchal or patriarchal families, and, lastly, into private property, on the disintegration of the patriarchal family, including the parents with their children, and a few supernumeraries, say the grandparents or an odd uncle or aunt who has failed in securing an establishment of his or her own, and whose inheritance is greedily coveted after.

The march of movable property has been a different one; though, starting from the commonist form, it far more rapidly arrived at the private form; even among savages, living in community, the arms and ornaments are considered as attached to the individual, and are frequently inherited with the corpse.

The instruments of labor have at all times been considered as the personal property of him who wielded them; during the periods of slavery and serfdom, the tools and the soil were surrendered to the slave or serf who used them and for whom they constituted a sort of property. Individual appropriation of the instrument of labor results from its personal character, and it owes this character to the fact that it is small, of little value, and capable of being manipulated by a single individual;

from this point of view the implementation of the artificer may be assimilated to the field of the peasant cultivator, which is small, of little value, and usable by a single individual, that is to say, cultivable by himself and the members of his family.

Landed property, as it evolved, prior to the bourgeois property, on the one hand ran into small peasant property and on the other into feudal property. Agriculture was the prime motor of this evolution. Commerce was the motor of the evolution of the property of the instruments of labor and industrial products, which, once it has attained a certain degree of development reacts, as Marx has demonstrated, on landed property, and accelerates its transformation into bourgeois property.

In the collectivist village the peasants produce all that they consume (bread, meat, flax, wool, etc.), and the artificers (smiths, weavers, tailors, etc.) are only admitted into it when their services are required. They reside, as a rule, in the outskirts of the village, and after a certain term of sojourn there, generally that of a year and a day, they obtain the right of city; are authorized to send their cattle to graze on the common pasture, and are entitled to a share in the land. At the outset these take place no exchange of products in these villages; the handicraftsmen are public functionaries in the service of the community, and are paid by an annual tribute of provisions. They only work to order; the raw materials are supplied them, and, whenever feasible, they work in the houses of their customers. When they wished to be public officials, their work was paid

in kind or by service, in the same way as the man-at-arms was paid for his work of defence. This primitive form of industrial labor persisted as long as the villages continued to be small and retained the collectivist form of landed property. The villages situated at the intersection of the roads, frequented by the caravans of travelling merchants, or near the mouths of rivers, or the seaside, were the first to undergo a change; a temporary market was established there for which the handicraftmen wrought. Wherever the artificers found means to sell their products they multiplied; instead of finding themselves repulsed or received indifferently, they were sought and welcomed. The population of the villages—transformed into towns and boroughs—composed of specialised handicraftsmen practising different crafts and standing in need of one another's services, came to establish a permanent market where the inhabitants exchanged their products and sold, during the fairs, to itinerant traders.

The character of industry then experiences a change; the artificer becomes independent of his customer. He no longer waits for the latter to supply him with the material he must work up; he buys it, and keeps a stock of it on hand; he ceases to work to order, and works only with a view to sell. To his quality of production is super-added that of trader; he buys the raw material, and sells his finished work; he enlarges his shop, and seeks the help of apprentices and journeymen, who work under his direction and side by side with him, lodging in his house and eating at his table. The fund he requires is of so modest a description

as hardly deserve the name of capital, in the sense in which Marx employs the word, even although this fund be capital in embryo.

The increase of the population in the mediæval villages forbids the access of new-comers to the communal lands, and precludes their sharing in the agrarian divisions. The village lands remained the exclusive property of the original inhabitants and their descendants, who constituted a sort of municipal aristocracy, while in the country, the exigencies of defence called into life the feudal aristocracy. The urban aristocracy has survived in certain towns of democratic Switzerland. In the Alsatia of our day these urban aristocrats have become great manufacturers.

By way of resting the despotism of the aristocrats of the towns who monopolised the land and power, the handicraftsmen organised guilds, which, in the beginning, were open to all the artificers of the locality without distinction. These guilds not only defended the craftsmen against the municipal aristocrats, but protected them against their mutual competition. The market in which they sold their wares acquired a capital importance; as it was restricted to the inhabitants of the town and the itinerant hawkers of the fairs, the corporation was bound to see that the market was not overstocked with goods. The corporations now became close, and the number of persons admitted into them, and at liberty, consequently, to open a shop in town, was limited, as was also the number of journeymen the masters might employ and wares they might turn out. In order to facilitate the quantity of and to

tender effective the supervision of the syndics of the corporations, the craftsmasters were obliged to work with open doors and windows, and sometimes in the streets. Each guild possessed its speciality, to which its members were strictly bound to adhere—e.g., the boot-makers were restricted to the making of new boots; the repairing and soles of old boots was prohibited as belonging of right to the corporation of cobblers.

A Catechism for Working-Class Children.

QUESTION: What are you?

ANSWER: A working-class man's child.

What do you mean when you say "a working-class man's child?"

My father works for wages, and is poor.

Why are the wage-workers poor?

Because they receive small wages, and therefore cannot buy all they need of the goods produced by their own labor.

Why do the wage-workers receive small wages?

Not because they do not work enough, but because the employing class take the greater portion of the wealth produced by the working class.

Do not the wage-workers get the full value of the result of their labor?

No. The workers only get a small portion of the wealth they produce. The greater portion is taken by the employing class.

Where do the wealthy obtain their riches from?

Absolutely from the workers, in the form of profits.

Is it right that a few idlers should live in luxury and have a superabundance of everything, while many who are useful workers experience want and misery all their lives?

No; it is a great injustice—a national sin.

When will this injustice disappear?

When the workers recognise their class position, and become the owners of the machinery of production and the wealth their labor creates.

When the intellectual agitator determines to stir up the public on any line of thought he at least makes himself familiar with what is fundamental, on both sides of the question. This explains why so many of the leading thinkers of all nations have become converts to the Socialist philosophy. They start out to expose the assumed fallacy of its doctrines and soon become converts to their truthfulness. There is nothing more apparent than the intense ignorance that is not "butting in" against Socialism. No honest student of fair intellectual caliber finds any falsity in the Socialist philosophy.—"Common Sense."

A man named Houghton, living in Leicestershire, England, as an immigrant four months ago, and has not been able to secure a day's work yet. He is a clerk or accountant. Caruthers' immigration crime for the capitalists will find him out yet.

The success of the trade union movement in Russia has been so great that the wages in many places have been raised in the last two years between 20 to 40 per cent.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

A notable advance in the amount paid as wages brings about a rapid increase of productive capital. The rapid increase of productive capital calls forth just as rapid an increase in wealth, luxury, social wants, and social comforts. Therefore, although the comforts of the labourer have risen, the social satisfaction which they give has fallen in comparison with these augmented comforts of the capitalist which are unattainable for the laborer, and in comparison with the general development of comforts. Our wants and their satisfaction have their origin in society; we therefore measure them in their relation to society, and not in relation to the objects which satisfy them. Since their nature is social, it is therefore relative.

As a rule then, wages are not determined merely by the amount of commodities for which they may be exchanged. They depend upon various relations.

What the labourer immediately receives for his labor is

a certain sum of money. Are wages determined merely by this money price?

In the sixteenth century the gold and silver in circulation in Europe was augmented in consequence of the discovery of America. The value of gold and silver fell, therefore, in proportion to other commodities. The labourers received for their labor the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labor remained the same, and yet their wages has fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller quantity of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the increase of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was an important increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence, corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborer still received the same sum of money for their labor as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.;

and their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Let us finally suppose that the money price of labor remains the same, while in consequence of the employment of new machinery, or on account of a good season, or for some similar reason, there is a fall in the price of all agricultural and manufactured goods. For the same amount of money the laborers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages have, therefore, risen, just because their money price has not changed.

The money price of labor, the nominal amount of wages, does not therefore fall together with the real wages, that is, with the amount of commodities that may practically be obtained in exchanged for the wages, the money price of labor or the nominal wage is not the only thing which we must keep in view

But neither the nominal wage, that is, the amount of money for which the laborer sells himself to the employer, nor yet the real wages, that is the amount of commodities which he can buy for this money, exhaust the relations

which are comprehended in the term wages.

For the meaning of the word is chiefly determined by its relation to the gain or profit of the employer—it is a proportionate and relative expression.

The real wage expresses the price of labor in relation to the price of other commodities; the relative wage, on the contrary, expresses the price of direct labor in relation to that of stored-up labor, the relative value of wage-labor and capital, the proportionate value of capitalist and laborer.

Real wages may remain the same, or they may rise, and yet the relative wages may none the less have fallen. Let us assume, for example, that the price of all the means of subsistence has fallen by two-thirds, while a day's wages have only fallen one-third, as for instance, from three to two shillings. Although the laborer has a larger amount of commodities at his disposal for two shillings that he had before for three, yet his wages are nevertheless diminished in proportion to the capitalist's gain. The capitalist's profit—the manufacturer's, for instance—has been augmented by a shilling, since for the smaller sum of exchange value which he pays to the

laborer, the laborer has to produce a larger sum of exchange value than he did before. The value of capital is raised in proportion to the value of labor. The division of social wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate. The capitalist commands a large amount of labor with the same amount of capital. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is increased; the social position of the laborer has deteriorated, and is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist.

What then is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?

They stand in inverse proportion to one another. Capital's exchange value, profit, rises in the same proportion in which the exchange value of labor, wages, sinks; and conversely. The rise in profit is exactly measured by the fall in wages, and the fall in profit by the rise in wages.

The objection may perhaps be made that the capitalist may have gained a profit by advantageous exchange of his products with other capitalists, or by a rise in the demand for his goods, whether in consequence of the open-

ing of new markets, or of a greater demand in the old markets; that the profit of the capitalist may thus increase by means of overreaching another capitalist, independently of the rise and fall of wages and the exchange value of labor; or that the profit of the capitalist may also rise through an improvement in the implements of labor, a new application of natural forces, and so on.

But it must, nevertheless, be admitted that the results remains the same, although it is brought about in a different way. The capitalist has acquired a larger amount of exchange value with the same amount of labor, without having had to pay a higher price for the labor on that account; that is to say, a lower price has been paid for the labor in proportion to the net profit which it yields to the capitalist.

Besides we must remember that in spite of the fluctuations in the price of commodities, the average price of each commodity—the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities—is determined by its cost of production. The overreaching and tricks that go on within the capitalist class therefore necessarily cancel one another

THE INEVITABLE WAR OF THE CLASSES.

In the present organization of society the character of government is determined by the political party it represents, and the party is simply the political expression of the economic interests of the class it represents. For example, the Liberal and Reform Party is essentially the party of the large and successful capitalist class. The Socialist Party is the only party that is or can be truly representative of the interests of the working class, the only class essential to society, and the class that is destined ultimately to succeed to political power, "not for the purpose of governing men," in the words of Engels, but "to administer things."

The present form of government, based solely upon private property in the means of production, is wholly coercive; in Socialism it will be purely administrative. The only vital function of the present government is to keep the exploited class in subjection by their exploiters.

State legislatures and municipal councils, as a rule, legislate wholly in the interest of the ruling capitalist class. Courts of justice, so-called, decide causes of importance, generally in the interest of the ruling class by reason of the majority of both Bench and Bar being strongly biased by the ideals of the capitalist class, of which they form a part.

Ministers of the gospel are subject to the same influence, and their sermons are moulded to serve the same purpose.

The owning class is necessarily the ruling class. It dictates legislation, and in case of doubt or controversy has it construed in its own interest. It dominates public opinion.

Less than forty years ago chattel slavery, a tragic phase in economic development as well as a necessary part of it, was a perfectly respectable institution. The southern plantation owners practically controlled the government, and even the Supreme Court of the United States was finally compelled to legalize the national iniquity.

Hundreds of able editors consecrated their talents to the perpetuation of the slave traffic. As many ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ quoted passages from the Scripture to prove that it was compelled to legalize the national iniquity.

Statesmen were its tools, journalists its servants, ministers its apologists, lawyers its lackeys, as they are to-day.

This proves that Karl Marx was right in declaring that *the economic basis of society determines the character of all social institutions*, and in proportion only as this basis changes, the institutions are modified. For instance, *chattel slavery was legal and respectable* as long as it was an *economic necessity*, and no longer. When in the march of the industrial revolution, accelerated so swiftly by the development and application of modern machinery, slavery was overthrown, it became immoral, unjust, and disreputable.

In other words, it was immoral only when it ceased, because of changed economic conditions, to be profitable to the capitalist class.

What is here said is applicable in every detail to the present wage system, in which one man is the servant and slave and at the mercy of another and in which those having antagonistic economic interests are ceaselessly at war, and this accounts for the hundreds of strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs which are continually disturbing the peace of society and reducing our vaunted civilization to a meaningless phrase.

This class struggle will not, cannot, cease. It is simply the manifestation of the law of development. All of the forces of evolution are behind it. But for this same struggle in preceding ages human beings would never have emerged from the jungles of savagery.

Through all the centuries of the past man has enslaved and preyed upon his weaker fellow-beings. For thousands of years there were lords and slaves; through all the Middle Ages Europe constituted one vast feudal empire, ruled by barons and peopled with their serfs. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, after the feudal system had run its course, its countless and long-suffering victims arose in their might and swept it from the earth. The bourgeoisie, of which the modern capitalists are the offspring, were installed into power, and under the modifications of the new system the relation between himself and the toiler was changed to the extent that he was called a wage-worker and was free to choose his own master. To-day we have capitalist masters and working slaves, who, although called sovereign citizens, are exploited of the fruit of their labor as completely under the present system as were their slavish predecessors in the dark centuries of the past. The workers have gained formal political freedom, but are still economically slaves.

The wage system, like the feudal system, from which it sprang, will fulfil its mission and pass away. Upon every hand we behold the unmistakable signs of decline and decay. Centralization is paving the way to the new society that is evolving from the present economic anarchy.

All capital, by the inexorable law of economic gravitation, will centralize in the hands of the few.

Already 80 per cent. of the American people are stripped of their possessions and constitute the dispossessed, propertyless class, whose historic mission it is finally, when concentration has completed its course, to dispossess the small possessing class in the name of the whole people.

To accomplish this, especially in the United States where all men (and all women) should have the ballot, political organization is an absolute necessity, and hence the organization of the Socialist Party to represent the interests of the working class.

The prevailing economic system can only be abolished in two ways: namely, by securing control of government or by violent revolution. No sane man prefers violent to peaceful measures, and hence Socialists rely upon the efficacy of a united class-conscious ballot to accomplish their end.

But few in number at present, comparatively speaking, their party will as certainly expand to continental and conquering proportions, strike their fetters from the workers, and proclaim their emancipation from the wages system.

The Socialist Party is necessarily a revolutionary party in the sense above indicated, and its basic demand is the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the operation of all industry in the interest of all the people. This will mean an economic democracy, the basis of the real Co-operative Commonwealth yet to be.

Economic freedom can result only from collective ownership, and upon this vital principle the Socialist Party differs diametrically from every other party. Between private ownership and collective ownership there can be no compromise. As well seek to harmonize fire and water. One produces for profit, the other for use. One produces millionaire and mendicant, the other economic equals. One gives us palaces and hovels, robes and rags, the other will secure to every man and woman the full product of his or her toil, abolish to every man and woman class distinction, secure the peace of society, and class rule, wipe out class distinction, secure the peace of society, and make of this earth for the first time a habitable sphere.—Adapted from the speech of EUGENE V. DEBS, in the "Social Democratic-Herald," Chicago.

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We are told in public print that Governor Cleveland "deplores Socialistic tendencies." This Socialist deplorer occupied the presidential chair for eight years, at a lump salary of 400,000 dollars. He retired to his princely estate at Princeton at the close of his "arduous service," having saved 6,000,000 dollars from his 400,000 dollars salary. Under Socialism such able financing would be impossible.—"Common Sense."

The superiority of the Socialist programme over other labor organisations in its scope and purpose is well illustrated in the fact that while other organisations are cut up into factions favouring some limited notion the Socialist programme favors all to the extent of standing always ready to assist them in the hour of strife and need.—"Common Sense."

The abolition of poverty is an accomplishment that all good people look forward to with a yearning hope beyond the power of language to express. They believe that poverty will be eliminated sooner or later from human experience. But when will that time come? This depends wholly upon the work-

ing people, who are largely in the majority and produce all the wealth. They have only to unite and act, and the great transition from want to universal plenty will be accomplished. It will require no guns, no warships, no police to make the change—only the united will of the great toiling hosts, that nothing can resist.—"Common Sense."

Let tyrants fear, for loud and clear
We'll raise that grand applause
When to the skies the red flag flies.

The banner of our cause.

When the soldier's thrall, himself
and all,

From off the earth we've cast:
Then the worker's pain, and the
worker's chain,

Shall live but in the past.

—P. P. Cannon.

The Socialist

A bright exponent of International
Socialism.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party
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"The Socialist" is also sold at all
meetings of the International
Socialist Group.

Other Lands

UNITED STATES.

Haywood received a tremendous ovation on his arrival at Denver, the miners and other sympathisers turning out in their tens of thousands to greet him back from death into life.

RUSSIA.

The Social-Democratic Party has issued a manifesto calling on the electors to take the most active part in the elections. They denounce the Democrats as cheering the bloody acts of the autocracy, and the Constitutional Democrats as cowards, ready to sacrifice everything for office in the near future.

SWITZERLAND.

Socialist Greulich was a candidate at a recent election to the Swiss Federal Parliament, in a constituency in the neighborhood of Zurich, comprising the communes of Horgen, Meilen and Hinwil. Greulich's vote increased from 3654 votes in 1905 to 4777 votes now—a most satisfactory progress.

The Swiss Socialist Party is to hold a special conference to decide its attitude towards the military proposals of the Government.

The Swiss Engineers' Employers' Association is very indignant because the trade unions have been so successful in boycotting certain firms. The Zurich unions have had everywhere a struggle with the employers to ensure that the official labor registry offices should be forced to make known whenever any place is boycotted by the trade unions, and the Lucerne authorities have managed to avoid making this known in the recently erected labour registry there.

GERMANY.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht is, it would seem, to be accused of high treason in consequence of his book on militarism. The Public Prosecutor has been three months trying to formulate an indictment, and has only now succeeded.

The Socialist group in the Berlin Municipal Council have put forward a demand for the creation of municipal sun and atmosphere baths, where the people can practice gymnastics in bathing costume and obtain the benefits of the sun and air on their skins.

Sydney strikers are black-listing coal lumpers who voted for Socialism in the Darling Harbor electorate. Can ex-labor member Daley explain the tactics of his supporters?

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS.

"THE Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are in the hands of individuals) leads to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the working man and his family, to the growth of wealth and idleness among the wealthy classes, to bad and inartistic workmanship, to adulteration in all its forms, and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes—wealthy millionaires confronted by an enormous mass of proletarians—the issue out of which must be either Socialism or social ruin. To avoid these evils, and to secure the more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, the Socialists propose that land and capital should become the property of society, and be managed for the general good."—"Encyclopedia Britannica."

"Let no man fear the name of Socialist. The movement of the working class for Justice by any other name would be as terrible."—Father Barry.

"Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men."—William Morris.

"Is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every-day life."—Professor Ely.

"A theory of policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is 'Every one according to his deeds.'"—"Standard Dictionary."

"Socialism is an endeavor to substitute for the anarchist struggle or fight for existence an organised co-operation for existence. It is also a distinct historical theory which accounts for the progress of man in society by the command over the forces of nature by the economical development of the power which it has of producing wealth."—H. M. Hyndman.

"The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster's Dictionary.

THE DAY IS COMING.

Come hither, lads, and hearken, for a tale there is to tell
Of the wonderful days a-coming, when all shall be better than well
And the tale shall be told of a country, a land in the midst of the sea,
And folk shall call it England in the days that are to be,
And there more than one in a thousand in the days that are yet to come
Shall have some hope of the morrow, some joy of the ancient home—
For then—laugh not, but listen to this strange tale of mine—
All folk that are in England shall be better lodged than swine.
Then a man shall work and bethinks him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand,
Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand.
Men in that time a-coming shall work and have no fear
I tell you this for a wonder that no man shall then be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap, to snatch at the work he had.
For that which the worker winneth shall then be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing by him that soweth no seed.
O strange, new, wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the gain?
For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in vain.
Then all Mine and Thine shall be Ours, and no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave.
And what wealth then shall be left us when none shall gather gold
To buy his friends in the market, and pinch and pine the sold!
Nay, what save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill,
And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till,
And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead;
And the wise men seeking out marvels, and the poet's teeming head;
And the painter's hand of wonder; and the marvellous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music; all those that do and know.
For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor shall any lack a share
Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair.
Ah! such are the days that shall be! But what of the deeds of to-day,
In the days of the years we dwell in, that wear our lives away?
Why, then, and for what are we waiting? There are three words to speak:
WE WILL IT, and what is the foeman but the dream-strong wakened and weak?
O why and for what are we waiting? while our brothers droop and die,
And on every wind of the heavens a wasted life goes by,
How long shall they reproach us where crowd on crowd they dwell,
Poor ghosts of the wicked city, the gold-crushed hungry hell?
Through squalid life they labored, in sordid grief they died,
Those sons of a mighty mother, those props of England's pride.
They are gone; there is none can undo it, nor save our souls from the curse;
But many a million cometh, and shall they be better or worse?
It is we must answer and hasten, and open wide the door
For the rich man's hurrying terror, and the slow-foot hope of the poor.
Yea, the voiceless wrath of the wretched, and their unlearned discontent,
We must give it voice and wisdom till the waiting-tide be spent,
Come, then, since all things call us, the living and the dead,
And o'er the weltering tangle a glimmering light is shed.
Come, let us cast off fooling, and put by ease and rest,
For the CAUSE alone is worthy till the good days bring the best.
Come, join in the only battle wherein no man can fail,
Where whose fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail.
Ah! come, cast off all fooling, for this at least we know:
That the Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth the Banners go.
—WILLIAM MORRIS.

Week by Week

By H.E.H.

Shop Assistants' Dilemma.

THE Shop Assistants of Sydney are in a worse dilemma than Solomon dropped into what time he concluded that nothing mattered and everything else totalled up vanity and vexation of spirit. Just before the election campaign the Shop Assistants succeeded in getting the ear of the Arbitration Court, and after a very lengthy hearing and much raking-in of fees by the lawyer element, they secured a sort of sliding-scale, weight-for-age award, which carried with it a provision that in the event of a Shop Assistant successfully living through a nine-years' apprenticeship or qualifying period in the shops of the rag-sellers and sand-and-sugar dealers of the city, he might legally put in a claim for wages amounting to 50/ for something more than 60 hours work! There were conditions—of course! He had to be "competent"; and there was to be no restriction as far as the employment of apprentices, improvers, and "non-competent" low-paid employees were concerned. The Labor Party and the Labor press pointed with glee to this as a newly-erected monument to the worth of the Social Problem. Fifty shillings for 60 hours work after nine years' apprenticeship! Some of us laughed at the enormity of it. Because this is the 20th century! Still it was an advance (on paper) on prior conditions. Now, Mark Foy, and Grace Bros., and the Master Tailors and the rest are asking the Full Court

to set the award aside—and the Shop Employees' President and the Sydney Labor Council are this week beseeching the firms concerned to withdraw from the Full Court proceedings. What the employers will do remains to be seen. But isn't it just about time the Shop Employees dropped the beseeching attitude? They might learn a lesson from the prompt manner in which the litho printers got down to business this week. They should at once intimate to all employers that the conditions already decided upon must be observed, and the case of offending firms should be met with a decisive cessation of work. The public, if systematically appealed to, would teach sweating firms a lesson they wouldn't forget too quickly. Surely the sweating rates imposed by the Court are bad enough; but if the Shop Employees are satisfied to risk the perpetuation of still worse conditions, as well as the possibility of being saddled with another load of legal costs, they might as well disband their union, and take whatever blessings in the way of reduced wages and abominable conditions the Sydney sweaters condescend to bestow upon them.

Prepaganda in the South.

At last meeting of the Colliery Employees' Federation Board of Management, the President (Peter Bowling) was granted two days' leave of absence to enable him to visit the Wollongong district, where he is to deliver an address on the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World. Our friend Bowling and his fellow-Socialists in the northern district have done splendid propaganda in this direction in the valley of the Hunter, and his

mission to the miners of the South is a step rightly taken.

Litho. Printers Don't Waste Time.

The Litho. Printers of Sydney are out on strike over a dispute re the apprenticeship question. They didn't waste any time on an appeal to capitalism as represented by the Arbitration Court or any money on legal bleeders. When all efforts to effect a settlement had failed, they just downed tools—and the strike was on. The Lithographers should win. If they are beaten, it will only be by reason of a good portion of the work hitherto done by the litho. men now being done by the Letterpress Printers. This is the great anomaly of craft and sectional unionism. It permits Capitalism to employ the workers of one trade union to defeat the workers of another trade union. Surely the members of the kindred unions will see the force of this. A joint meeting of the Lithographers, Letterpress Machinists, Typographical Association, and the Bookbinders and Paper Rulers should be called without delay, and the whole of the members of those societies should be called out of the offices where the Litho. Printers are on strike. Failing such united action, industrial unionism becomes a mockery to the workers and the laughing-stock of the capitalists. A situation like this, too, furnishes an impressive object lesson and a splendid argument for the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Judge Heydon says the Arbitration Act is not a pistol to be presented at the heads of the employers. Of course, it isn't. It is just a cunningly-devised instrument for the effective exploiting of the workers by the capitalist class.

The Swiss Employers' Association in the building trade of Basle has just sent a petition in to the Government in which the Government is asked to issue an order absolutely forbidding all picketing.

The workers in Saxony have taken up an agitation for a mass protest against the proposals of the Government for the so-called reform of the Landtag suffrage. It seems probable that the Prussian Government will introduce a similar swindle to Prussia—but in neither case are they likely to impose on any one. The Social-Democratic press is too much on the alert and their influence too great to allow of that.

Civilisation has been having a particularly good time in Morocco recently. A French warship—the "Gallilee" (nice name that for a man-of-war)—has been bombarding an open town, Casablanca. The shells exploded beautifully, a few hundred Moors were slain, and the town destroyed. If after that the Moors are not convinced of the great advantages of Western civilization, they must indeed be a stubborn lot.—"Justice."

Meeting, Domain, Sunday 3

Other Lands

INDIA.

On Thursday week an imposing demonstration of National Volunteers took place at Calcutta, including one small section of mounted men. While the demonstrators were assembling it was discovered that a police squad were searching the office of the "Yugantar" for "incriminating" documents, whereupon about 30 volunteers, armed with sticks, made a descent, soundly thrashing the police spies, two of whom were injured.

The sentence of Babu Bhapendra Nath Dutt, the editor of the "Yugantar," was *hard labor* for twelve months, and the *Sadhana* printing press was confiscated.

BRITAIN.

J. E. Williams, a veteran Socialist with a 30 years' record, was recently pounced upon by a policeman, who charged him with being drunk. Williams protested that he was sober, the divisional (official) surgeon swore he was not drunk, and Dr. Langin Brown, one of the greatest living authorities on alcoholism and narcosis proved that Williams could not have been drunk when arrested and two hours later in the state of sane capability deposed to by the Government surgeon. The magistrate preferred to disbelieve the doctors, and inflicted a fine! Williams reckons that he's been made to pay for being a Socialist.

HOLLAND.

Dr. van den Brink (a Catholic priest) has been elected to the

Breda Gemeinderak as a Socialist representative.

AUSTRIA.

Now that manhood suffrage has been obtained for the Federal Reichsrath, a vigorous agitation is being developed to get the same for the individual Landtags.

The six weeks' strike in the woollen factories at Bruenn resulted in a considerable increase in wages and the reduction of the hours to 58½ per week.

DENMARK.

A congress of women servants recently held in Copenhagen and attended by 15 delegates, resolved to ask the Government to enforce the law forbidding mistresses to employ their servants after 7 p.m. on ordinary days, or 2 p.m. on Sundays.

FRANCE.

The printers' trade unions held an international congress in Paris a week or so ago. The printers' trade unions of France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Italy, Luxemburg, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Portugal were represented. Two British trade unions, the London Society of Compositors and the Scotch Printers' Union, were also represented, though as they have not yet joined the international organisation they had no vote.

The Dock Labourer's Union has demanded of the shipping firms trading with Belfast an all-round advance in wages, with increased rates for overtime and Sunday work.

The "Labor" Boycott.

That it would be interesting to know on what qualifications the municipal valuers were chosen.

That the appointment of Sherlock was a wise one, as his previous work was entirely satisfactory, and his experience should not be lost.

That for exactly the same reasons applicant Hawkins should have been appointed.

That the opportunity for the re-appointment of two valuers who were so conspicuously successful last year should not have been missed.

That an abler valuer than Hawkins could not be found.

That ability for the work should be the only question for consideration.

That if any Labor aldermen voted against Hawkins on purely political grounds, such a reason is inexcusable.

That "spoils to the victors" is not a high standard of morality.

That Labor men should not practise the vice they condemn in others.—(Extracted from "Barrier Truth," official organ of the Labor Party in Broken Hill, 13.9.07.)

A FEW weeks ago we published and commented upon the scandalous and cowardly invitation which appeared in the Broken Hill capitalist daily paper to boycott our comrade Hawkins—an attack which was followed by loss of his employment. Now the Municipal Council of Broken Hill—consisting of eight "labor" aldermen out of 12—has given serious cause for suspicion that it is biased in its appointments by corrupt and partisan motives.

In the early part of this year Mr. Hawkins was appointed one of the Broken Hill municipal valuers, and, with a colleague, made the most successful valuation that town has experienced. Nearly £1200 extra revenue—an all-round rise of about 10 per cent. in rates—was obtained, yet there was a minimum of appeals, and none of these were successful, the total reduction of rates on appeal being

£2, and this amount being altered at the request of the valuers in consequence of clerical errors!

Such a result conclusively proved that in both men the Council had secured competent and valuable officers. Mr. Hawkins, however, made—from both capitalist and "labor" points of view—a great mistake after the conclusion of his work. He published, in "Barrier Truth," an exhaustive and able summary of the values and rating of different classes of property in Broken Hill; he exposed the inequitable incidence of rating, proving that the larger capitalists, in ascending grades, paid successively less in proportion to their income than the poorer ratepayers. He exposed the shameful overcrowding in Broken Hill, and the "respectable" financiers of prostitution, and finally wound up the tale of his iniquity by attacking the local labor members, Cann and Griffith, for not having called public attention to the disgracefully inadequate provisions of the new Municipal Act as regards the rating of mines.

Since then, the Socialist Federation has been formed. The coal lumpers' lock-out has occurred, and our comrade has publicly denounced the Labor Party for their treachery in connection therewith. Finally, the Darling Harbor election has been fought for Socialism, and, of course, with the support of the Broken Hill Socialists. This latter event filled up the cup of the Laborites.

Consequently, when on September 10th the Broken Hill Council met to appoint valuers to make a fresh valuation under the new Act, our friend and comrade received—ONE vote! Two members of the small middle class—the class whom the "Labor" Party really

represents—were appointed, one a house-agent, bailiff, and debt collector, the other an architect. Needless to say, both these gentlemen depend for business upon their friendly relations with the property owning class whose property they have to assess for rating!

Such is "Labor" administration! Apparently our comrade was appointed in January last in the hope that his material interests would thus attach him definitely to the "Label" party. This failing, despite his proven competence, he is passed over—for it is necessary to punish these audacious proletarians who dare to voice the real interests of the working class, and who refuse to submit to the middle-class element who have crept into and now dominate the misnamed Labor Party.

The "labor" boycott is added to the capitalist boycott, for the smaller capitalists are at one with the bigger exploiters as against the working class and their genuine spokesmen, the Socialists.

How long will the working-class element in the "Labor" party allow themselves to be deluded by the mere LABEL "Labor" into being used as voting cattle by the middle-class political tricksters who thus penalise independence of thought and class-conscious action or the part of workers?

Wake up, working men and women, study Socialism, and organise politically and industrially for the Socialist Commonwealth.

"Give us this day our Daley Blackleg" seems to have become the motto of at least one Sydney stevedoring firm since the disaster of September 10.

In Freedom's name now march we
out
To face the stormy weather;
And man for man in triumph
shout
Our battle-hymn together.
Then let our hearts be lifted high,
Our hands to heaven extended,
And man for man give forth our
cry—
"Our slavery shall be ended."

The International Socialist movement in Sydney is making rapid progress.

Ten thousand times has the working-class movement stumbled and fallen and bruised itself, and risen again; been seized by the throat, and choked and clubbed into insensibility; enjoined by courts, assaulted by thugs, charged by the militia, shot down by regulars, traduced by the press, frowned upon by public opinion, deceived by politicians, threatened by preachers, repudiated by renegades, preyed upon by parasites, infested by spies, deserted by cowards, betrayed by traitors, bled by vampires, and sold out by leaders; but notwithstanding all these, it is today the most vital and potential power this planet has ever known, and its historic mission of emancipating the workers of the world from the thralldom of ages is as certain of ultimate realisation as the setting of the rising sun.—E. V. Debs.

Charity (says an exchange) is only a narcotic to a pain-racked patient. It does not touch the disease.

Australia, the land of the golden fleecers.—Q. "Worker."

Special Socialist Meeting, Sydney Domain, Sunday afternoon.

The Mayor of Newtown And the International Socialists.

On Tuesday evening last the International Socialist Group commenced its propaganda work in earnest.

A number of comrades journeyed to Newtown Bridge, and, although the meeting had not been advertised, a splendid crowd assembled as soon as the chairman (Price) called the meeting to order.

After the chairman, in a few well-chosen remarks had intimated the object of the gathering, Scott Bennett took the platform, and expounded at some length the principles of modern Socialism. The difference between Reform and Revolution was pointed out, and the antagonism existing between the working class and the capitalist class dwelt upon. The speaker then dealt with the question of Trades Unionism in relation to Socialism, and clearly showed the weakness of present-day sectional unionism. The position taken up by the Industrial Workers of the World was then explained, and the need of combined action upon revolutionary lines insisted upon.

Angus McDonnell (who is on a visit from Melbourne) followed, and subjected the capitalist system to a severe handling.

Just as the last-named speaker was in the middle of his address, a member of the police force made his appearance, and stated that he had orders from the Mayor to stop the proceedings immediately. Upon being asked if it were not the rule for meetings to be held upon the spot occupied by the Socialists, the agent of law and order was understood to reply that a permit had first to be obtained.

Upon this point there appears to be a considerable amount of doubt, as we have been informed that meetings of a similar nature have been held at the bridge without any permission being asked or granted.

In any case, next Saturday night will see the Socialists at the same spot, and with the same message—that of Revolutionary Socialism—to deliver to the working class.

It was very evident, at the conclusion of the proceedings that the Socialists had the sympathy of the large crowd assembled, and something like an indignation meeting of local residents was in progress as the Socialists left.

Notwithstanding the police interference, the meeting was a distinct success, and the interest displayed by the audience in the remarks of the speakers was distinctly encouraging from a propagandist point of view.

As has already been intimated, consistent propaganda work is the order of the day. The Group hopes to be shortly in a position to announce that it has secured a large hall where Sunday evening lectures explanatory of Socialist philosophy will be delivered.

GREAT
**SOCIALIST
MEETING**
Newtown Bridge
THIS
Saturday Evening.

The Socialist Movement in Germany.

By VICTOR KREMER.

Since I have been in Germany I have had a few opportunities of studying the Socialist movement here, and I have found it to be a real live movement, one that is making rapidly for the emancipation of the proletariat from the shackles of Capitalism, and rapidly bringing us to the time when Liberty and Freedom shall be the rightful heritage of all.

In Germany the Socialist movement has the organised trades unions at its back, and therefore it is the only working-class movement in the Fatherland, as distinct from Australia and Great Britain, where the Labor Party and Socialist Parties are distinct and separate entities and do not always work in harmony.

But in Germany the adoption of the Socialist programme by the Trade Unions has made them militant Socialist bodies, instead of compromising milk-and-water bodies that exist for the purpose of being defeated at every turn, and generally making themselves mats at the feet of the ruling class.

And the result of the adoption of the Socialist programme

is apparent at once, for it enables, in the first place, the Socialist party in Germany to run about eighty daily papers in their own interests, this being a powerful instrument in their hands for the propagation and development of Socialist principles.

Everywhere one sees large printing offices at the headquarters of the Socialist parties in the various German towns, and it is indeed an eye-opener to one who has only been used to a small movement like the Australian one—at present, but let us hope that very soon the Australian movement also will grow to very large proportions and develop along the lines of the German movement, with the addition of characteristics essentially Australian, to suit the Australian people.

Owing to the strength of the Socialist movement in Germany the Government is finding that it is wisest to let it take its course, and year after year they are dropping more and more of their offensive measures, not because they want to, but because the movement itself is too strong to interfere with, hence they find it better to leave it alone.

Another thing that strikes one emphatically is the great comradeship that exists

amongst the Socialists and the workers generally. Their trade unions are not only for the purpose of keeping up wages, etc., but are sick-benefit societies and unemployed insurance offices combined.

This is a lesson that might well be adopted by the Australian Socialist Federation.

Then at their headquarters they have in almost every place established an hotel-restaurant, where all kinds of eatables and drinkables may be obtained at moderate as well as high prices, and hence they make of their head-quarters a kind of home for the members. Also they have beds and board and lodging at moderate prices and in every way look after all the bodily wants of the members. All or most of the trade-unions meet at the headquarters, and the secretaries' offices are situated on the premises, and thus the headquarters of the party become the rendezvous of all the organised workers in the various towns in Germany, and they also have large book-stalls or book-shops in various places where Socialist literature may be purchased.

Co-operation is encouraged to a large extent, though not to such an extent as in Belgium. However, in every way the worker is encouraged

to spend his pocket money and wages through the Party rather than through outside sources, and when he is out of work through sickness or otherwise, then he gets at least an existence wage out of the Party again returned to him. In this way the individual worker is guaranteed against starvation through unemployment, and against the lack of necessary comforts during sickness.

Therefore, all round, the Socialist movement of Germany is a wonderful movement in every way, and it has many lessons to teach the Australian Socialist Federation in their efforts to organise the Australian workers on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Stuttgart, 15th August, 1907.

The French Socialist Congress is being held at Nancy, and is remarkable for the attendance of a delegate from Metz, who delivered a most interesting speech, pointing out how the workers had everything to gain from peace, and how the Socialist Party, as shown by the action of Bebel and Liebknecht in 1870, had been opposed to the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine after the war of 1870.

Britain's Brutal Rule in India.

LONDON "Justice" prints the following:—We fear that the character of the Regulation III. of 1818, under which Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh have been deported from the Punjab to Burma, without trial, is not generally understood in these islands. The following short extracts from the Regulation itself will show:—"Whereas, reasons of State . . . render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding," etc. These latter words alone show the utter lawlessness, from the democratic standpoint, of such a regulation. Not sufficient ground to institute judicial proceedings—then imprisonment the troubler, the agitator; and if he happen to possess estates, they are to be placed under the temporary management of the authorities, "without having recourse to any judicial proceedings." "Good or sufficient reasons" of the Governor-General are all that are required! Without preferring a charge, actually because of insufficient ground for the bringing of a charge, Lajpat Rai has been seized,

and is being held in duration while Mr. Morley, the lineal descendant of those who fought for the right of habeas corpus in this country, glosses over this glaring infraction of traditional personal liberty under British rule, and takes cover under a cloud of mystery. Not only should these two Indians be released, but such a Regulation as this of 1818 should be taken out of the hands of a Governor-General or anybody else, and its abolition should be called for. Not even the Russian Czar could desire a more completely despotic power than that which the Regulation gives.

Arrangements have been made for H. Scott-Bennett to remain in Sydney as organiser for the International Socialist movement, which is making gratifyingly rapid progress just now.

The Internationals held a successful meeting at Miller's Point on Wednesday night. P. Peyton (chairman), Angus Macdonnell, Scott-Bennett, T. Byrne (Newcastle district), Peter Bowling, and H. E. Holland were the speakers.

Socialist Meetings, Sunday:—Coogee, 11 a.m.; Domain, 3; Miller's Point, 7.30 p.m.

I. W. W.

Industrial Expression of the Socialist Federation of Australasia.

PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organisation of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth, and the centring of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands, make trades unionism unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed, and the interests of the working class upheld, only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the constitution of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Commenting on the Darling Harbor contest, Sydney "Truth" says that among those working for Mr. Holland "were many women, young and old, married and unmarried. They wore their candidate's colors bravely, and it was certainly no fault of theirs, nor of Mr. Holland's men's supporters either, that the Socialist standard-

bearer did not get in." . . . "Among other means adopted for getting people to the poll were two big buses. The crack turn-out of the day, however, was a four-horse drag run in the interests of the Hollanders. The drag itself was spick and span, the horses were of uniform size and color and full of mettle, and in addition both horses and vehicle were most gaily decorated with rosettes and streamers of bright red ribbon. A pretty and inspiring sight, indeed, did the turn-out present! Of course, this was, in the eyes of the Socialists, even more so the case when, from time to time, the horses came prancing up, with a load of from 15 to 25 electors to record their votes for Mr. Holland. The arrival of the drag on such occasions as these was the signal for cheer after cheer, not only from the Hollandites around the polling booth, but even from a number of supporters of the other candidates, who could not help admiring the turn-out and the plucky fight the Socialists seemed determined to make of it."

The Socialist

A bright exponent of International Socialism.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Victoria.

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Sydney Agency:

The International Socialist Club,
274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

"The Socialist" is also sold at all meetings of the International Socialist Group.

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

Improvements in machinery and new applications of natural forces to the service of production enable them to turn out in a given time with the same amount of labor and capital a larger quantity of exchange value. If by the application of the spinning-jenny I can turn out twice as much thread in an hour as I could before its invention; for instance, a hundred pounds instead of fifty, that is because the cost of production has been halved, or because at the same cost I can turn out double the amount of product.

Finally in whatsoever proportion the capitalist classes—the bourgeoisie—whether of one country or of the market of the whole world—share among themselves the net profits of production, the total amount of these net profits always consists merely of the amount by which, taking all in all, direct labor has been increased by means of stored-up labor. The sum total increases, therefore, in the proportion in which labor aug-

ments capital; that is, in the proportion in which profits rise and falls compared with wages.

Thus we see that even if we confine ourselves to the relation between capital and wage-labor, the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor.

A rapid increase of capital is equal to a rapid increase of profits. Profits can only make a rapid increase, if the exchange value of labor—the relative wage—makes an equally rapid decline.

The relative wage may decline, although the actual wage rises along with the nominal wage, or money price of labor; if only it does not rise in the same proportion as profit. For instance, if when trade is good, wages rise five per cent., and profits, on the other hand, thirty per cent., then the proportional or relative wage has not increased, but declined.

Thus if the receipts of the laborer increase with the rapid advance of capital, yet at the same time there is a widening of the social gulf which separates the laborer from the capitalist, and also an increase in the power of capital over labor and in the dependence of labor upon capital.

The meaning of the statement that the laborer has an interest in the rapid increase of capital is merely this: the faster the laborer increases his master's dominion, the richer will be the crumbs that he will get from his table; and the greater the number of laborers that can be employed and called into existence, the greater will be the number of slaves of which capital will be the owner.

We have thus seen that even the most fortunate event for the working class, the speediest possible increase of capital, however much it may improve the material condition of the laborer, cannot abolish the opposition between his interests and those of the bourgeois or capitalist class. Profit and wages remain just as much as ever in inverse proportion.

When capital is increasing fast, wages may rise, but the profit of capital will rise much faster. The actual position of the laborer has improved but it is at the expense of his social position. The social gulf which separates him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally, the meaning of fortunate conditions for wage-labor, and of the quickest possible increase of productive capital, is merely this: The faster the working classes en-

large and extend the hostile power that dominates over them the better will be the conditions under which they will be allowed to labor for the further increase of bourgeois dominion and for the wider extension of the power of capital, and thus contentedly to forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeois drag them in its train.

But are the increase of productive capital and the rise of wages so indissolubly connected as the bourgeois economists assert? We can hardly believe that the fatter capital becomes the more will its slave be pampered. The bourgeoisie is too much enlightened, and keeps its accounts much too carefully, to care for that privilege of the feudal nobility, the ostentation of splendour in its retinue. The very conditions of bourgeois existence compel it to keep careful accounts.

We must therefore inquire more closely into the effect which the increase of productive capital has upon wages.

With the general increase of the productive capital of a bourgeois society a manifold accumulation of labor force takes place. The capitalists increase in number and in power. The increase in the number of capitalists increas-

the competition between capitalists. Their increased power gives them the means of leading into the industrial battle field mightier armies of laborers furnished with gigantic implements of war.

The one capitalist can only succeed in driving the other off the field and taking possession of his capital by selling his wares at a cheaper rate. In order to sell more cheaply without ruining himself he must produce more cheaply, that is, he must heighten as much as possible the productiveness of labor. But the most effective way of making labor more productive is by means of a more complete subdivision of labor, or by the more extended use of machinery. The more numerous the departments into which labor is divided, and the more gigantic the scale in which machinery is introduced, in so much the greater proportion does the cost of production decline, and so much the more fruitful is the labor. Thus arises a manifold rivalry among capitalists with the object of increasing the subdivision of labor and machinery, and keeping up the utmost possible progressive rate of exploitation.

Now, if by means of a greater subdivision of labor, by the

employment and improvement of new machines, or by the more skilful and profitable use of the forces of nature, a capitalist has discovered the means of producing a larger amount of commodities than his competitors with the same amount of labor, whether it be stored-up labor or direct—if he can, for instance, spin a complete yard of cotton in the time his competitors take to spin half a yard—how will this capitalist proceed to act?

He might go on selling half a yard at its former market price; but that would not have the effect of driving his opponents out of the field and increasing his own sale. But the need of increasing his sale has increased in the same proportion as his production. The more effective and more expensive means of production which he has called into existence enable him, of course, to sell his wares cheaper, but they also compel him to sell more wares and to secure a much larger market for them. Our capitalist will therefore proceed to sell his half a yard of cotton cheaper than his competitors.

(To be Continued.)

Calumnies are sparks which, if you do not blow them, will go out for themselves.—Boerhaave.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

BOURGEOIS PROPERTY. CHAPTER V.

The right of sale was no less jealously protected than that of production; at the fairs the seller was only allowed to accost the buyer as he passed in front of the stall; once he had stepped beyond it the seller had forfeited the right to call him back, or to offer him goods for sale, for he now pertained to the owner of the neighboring stall. These multiplex and minute regulations attest the importance already acquired by the market, the expansion of which was, at a later date, to transform the mode of production and the correlative social relations.

In handicraft production lay this inherent contradiction: if the handicraftsman was a synthetic laborer, combining in his person the intellectual and manual functions of his handicraft, production and the instrument of production were on the contrary, scattered over the land. Every province, every borough and town, every seignorial domain and peasant farmstead, produced the food and other necessities of life required by its inhabitants, selling only what was superfluous, and

buying only a few articles of luxury. As they imported none of the articles of consumption, the mediæval towns and provinces were economically independent, and, as a consequence, able to live in a state of isolation; they formed so many distinct petty States, habitually at war with one another.

The economic theory which corresponded to this dispersion of production tended to promote their independence. The agriculturists, who were the economic theoreticians of the feudal epoch, advised the landed proprietor to produce all on his own domain, so as to have nothing to purchase outside its limits, and we have seen that in the manors of the feudal lords there existed workshops for manufacturing all and everything, not excepting arms.

That theory remained valid long after the phenomena which had given rise to it had disappeared. When, in the 16th century, the silk industry was imported into France from Italy, the royal policy, instead of concentrating it in the locality in which it had a chance of success, disseminated it over the provinces. Attempts were made to rear the silk worm in countries in which it was difficult if not impossible to cultivate the

mulberry-tree, on the leaves of which it feeds. During the Revolution in 1789 it was sought to acclimatise the cotton-plant, to avoid having to buy it abroad; and it was the desire to shake off the tribute paid to the colonies by the purchase of the sugar-cane which led to the discovery of the saccharine properties of the beetroot.

When the warfare between castle and castle abated, owing to the disappearance of the vanquished, whose lands were engrossed by the victor, and there ensued a greater security of the highways, commercial intercourse between the different provinces became possible and great centres of handicraft production sprang up. The city of Ghent, which manufactured cloths from wool imported chiefly from England, possessed in the 14th century a population of upwards of half-a-million inhabitants. The development of commerce shook the social organisation of the feudal city.

In the towns which prospered industrially, the guildmasters of handicrafts developed into close corporations the freedom of which was obtainable only by the privilege of birth, money or royal favor, or else—unless one chanced to be a son or relation of the

guildmaster—by serving a long term of apprenticeship; it was necessary to pay for learning the handicraft, for the right of exercising it, and again on being made free of the trade. The guildmasters excluded a number of artificers who no longer worked on their own account, but in the workshops of their masters. Heretofore the handicraftsman could hope to become a master and a shop-keeper in his turn; but in proportion as commerce and industry were developed the men lost all prospect of this; shut out from the incorporated trades and at enmity with the masters who employed them, they formed vast associations of journeymen which were at once national and international, whereas the guilds of the masters were essentially local. The masters, enriched by the development of production, allied themselves with the municipal aristocrats in order to cope with the apprentices and journeymen, who on several occasions were set on and supported by the feudal nobility, jealous of the growing municipal aristocracy. All the industrial towns of the Middle Ages were stained with blood by the conflicts between journeymen and craftsmasters.

(To be continued.)

THE NINETY-AND-NINE.

There are ninety and nine who live and die
In want, and hunger, and cold,
That one may revel in luxury
And be wrapt in the silken fold—
The ninety and nine in the hovel bare;
The one in a palace, with riches rare.

They toil in the field, the ninety and nine,
For the fruits of our mother earth;
They dig and delve in the dusky mine
And bring the rich treasure forth—
And the wealth released by their sturdy blows
To the hands of the one forever goes.

By the sweat of their brows the deserts bloom
And the forest before them falls;
Their labor has builded stately homes
And cities with lofty walls.
The one owns houses and cities and lands;
The ninety and nine have empty hands.

THE NEW TIME.

I sing the song of the glad New Time:
Born of a love and a joy sublime—
Out from the gloom of the dusky past,
Down through the arches hurrying fast,
Blossoming out in a grand delight,
Heralding morn and proclaiming light!

Such is the hope of the burdened soul,
Such is the destiny long foretold—
Freedom and happiness leading the way,
Followed by toilers in bright array,
Singing the glad some carol of peace,
"Labor shall prosper and greed shall cease!"

Down from the ashes and dust of the past,
The triumph of ages is hastening fast.

Week by Week

By H.E.H.

"One Step Enough for Me."

COMMENTING in Victoria "Socialist" on Mr. J. C. Watson's recent utterances concerning the attitude of his party towards Socialism, Tom Mann writes:—"Most truly does Mr. Watson deserve the reputation he has gained, and probably delights in, that he is a 'safe man,' his endorsement of a Socialist ideal notwithstanding. He leaves the capitalist and capitalist system perfectly safe and enduring, as far as Mr. Watson is concerned. In his speech there is an utter lack of any great and inspiring principles, there is a complete absence of daring initiative, there is no glorious hope held out to the down-trodden and the afflicted, nothing but the dull tinkling of a cowbell in the fog, saying faintly:—

Lead thou me on! I do not ask to see
The distant scene—one step enough for me!"

Prendergast never asked More than That.

Victorian "Labor Call" tells its readers:—

That Dr. Dill Macky has become a howling Socialist.

That he told the Protestant boys at Rozella last week "that the time must come when the workers will receive a fair share of what they have earned, by means of a distribution of all profit over a fair interest on the capital invested."

That Prendergast never asked more than that.

When the "Labor Call" says that Mr. Prendergast never asked more than that, it of course means Mr. Prendergast in his official capacity of leader of the middle-class politicians known as Vic. Labor Party; and the spectacle of Dill Macky and

"Prendy" joining hands in a great revolutionary demand that the workers shall "receive a fair share of what they have earned, by means of a distribution of all profit over a fair interest on the capital invested," may yet stagger Australian humanity, and send a horde of shrieking capitalists out of this blighted country at express speed, with their mills and mines, their mansions and landed estates, and their other vested interests, packed securely in their portmanteaus.

For what security will there be for Capital in Australia if Dill Macky and Prendy rashly proclaim that Capital must be restricted to a fair interest on its invested quantity?

Of course, there are impossibilists—like the International Socialists—who reckon that when the worker comes to his senses he'll want more than a "fair share" of what he has earned; he'll want the whole bally lot; and in his economic vocabulary there won't be any room for the words Profit and Interest and Capital.

On Thursday of last week, H. J. Hawkins left Broken Hill for Adelaide, en route for Sydney. He comes to seek a living in the metropolis, the "labor" people having successfully joined with the capitalist element in boycotting him out of a chance to make a living in the silver city. He will arrive during the present week, and will prove a great acquisition to the Socialist forces in Sydney, where, it is needless to say, his welcome will be an enthusiastic one.

Coal Lumpers and Non-Unionists.

The non-unionists who, traitorously deserting their class during the recent lock-out, went to work as blackleg coal-lumpers, are now reaping the reward of their perfidy. Regardless of all principle, and without the exercise of even ordinary forethought for their own interests, many of them left their ordinary employment (not to rush to the rescue of the employing class, as they now bitterly assert), but for the purpose of securing the comparatively high wages then offering for "scab" labor. For the blackleg element things worked smoothly enough so far as the employers were concerned while no other labor was available. The employers were prepared to pay dearly for any sort of incompetent labor in order to keep work going. Now, that the unionists are back at work, the employers haven't any further use for the weaklings and the incompetent men among the non-unionists, who are gradually being sent about their business. The stronger men among them have invariably been given preference over the union men, and this fact, coupled with the bitter memory of the traitorism of the non-unionists, has brought to a head the marked disinclination of the union men to

work alongside of those whom they regard as the tools and agents of the Employers' Combine. How it will end remains to be seen; but a fact to be remembered for all time is this: But for the "expediency" tactics and middle-class attitude of certain "labor leaders," the lock-out would have terminated in a way that would have left no necessity for a situation such as that which has now arisen.

What of the Carters?

What of the carters? That is a question a great many Sydney carters are asking themselves. In all Australia no body of workers suffer under worse sweating conditions or heavier working disabilities than they. Their plan to strike on polling-day would have proved a master stroke. But the inevitable politician rushed to the scene, and got in some fine work, with the "gratifying" result from a capitalist viewpoint) that, whatever else happened, the strike was averted. And the sweating and slave-driving still goes on. When the middle-class politician comes into an industrial fight, he invariably weakens the workers' side by his expediency tactics, and in due time he breaks the fighting spirit of the men, and passes them over—beaten and broken—on terms that gladden the hearts of the sweaters.

Socialism in Sydney

ORGANIZEE'S COLUMN.

POLICE interference with Socialist meetings appears to be the order of the day in Sydney just now. Closely following upon the first Newtown episode, Comrades Scott-Bennett and Price had their names taken at Redfern for daring to preach Socialism in the streets. If Bumbledom imagines that Socialist propaganda is to be stopped by tactics of the kind mentioned above, it is sadly mistaken indeed!

Following on the mayoral order to close the Newtown meeting on Tuesday evening of last week, H. Scott Bennett and H. E. Holland were appointed by general meeting to interview the Newtown Mayor. On Friday last, they saw that gentleman, Mr. Harold T. Morgan, at his city office, and were informed that no special set was being made against the Socialists, but that in future all meetings on the Bridge would be prohibited. The Mayor suggested that the Socialists should hold their meetings in Australia-street, and to this the delegates assented, on condition that no other meetings were held on the Bridge. They pointed out that if other bodies were permitted to speak on the Bridge they would speak there also.

On Saturday evening the Socialist meeting was accordingly held in Australia-street. Notwithstanding the mayoral assurance, a religious meeting was permitted to be held on the Bridge.

H. Scott-Bennett opened the meeting for the Internationalists, the audience being a fairly large one. The speaker, in a three-quarters-of-an-hour speech, kept his listeners deeply interested while he dissected the present system of capitalist exploitation, explained the working-class position, and exhorted the men and women of the working-class to abandon the politics and methods of the Australian middle-class for a straight-out working-class attitude.

Scott-Bennett was followed by H. E. Holland, who, suffering still from the effects of the Baring Harbor campaign, had difficulty in making himself heard. He was occasionally interrupted by an excited individual who declared that the speaker's statements were all false and should be challenged; that he (the inter-jector) was a loyal subject

of King Edward, and that whereas King Edward reigned there was liberty and peace and plenty. In due time the inter-jector was gently led away, and the speaker continued.

Angus McDonnell came next, and was in the middle of a rattling speech, when King Edward's loyal subject returned to the attack, and endeavored to upset the meeting. For some time two police officers—a sergeant and constable—stood quietly by, made no effort to quieten the disturbance, and eventually, when the loyal one had become exceedingly boisterous, the sergeant seized his way forward, and ordered the meeting to close, on the grounds that "a disturbance was being created." He threatened that the meeting continued the speaker's name would be taken.

The interference of the police was deeply resented by the crowd, and Scott-Bennett announced that the meeting would go on, in order to give the police an opportunity to vindicate their action in a court of law. It spoke for about ten minutes, and was again followed by Holland and McDonnell.

A number of persons in the audience volunteered to give evidence in favor of the Socialists in the event of the police taking action.

The meeting, however, concluded without the speakers' names being taken.

Comrades are again reminded that the Economic Class meets at 274 Pitt-street, Sydney, every Wednesday evening, from 8 to 10. Already a large number have signified their intention of taking up the matter earnestly, an example that we hope will be followed by many more.

We hope to be able to make a definite announcement next week concerning Sunday evening lectures. It is proposed to make these gatherings educational and attractive. Lectures upon Socialism and Science in its relation to Socialism will be delivered, and a high-class musical program arranged.

The Executive of the Socialist Federation will meet shortly, when many matters of importance to the movement will be discussed. A start is to be made in the matter of producing pamphlets for propaganda purposes, and comrades will, we feel sure, see that they are widely circulated.

Scott-Bennett will speak in the Domain next Sunday afternoon, taking for his subject, "During Questions of the Day."

Industrial Unrest.

In the ranks of the railway and tramway workers in New South Wales there is great dissatisfaction owing to the tyrannical conditions re political action imposed by the Carruthers administration.

The Litho. Printers are still on strike, while the union typographers and machinists remain at work for the firms who are fighting the lithomen; and, as we pointed out last week, in a number of cases the work which the lithographers have refused to do is being done by the union typos. and letterpress machinists. It suits the employing class to use one set of organized workers to bring about the defeat of another set of organized workers. "Strike together!" has got to be the motto of the future, and the workers who fail to adopt it will run a serious risk of being left out in the capitalistic wet when the lightning flame and hail of the inevitable industrial storm breaks upon us.

The greatest unrest is developing in the ranks of the Shop Assistants, whose recently-secured Arbitration Court award is, so far, an award in name only. By an immediate and united cessa-

tion of work in all establishments fighting against the new arrangement, the Shop Assistants might easily secure something better than the brutal and slavish conditions they have worked under for so many years. They pinned their faith to the capitalistically-dominated Arbitration Court, and they can't even secure the observance of the improved sweated rates and conditions the Court has seen fit to impose. The employers having refused to abide by the judicial decision of the members of their own class who compose the Arbitration Court, the workers' answer should be given, not at the bar of the Full Court or the High Court or any other court, but on the industrial battlefield. Short notice to enter into an agreement to observe the new conditions should be served on all metropolitan establishments concerned, and failing satisfaction the order should be immediate cessation of work and systematised aggressive methods against offending firms. And then quick march into line with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Sydney Coal Lumpers' Union at a recent meeting, unanimously adopted the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Labor Misrepresentation

THE misrepresentations of capitalist papers furnish continuous grounds for complaint by the "labor" people, but the official organs of the Labor Party in Australia are easily able to out-distance the others when it becomes a matter of circulating deliberate mis-statements concerning the Socialist movement. Vic. "Labor Call" in a recent issue furnishes a case in point in referring to the Darling Harbor election. The Socialist manifesto, occupying two pages of the "Review," clearly set forth the uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, and declared boldly for the complete overthrow of Capitalism and the substitution of the Socialist Republic. The manifesto declared that the Socialists fully recognised the facility of palliative legislation by capitalist Parliaments. Five or six items to engage the attention of the new Parliament were detailed, and the Party's attitude towards these was explained. The "Labor Call" endeavored to make it appear that these items constituted the whole Socialist platform, and the grass-ward journal finished up its six inches of leaded prevarication with this:

The only plank in Holland's platform not borrowed from the Labor Party is one he or

his crew, has culled from the English Federation. He pledges himself to "unflinchingly fight against the re-enactment of the Industrial Arbitration Act." Re- tremes meet: thus we find the alleged class-conscious Socialists and the advanced class-conscious capitalists joining hands.

The planks referred to have always constituted what have been termed "Demands" in the Socialist platforms of Australia; and, so far as the Arbitration Act is concerned, the "Labor Call" is probably so densely ignorant of N.S.W. industrial history that it doesn't know that the Socialists have consistently opposed that measure from the first day that it was mooted by capitalist politician James Wise. The Socialists object to the wages and conditions of labor being fixed by capitalist class representatives. The "Labor Call" also doesn't seem to know that the best N.S.W. Unions have repudiated the Act and the Court that administers it. But the "Labor Call" has perpetrated the suppressive lie so often employed by the capitalist press. The Socialists declared they would fight uncompromisingly against the re-enactment of the Arbitration Act, which they would replace with a maximum working-day of not more than eight hours, and the wages rates fixed by the workers' unions to be the legalised

(Continued on Page 11)

The Haywood Case.

THE "Daily Socialist" reports that when Clarence Darrow closed his argument in behalf of Haywood, half the jury were in tears, as were scores of men and women in the audience, when the great orator ended his address. For fully five minutes after Darrow took his seat the courtroom remained still as death save for sobs here and there. Even Judge Wood on the bench was so affected that he appeared dazed for a moment.

In his peroration Darrow reached the climax, his husky and fixed voice adding instead of detaching from the force his words:

"When Moyer and Haywood can no longer speak," he said, "the voice of the accuser will still be heard. I know he will talk of law and order and the flag the mine-owners have desecrated time and again. I know the net of suspicious circumstances that skillful brain will weave, while I can only sit still and listen. I ask you to answer for me and to remember that there is nothing in this case but that perjured villain Harry Orchard. If you can kill my client on his testimony then peace be with you."

"Bill Haywood is my friend. It would be a sad day for me when you decree that he must ascend the scaffold. The sun will not shine nor the birds sing for me that day. But not for him, nor for the widow or the children is my chief concern. Ten thousand hands will work down in the mines and contribute to their support. But don't think that if you hang Bill Haywood you will crucify the labor movement."

Haywood sat with flushed face, but head erect, through this appeal, but his wife and mother were sobbing openly and all around the courtroom women were weeping. Darrow had brought the tears to his own eyes again, and there was much of a sobor in the court.

"I speak for the poor, and the weak, and the wrong," he said, beginning his closing paragraph, "for that long line of men and women who in distress and to despise their lot, have the labor of the human race. The eyes of the world are upon you, and you are the eyes of the world tonight; throughout the civilized world men are thinking, wondering, wondering about your verdict. If you kill Bill Haywood many will applaud; if you declare his death in the great silent office throughout the land they will say it was done; among the spaces and altitudes of Wall Street men will dig your prison, and in all these men every heart in the world there are little tiny hearts in fight for the poor you will answer their longing and pain."

"But if you acquit him these still will be those who will strenuously love their leader and thank God for sending him into the world to do their duty. Out on the prairie, out on the sea, and in the mines, occupations tonight, men who labor and who suffer, women and children gaze with you, the poor, the weak, and the suffering of the world, stretch out their hands to his feet and whisper you to save Bill Haywood!"

Wage Labor and Capital.

What are Wages and How They are Determined.

By KARL MARX.

THE capitalist will not, however, sell his complete yard so cheaply as his competitors sell the half, although its entire production does not cost him more than the production of half costs the others. For in this case he would gain nothing, but would only get back the cost of its production. The contingent increase in his receipts would result from his having set in motion a larger capital, but not from having made his capital more profitable than that of others. Besides, he gains the ends he is aiming at if he prices his goods a slight percentage lower than his competitors. He drives them off the field, and wrests from them, at any rate, a portion of their sales, if only he undersells them. And, finally, we must remember that the price current always stands either above or below the cost of production, according as the sale of a commodity is transacted at a favorable or unfavorable period of business. According

as the market price of a yard of cloth is above or below its former cost of production, the percentage will alter in which the capitalist, who has employed the new and profitable means of production, exceeds in its sale the actual cost of its production to him.

But our capitalist does not find his privilege very lasting. Other rival capitalists introduce, with more or less rapidity, the same machines and the same subdivision of labor; and this introduction becomes general, until the price of the yard of cloth is reduced, not only below its old, but below its new, cost of production.

Thus the capitalists find themselves relatively in the same position in which they stood before the introduction of the new means of production; and if they are by these means enabled to offer twice the product for the same price, they now find themselves compelled to offer the doubled amount for less than the old price. From the standpoint of these new means of production the old game begins anew. There is greater subdivision of labor, more machinery, and more rapid progress in the exploitation of both. Whereupon competition brings about the

same reaction against this result.

Thus we see how the manner and means of production are continually renewed and revolutionised, and how the division of labor necessarily brings in its train a greater division of labor; the introduction of machinery a still larger introduction; and the rapidity of progress in the efficiency of labor a still greater rapidity of progress.

That is the law which continually drives bourgeois production out of its old track, and compels capital to intensify the productive powers of labor for the very reason that it has already intensified them—the law that allows it no rest, but forever whispers in its ear the words "Quick march!"

This is no other law than that which, cancelling the periodical fluctuation of business, necessarily identifies the price of a commodity with its cost of production.

However powerful are the means of production which a particular capitalist may bring into the field, competition will make their adoption general; and the moment it becomes general the sole result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now, for the same price, offer

ten, twenty, and a hundred times as much as before. But as he must dispose of, perhaps, a thousand times as much in order to outweigh the decrease in the selling price by the larger proportion of the products sold, since a larger sale has now become necessary, not only to gain a larger profit, but also to replace the cost of production; and the implements of production, as we have seen, always get more expensive; and since this larger sale has become a vital question, not only for him, but also for his rivals, the old strife continues, with all the greater violence, in proportion as the previously discovered means of production are more fruitful. Thus the subdivision of labor and the employment of new machinery take a fresh start, and proceed with still greater rapidity.

And thus, whatever be the power of the means of production employed, competition does its best to rob capital of the golden fruit which it produces by reducing the price of commodities to their cost of production; and, as fast as their production is cheapened, compelling, by a despotic law, the larger supply of cheaper products to be offered at the former price. Thus

the capitalist will have nothing by his exertions beyond the obligation to produce faster than before, and an enchantment of the difficulty of employing his capital to advantage. While competition continually persecutes him with its law of the cost of production, and turns against himself every weapon which he forges against his rivals, the capitalist continually tries to cheat competition by incessantly introducing further subdivision of labor and replacing the old machines by new ones, which, though more expensive, produce more cheaply, instead of waiting till competition has rendered them obsolete.

Let us now look at this feverish agitation as it affects the market of the whole world, and we shall understand how the increase, accumulation, and concentration of capital bring in their train an uninterrupted and extreme subdivision of labor, always advancing with gigantic strides of progress, and a continual employment of new machinery, together with improvement of the old.

But how do these circumstances, inseparable as they are from the increase of productive capital, affect the determination of the amount of wages?

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 28, 1907.

The greater division of labor enables one laborer to do the work of five, ten, twenty; it therefore multiplies the competition among laborers, five, ten, or twenty times. The laborers do not only compete when one sells himself cheaper than another, they also compete when one does the work of five, ten, or twenty; and the division of labor which capital introduces and continually increases, compels the laborer to enter into this kind of competition with one another.

Further, in the same proportion in which the division of labor is increased the labor itself is simplified. The special skill of the laborer becomes worthless. It is changed into a monotonous and uniform power production, which can give play neither to bodily nor to intellectual elasticity. Its labor becomes accessible to everybody. Competitors, therefore, throng into it from all sides; and besides, we must remember that the more simple and easily learnt the labor is, and the less it costs a man to make himself master of it, so much the lower must its wages sink, since they are determined, like the price of every other commodity, by its cost of production.

(To be continued.)

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 28, 1907.

LABOR MISREPRESENTATION.

(Concluded from Page 6.)

minimum for the respective industries. The "Labor Call" endeavored to mislead its readers into believing that the Employers' attitude and that of the Socialists was the same. As a matter of fact, N.S.W. employers favor the Wages Board system as against Compulsory Arbitration, and one of their strong arguments for Wages Boards is that they have been tried in Victoria, and that Mr. Prendergast (the "Labor Call's" labor leader) prefers that system to Compulsory Arbitration! The "Labor Call" does its lying very clumsily—much more clumsily and a little more unscrupulously than most other middle-class papers. The "Call" editor seems to have missed his vocation. The apparently unrestricted desire to fling about big chunks of naked prevarication suggests that, given proper opportunity, an eminently successful shyster lawyer might have been moulded out of the material that has been wasted on the making of a mere middle-class editor.

Sydney Coal Lumpers voted £25 towards the shale miners on strike at Airlay.

Campaign Fund acknowledgments will appear in next "Review."

Peter Bowling and others (Dooley, M.L.A., among them) addressed a successful meeting of Southern miners on I.W.W. principles last Friday night. The "S.M. Herald's" report and comments are regarded by the Southerners as the most ludicrous thing they've seen down that way yet.

On Monday evening, a number of Socialists assembled at the Railway station to see Angus McDonnell off for Melbourne, after a week's stay in Sydney, where he did good work for the movement.

There was a splendid attendance at the Group's Domain meeting last Sunday afternoon. Various phases of the International Socialist movement were dealt with by the speakers; the points made being all well taken by the large crowd assembled.

H. Scott-Bennett and the editor of the "Review" visited the Shop Assistants' social at Leigh House on Tuesday evening. There was a fair attendance of members. The number present might have been much larger but for the fact that, when many of the employers discovered that the social was to eventuate on Tuesday night, they suddenly discovered that they would require their "hands" to work back for that evening. That is a way the employing class have, you see. The Shop Assistants are assuming a good deal of strength, and if they get to business on correct lines, they'll come out of their present conflict victorious.

Bebel at Stuttgart.

BEBEL, the redoubtable leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, the terror of the German Chancellor, Van Bue-low, and the most powerful orator and debater in the German Reichstag, met with a tremendous reception as he stepped into the tribune. He began by expressing his gratification at seeing such an immense and enthusiastic assembly of delegates, whom, in the name of the German Social-Democratic Party, he welcomed most heartily. It was, indeed, gratifying to himself and colleagues to be able at last to organise an International Socialist Congress in the German Empire. Many years ago it had been intended to hold such a congress at Mainz; but there was the war between France and Prussia, and the Congress had to be abandoned. Out of that war the newly constituted German Empire emerged successfully, but it was an empire of coercion and persecution. In spite, however, of the coercion, the suppression, the persecution, and the anti-Socialist laws the Social-Democratic Party continued to increase in numbers and influence and to grow stronger and stronger; and at the Amsterdam Congress they felt

that they were strong enough to be able to hold the next Congress in Germany. Bebel then reviewed the progress of the International Socialist movement since the Congress at Amsterdam. Socialism in England was stronger than ever before. Everywhere the Socialist movement was growing. In Finland, with Adult Suffrage, a strong Socialist Party, including a number of women, had been elected to the national Parliament; while in Austria, with the new Manhood Suffrage, 97 Socialists had been elected to the Reichsrath, and the Social-Democrats were the strongest party there.

In Germany they had been beaten by a combination of all sections of their enemies, but while they had lost seats, they had increased their vote from three millions to three millions and a quarter.

Bebel concluded with a reference to the defeat of the capitalist conspiracy in America by the acquittal of Haywood at Idaho, and, referring to the Hague Conference, he said that we had witnessed there the mountain in labour not only bringing forth a mouse, but a still-born mouse at that. With a three-times "Hoch" for International Social-Democracy, he resumed his seat.—"Justice."

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

BOURGEOIS PROPERTY.

CHAPTER V.

THE discovery of the passage of the Indies by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and that of America, which date from the end of the 15th century, by bringing the gold of America into the European market, and by introducing transoceanic commerce, depreciated the value of landed property, gave a decisive impulse to the rising bourgeois production in the cities of the Mediterranean, the cities of the Low Countries, and the Hanseatic League, and opened the era of modern revolution.

The countries newly discovered in India and America were put to plunder, and turned into markets for the industrial and agricultural products of Europe. England exported corn to America; l'Auvergne cheese, wine, etc.

The creation of the colonial market and the importation of American gold furthered the development of manufacturing industry. Private individuals were enabled to accumulate the funds required for the establishment of manufacturing, which in the beginning were simply workshops

of artificers, only distinguished from these by the greater number of workmen employed, and the larger quantity of commodities manufactured. As these workshops infringed all the regulations of the guilds, and encroached on the privileges of the masters, they could not be established in the towns, but had to be set up in the suburbs, the country or the maritime cities which, newly founded, possessed neither municipal aristocracy nor incorporated trades. In London and Paris, it was outside the city walls, in Westminster, Southwark, and the Faubourg St. Antoine that the manufactories were created. They were established by merchants enriched by the colonial trade, and not by the guildmasters, bound in the chains of routine, and fettered by corporative bonds. In the present day we see railways constructed and directed, not by the masters of stage-coach companies, but by financial men.

Manufacture, which struck at the corporations, and ruined the guildmasters of handicrafts, was equally prejudicial to the artificer, whom it apparently benefited by affording a greater regularity and a greater quantity of labor and a higher salary. Division

of labor was introduced into the manufactories; all the operations of a trade were disjointed and isolated; the manufacture of a pin, for example, was decomposed into some twenty different operations, performed by an equal number of specialised laborers. The artificer who, heretofore, had been familiar with all the processes of his craft, and each of which he accomplished in turn, became now a detail laborer, condemned for life to execute a single operation.

The impulsion given to commerce and to production hastened the expansion of the towns, which were compelled to burst their bounds and spread over the adjoining fields. An economical difficulty then arose: it became necessary to find the means of existence for these newly-created populations.

During the primitive collectivist period, the town had not come to exist, even as the residence of the military chief, exercising royal power. The Merovingian kings, like the Indian princes, travelled with a more or less numerous retinue of men-at-arms and retainers, followed by artificers of divers trades. The spot on which they camped became a temporary city; they subsisted on the fees and do-

nations of the surrounding country. The absence of roads and the difficulty of communication precluded all permanent conglomeration of persons; whom there was no means of supporting. The feudal cities, dependent on the agricultural produce of the neighbouring localities for their means of subsistence, were necessarily bound to restrict themselves to a limited number of inhabitants. So long as the absence of roads or the insecurity of such as existed, rendered all commercial intercourse between the towns impossible or difficult, there was no question of guarding against the exportation of the means of subsistence. But as soon as the means of communication began to be improved, and as men began to transport grain from one province to the other, all the towns and provinces took measures for prohibiting the exportation of corn from their territories, and prevented it being monopolised. In all the European towns we meet with regulations for the sale of cereals in the markets at stated times; a maximum price was fixed, and the quantity allowed to be purchased was determined; the proprietors, under penalty of confiscation, were prohibited from garnering corn for more

than two years; it was, furthermore, forbidden to buy the standing corn or that already housed. The extension of the towns, and the difficulty of procuring provisions outside their own territories, turned every bad harvest year into a year of dearth or famine. The paramount concern of the municipal authorities was to prevent famines; they ordained the storing of provisions capable of supplying the town for at least three months, and saw to it that a sufficient quantity of land was annually sown with corn. An edict of 1577, in France, restricted the planting of vineyards, which became, yearly, more important, and required that for every portion of land planted with vines a double portion be devoted to corn.

(To be Continued.)

Other Lands

UNITED STATES.

Socialists in New York are carrying on a free speech fight. Several arrests have taken place.

The employers' association of San Francisco are preparing to enter into a gigantic struggle with the trade unions of that city. A fund of several million dollars is being

raised, and a big lock-out is imminent.

HOLLAND.

It is pleasing to note the tribulations of the Antwerp shipowners and dock authorities who sent to England for the best strike-breakers, and are now beginning doubtless to find out the character of the "men" they have engaged. One night they broke out, raided the ship's pantries on which they were boarded, consumed the contents of 32 barrels of beers, threw the stores of butter overboard, and after defying the officers and commanding a number of revolvers, etc., subsided into drunken slumber. Next day very few of them went to work, and several of them had to be put into irons. It would appear to be even cheaper to employ unionists.

POLAND.

The Trade Union Commission of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania published a report of the Social-Democratic trade unions in connection with their organisation. Almost all the trade unions are concentrated in Warsaw and Lodz.

Scott-Bennett speaks in Sydney Domain on Sunday on "Burning Questions of the Day."

I. W. W.

Industrial Expression of the Socialist Federation of Australasia.

PREAMBLE.

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organisation of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth, and the centring of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands, make trades unionism unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed, and the interests of the working class upheld, only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the constitution of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

One of the many silly lies circulated by the Daley element during the recent election campaign was to the effect that for five years, while in the country, the Socialist candidate had been silent concerning Socialism, and had isolated himself from the So-

cialist movement. Of course, the Daleyites knew there was no truth in the statement; but truth is a small matter in the minds of the paid agents of middle-class politicians. While in the country, the writer not only maintained his connection with the Socialist movement in Sydney, but delivered addresses, under the auspices of the Internationals, on "Socialism and the Class War," in various centres. He never lost an opportunity of propagating Socialist principles and defending the Socialist movement from the attacks of its foes, as every anti-Socialist agitator that toured the country districts had reason to know. Since the elections, this particular Daley lie is being repeated with a parrot-like ludicrousness that threatens to become almost wearisome.

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A Song of the Factory.

THE trees were white with blooms, the meadows were broad and fair,
And the care-free birds made music for the children that idled there,
But a man had need of the meadows; his walls and chimney sprang
From among the swaying branches where the thrush and robin sang.
And the man had need of the children; he gathered them in like sheep,
And set them to work to earn his bread, for children are many—and cheap.
They crouch all day by the spindles, wizened and wan and old;
They have given their youth to a master who has minted it into gold.
No longer they idly listen to a warbler's futile song,
No longer their idle laughter rings out the whole day long,
No longer they roam the meadows like idle gipsy bands,
For the world is growing richer by the work of their puny hands.
And the man who found them idling among the feathery blooms,
And brought them to wear their lives away beside his clattering looms—
He talks of the goodly riches that his enterprise has won
With the toil of the sad-faced children, and boasts of the thing he's done!

—JAMES J. MONTAGUE.