

ONTARIO PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

JUNE 8th, 1908

Manifesto of Toronto Local Socialist Party of Canada.

Fellow Working Men and Women:

The Socialist Party of Canada is the political party of the working class, and as such stands for all workers, whether voters or non-voters, men or women, whatever the color, race, or language.

The Socialist movement is no isolated, local movement. It is internationally organized, world-wide, and is constantly growing. Mere local movements, such as the so-called Independent Labor Party, can accomplish nothing except to advance a few self-seeking promoters, who only beg for a few sops, and their movement, based on no fundamental economic principles, must soon pass away and be forgotten.

This manifesto is not being issued for the purpose of catching votes, but to foster the growth of the spirit of revolt among workers, and, therefore, we appeal to all the workers, and not simply to those who have votes. The only votes we wish for our candidates are those which are cast as a manifestation of revolt against the conditions which are bearing so heavily upon the working class, especially upon the women of the working class, who are denied the opportunity to express their opinion at the ballot-box, and who must accept whatever the men in their wisdom or otherwise, choose to provide in the way of government.

Working women, the Socialist Party is your party just as much as the men's, whether you are working in your own home, caring for your family, "in service," in a department store, type-writing, teaching school, working in a factory, as a scrubwoman, whatever you are doing, and to also assure you there is a work for you to do in the emancipation of your class. The Socialist Party wishes to receive you into membership on equal terms with men whenever you are ready to play your part. From first to last this manifesto is an appeal to women equally with the men. Though you have not votes, we ask you to put yourself in the position of voters in weighing the following arguments:

WORKERS GET WHAT THEY VOTE FOR.

Working Voters, think very carefully what use you are going to make of your votes. The two old capitalist parties, with their false issues, their lying literature, their glib and smiling speakers, who talk a great deal and say nothing (at least *nothing in your interest*), and in other ways too numerous to mention will endeavor to beguile you out of your vote. For what purpose? The spoils of office—that is the only quarrel they have. You surely know it makes no difference to the average worker which capitalist party is in power. Then, what is the sense of voting for either?

There is a Liberal Government at Ottawa and a Conservative at Toronto, and what are the workers getting from either? *Nothing.* The record of the Dominion Government is one of faithful service to capitalists, and the last action of the Whitney Government was the guaranteeing of bonds to the extent of \$2,500,000 for a railway corporation. How different the treatment served out to needy workers by the Ontario Administration, when a short time ago a body of eight hundred unemployed waited on Premier Whitney to ask if work could not be provided for them! Their spokesmen were treated with discourtesy by the Prime Minister of Ontario, who said, among other things, that he could not give them much time, as he had members of Parliament waiting to see him. That's your medicine, workers! A few members of Parliament, useless to your class, are more important than eight hundred needy men, willing and anxious

to work. That's what you unwittingly voted for at the last election. *Are you going to vote for it again?* Think of this when you are in the polling booth—think of it now—think of it right along!

CLASS INTERESTS OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

This manifesto is written principally to tell you of another party, the Socialist Party, which stands frankly for the working class alone, as they prove wherever they have elected representatives.

We are not going to try to tell you all about such a vast subject as Socialism in this manifesto, but will endeavour to show you plainly how vital it is to your material interests to support this party of your class.

You want a good and steady job? The Socialist Party stands for your having a steady job, and for your getting the full value of your labour.

You want more of the good things of life for yourselves, wives, and families. You want for yourselves and them plenty, culture, refinement, travel—in short, all good things possible? The Socialist Party stands for these things, because the members of the Socialist Party want them, but *cannot get them until you do*, until all the working class gets them; therefore, we stand for the working class, and in doing so, stand for ourselves, and when you stand for the working class you will stand for yourself.

You will notice that we lay great emphasis on class. We will tell you why. In every country of the world there is a small possessing class and a large producing class. The small class owns but does not work. The large class works but does not own. Why is this? The non-possessors must live, yet they have nothing to produce their living from. This forces them to apply to the owners for permission to work, and they get it—(when it suits the owner)—on the condition of yielding up the most they produce to the owner. When the market is good the capitalists can sell what you produce at a profit, which is wrung out of you, the producer (the consumer gets what he pays for). You may get a trifle more than enough to live on, but when the market is bad, when you have produced so much that your bosses cannot sell it, when the grain elevators are filled to overflowing, when there are millions of tons of coal mined, when the warehouses are stocked with a superabundance of all things that are good for the human race, then many of you lose your jobs, not because your bosses have any ill-will to you, but because they cannot make profit out of your labor, so out you go, to go short of the good things of life right in the very shadow of the abundance your own labor has created. These are facts, and you know they are facts.

WHO SUFFERS IN "HARD TIMES"?

We are now passing through a period of hard times, due to causes explained above. What does hard times mean to the working class? The giving up of their little luxuries, such as they are, increased anxiety, pinching and scraping to make both ends meet, heart sickening searching for work, hunger, cold, extreme misery, to many actual starvation, suicide through despair, and all in a world of plenty.

And what does "hard times" mean to the capitalist class? Smaller dividends, decreased profits, and less swollen bank balances. But do the members of the capitalist class go short of any of the good things of life they had in the "good times"? Not a thing. They keep just as good tables, yacht as much, travel as

Hear E. T. KINGSLEY, Vancouver, at Labor Temple, Toronto, Sunday, June 7, 2.30 p.m.



much, give parties and balls the same as ever—in short, have as good a time as ever. For them it is always good times; for you, it is always bad times, or worse times.

The simple fact is that the capitalist class, by owning the means of life, own everything else that they find useful to them—governments, universities, the press, the churches, the schools, and in all of these institutions their intellectual and ecclesiastical hirelings are continually endeavouring to serve their masters by doing all they can to keep the workers in their befooled condition. So it has been in all ages—the owning class a master class, the propertyless class a slave class. Slave-owner, chattel-slave. Feudal-lord, serf or feudal-slave. Capitalist-master, wage-slave.

The original slave-owning class and the feudal class have disappeared. How? By means of the class struggle arising through the changed method of production. *And that is how the capitalist class has to go.*

GOVERNMENTS THE COMMITTEES OF THE RULING CLASS.

Existing Governments and the old political parties are simply the agents and representatives of the capitalist class, which everywhere controls and uses the machinery of government to maintain power in its own hands and keep labour in subjection.

In despotic countries, such as Russia and Germany, this is done openly by force. Public gatherings and labour agitations are suppressed by police and military without any deluding cant about the right of free speech or the liberty of the subject.

In so-called "free" countries, such as England, the United States, and Canada, the ruling class has discovered a much easier and cheaper way of accomplishing the same object, and one more in accordance with the hypocrisy so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. The workers are given a measure of self-government, circumscribed by such checks and limitations as to make it practically non-effective, and are then duped and misled into voting for the perpetuation of their own slavery and degradation.

So-called "responsible government" is probably the most perfect machine devised by wit of man for securing capitalist ascendancy, while deceiving the masses with the empty show of political advancement.

In the face of any really serious crisis, however, the mask of legality and constitutionality is speedily thrown off, and capitalist government in "free" Anglo-Saxon countries appears in its true light, as bloody-minded, relentless, and vindictive, and with as little regard for any supposed "rights" of free speech or public assembly as any European despotism.

There is really no difference in spirit or character. Capitalism is determined to retain its ascendancy, and behind it are all the forces of government, including the judiciary—to interpret the law according to instructions—the police force, and the military. All government ultimately rests on force, and the degree in which force is brought into requisition depends entirely on the urgency of the case.

It would be folly on our part to assume that the outcome

of the social revolution will necessarily be peaceful, in view of the fact that *no class has ever surrendered its privileges without a struggle*, and it would be still greater folly to seek to precipitate such an issue, or to sanction or encourage spasmodic outbreaks of violence, which could accomplish no good purpose, and could only result in disaster to those engaging in them.

THE BALLOT A BETTER WEAPON THAN THE BULLET.

Our aim is to use the ballot to obtain control of the governing power, and by capturing the government, to range on the side of the working class all the forces of government now used against us.

We have shown how your interests and the capitalists' interests are absolutely and irreconcilably opposed, and that out of that fact a class struggle naturally rises. Belonging to the working class, we naturally wish to see the struggle ended. And knowing that the only way to end it is to put an end to class rule by abolishing the capitalist class, and knowing also that the only class who can, and will, do this work is our own class, as the parasitic class will naturally stay on our backs as long as we let them, we appeal to you, who have the power, to fulfil your historic mission by throwing off the shackles of wage-slavery as your fathers threw off the fetters of chattel-slavery and serfdom.

Right is based on power, and we appeal to you to use the power that lies in you to set up a new right, the right of the worker to the full social value of his product.

In conclusion, we advocate the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The method—send a majority of Socialist members to all legislative chambers with definite instruction to pass measures declaring the workers in possession of the sources and means of production, simply changing the title-deeds from the idle class to the useful class.

If the capitalist class refuses to yield when this is done, so much the worse for them—they will get "law and order," *working class law and order*. What complaint can they make when they have the opportunity to work and to get the full value of their work?

RALLY UNDER THE RED FLAG.

If you desire the advancement of your class and the emancipation of your children from the wage-slavery of to-day, we ask your votes, *not for the individual candidates, but for the cause of Socialism*. Workers in other countries, under far less favourable conditions, are rallying by millions under the Red Flag, facing danger and privation, and frequently sacrificing their lives and liberty in a determined struggle against oppression.

Are the workers in Canada more servile, less intelligent and courageous than our brave comrades in Russia or Germany, that they will not even cast a vote for economic freedom?

Unless you use such measures of liberty as you still, *by grace of your capitalist masters*, possess, that, too, will speedily vanish, and with it all hope of a peaceful settlement of the question.

The Socialist Party's Pledge

Representatives of the Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct:

Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

Candidates Nominated

East Toronto, Class A—Wilfrid G. Gribble.
 " " Class B—Ernest A. Drury.
 West " Class A—Phillips Thompson.
 " " Class B—F. A. Frost.
 West York—Fred J. Peel.



North Toronto, Class A—James Lindala.
 " " Class B—James Simpson.
 South " Class A—Lugi Del Negro.
 " " Class B—Leon Tredler.

Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain.