

# WESTERN CLARION

OWNED AND CONTROLLED  
BY THE S. P. OF C.



IN THE INTERESTS OF THE  
WORKING CLASS

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## THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY

By C. Stephenson.

The Socialist Philosophy is monistic in its nature, because it recognises the unity, the oneness, of society. Despite the differences existing between the social units it realizes their interconnection and interdependence upon each other in all their activities as well as the social nature of the products of their labor. The warp and woof of it, the basic principle, is the social concept.

In opposition to this bourgeois philosophy is individualistic.

"Freedom of the individual" was its watchword during its struggle against feudalism, regardless of the fact that the individual, in himself, is nothing, but is what he is, as a product of social effort, and of the society in which he lives and moves.

Individual man, in the political sense, is non-existent: man is a social being.

For any philosophy to be practical it must be built upon actualities. However, we know to day that this watchword "freedom," found a genuine response in the minds of dreamers, and utopian thinkers; also the uneducated proletariat to whom it appeared that change could not make their condition worse but might better it.

Among the bourgeoisie, the merchant and manufacturing class, the utopian concept of "freedom" though useful in the political field was regarded with contempt and

considered wholly ridiculous.

The "freedom" they desired was a reflex of their material interests: Freedom of trade unhampered by feudal ties whether of the monarchy, landed aristocracy, the guilds or corporate interests.

Freedom of trade routes and markets. Freedom of science from the stifling hand of the Roman church, because the knowledge gained by the cultivation of astronomy, mechanics, physics, and other natural sciences, physics, and became necessary to them in the production and distribution of commodities for world market.

Freedom of the serfs, because producing for a worlds market whose demands were fluctuating the rising trading class desired a class of workers who could be discharged when not required and who could move from place to place according to the varying needs of different industries.

So! the hope of the enslaved of all the ages, the vision which inspired their poets and seers, was turned to the practical uses of the bourgeoisie.

And their philosophy which must

stand or fall with their form of society perforce justifies, in the light of their class interests, their application of the term "freedom." But what "freedom?" Ah! Is it capitalism? Methinks I can hear martyrs turning in their graves. Sanctified and blest is the concept that the cunning and the powerful may lay hold of the earth's resources and the means of production, and compel the rest of human kind to yield up the fruits of their labor.

"Buy cheap and sell dear" is the bourgeois battle cry and it measures success in life by the difference in the quantity contributed to the social treasury, and that which the grasping hand can abstract from it.

Its basic and active principle is, "the race to the swift and the battle to the strong."

The Socialist Philosophy is dialectic in its method. It views all phenomena in their relationships as in constant movement. For example, among these phenomena are our concepts of "right", "justice", "freedom", etc.

These concepts bourgeois philosophy declares to be fixed, eternal, innate in the human mind; placed there by god. But the Socialist Philosophy shows that all moral concepts are social in their origin, born of man's needs as a social being. As his needs change so also do his concepts, i. e. different stages of human evolution have different moral laws, different codes of ethics,

### ATTENTION !!!

After January 1st, 1916, all communications of a party nature must be addressed to A. McLean, acting secretary of the Dominion Executive Committee, instead of to W. A. Pritchard, as heretofore.

so that what was virtue at one stage becomes vice at another. Thus "morality" is based upon human association and as this association draws closer together, grows more compact, its units become more interdependent, and the degree of moral development takes on a higher aspect. In other words moral concepts are a product of the historic or evolutionary process. Wage slavery to the bourgeois mind is highly "moral"; to the Socialist, it is decidedly "immoral".

**Scientific Socialism** is materialistic, but not in the sense of that narrow materialism which regards matter as the main thing and forces and mind as secondary. By means of its dialectic method and its monistic view point, it takes the cosmic stand and looks upon both matter and mind as attributes, as inter-related phenomena of the universal process. Within the narrower circle of man and his relations with the rest of phenomena, the mind, which is the sum total of our thoughts, is a reflex of objectivity. This reflex is nevertheless real, because we perceive, are aware and conscious of our ideas. Thus the mind is part of the material or reality of the universe. Therefore the cause and reason of men's activities must not be sought in the idea but in the objective which brought the idea into existence.

**Bourgeois philosophy** on the other hand is idealistic. It commences with the assumption that a super-human monster mind created the world, and arrives consequently at another assumption that man's soul or mind is a separate entity which after death lives eternal in heaven or hell. It is now dropping these assumptions and is leaving them to the professional religionists. But it still persists in exalting the mind over the rest of the forms of existence.

We see this reflected in the extravagant laudation of so-called great men, but is seen best in classic histories, which are indeed but empty narrations of events, of deeds of violence, of bloody wars, and the activities of "great men." In these histories we see recorded the rise and fall of empires; the birth, growth and decay of

forms of society, yet the record is but a chaotic jumble of disconnected events placed merely in their order of time. The "reasoning" mind requires some principle by which it may interpret these social movements and is told they are the result of the advance of ideas. A Luther or a Calvin appears, and Lo! with the advanced idea and his logic converts half of Europe.

During the long wars and the political struggles of this time the feudal system, with its trade monopolies and cast iron restrictions, received its death blow. Its downfall, according to this theory, is but an incident of the reformation. As a matter of fact the reformation was but an incident of the downfall of feudalism.

This concept finds expression today in the idea that the tremendous world conflict that finds its main theatre in Europe is due to the personal ambitions of a potentate, or of a group of men in this or that country, and not, as socialists affirm, to the operation of social forces, and the logical inevitable extension of the intense and bitter commercial struggle for the world's market.

In contrast to this "idealist" theory we have the "Materialistic Interpretation of History" or "Historical Materialism", a method of viewing history used by Scientific Socialists, as formulated by Marx and Engels. This method "starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structures, that in every society that has appeared in history the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch." (Soc. Utop and

Scient.—Engels).

And now the claim may be made that the history of man becomes intelligible, his progress onwards through Savagery and Barbarism to Civilization is explained by his ever increasing productivity.

We now know that "Servants obey your masters" is not a divine eternal edict, nor a concept of the "pure" mind, nor a state of nature, but was a product of that time when man could produce a surplus, or more than was necessary to his own subsistence. Because of that surplus slavery became a human institution.

The progressive growth of the power to increase the quantity of that surplus explains the origin and development of any particular form of society and its change to another, as well as the division of society into ruling and subject classes. It makes intelligible how, in a system of production for sale, we have glutted markets, unemployment, misery, wars and revolts, and why within present society we have people with radically different ideological outlooks on the world. We have today two fundamentally irreconcilable philosophies, striving for mastery over the minds of men. Which will succeed? We can say with confidence that it will be that one which is in harmony with the development of the material forces of production.

The capitalist class having become purely parasitic, as all ruling classes became when their form of society was nearing its close, its philosophy tends to become more individualistic in its nature, reflecting its exploiting character and separation from the useful work of society.

On the other hand **Scientific Socialism**, the philosophy of the proletariat, with its essential principle—the social concept—is a reflection of that proletariat's intimate connection with the forces of production, which are themselves purely social. As Dietzen tells us: "It recognizes that human welfare, on the whole, does not depend on enlightened statesmen, but on the productivity of social labor; that human salvation depends on material work and not on spiritual moonshine."

## POLITICAL ECONOMY

BEING PART II, CHAPTER VIII OF "ANTI-DUEHRING" BY F. ENGELS.

(N.B.—This work was written in 1877—8.—Ed. Clarion.)

### I.—Objects and Methods.

Political economy is, in the widest sense, the science of the laws controlling the production and exchange of the material necessities of life in human society. Production and exchange are two entirely different functions. Production may exist without exchange, exchange—since there can only be exchange of products—cannot exist without production. Each of the two social functions are controlled by entirely different external influences and thus has, generally speaking, its own peculiar laws. But on the other hand they become so mutually involved at a given time and react one upon the other that they might be designated the abscissae and ordinates of the economic curve.

The conditions under which men produce and exchange develop from land to land, and in the same land from generation to generation. Political economy cannot be the same for all lands and for all historical epochs. From the bow and arrow, from the stone knife and the exceptional and occasional trading intercourse of the barbarian to the steam engine with its thousands of horse power, to the mechanical weaving machine, to the railway and the Bank of England is a tremendous leap. The Patagonians do not have production on a large scale and world-commerce any more than they have swindling or bankruptcy. Anyone who should attempt to apply the same laws of political economy to Patagonia as to present-day England would only succeed in producing stupid commonplaces. **Political economy is thus really a historical science.** It is engaged with historical material, that is, material which is always in course of development. At the close of investigation it can, for the first time, show the few (especially as regards production and exchange) general laws which apply universally. In this way it is made evident that the laws which are common to certain

methods of production or forms of exchange are common to all historical periods in which these methods of production and forms of exchange are the same. Thus for example, with the introduction of specie, there came into being a series of laws which hold good for all lands and historical epochs in which specie is a means of exchange.

The method of distributing the product is in accordance with the method of production and exchange of a given society at a given time. In the tribal or village community with communal ownership of land, of which there are obvious survivals in the history of all civilized peoples, there is practically an equal distribution; where a greater inequality of distribution of the product has been introduced among the members of a society, it is a sign of the coming dissolution of the community—large and small farming have very different modes of distribution according to the district, to the historical circumstances from which they have developed. But it is apparent that large farming requires a different mode of distribution than small farming; that the large farming shows the existence of class antagonism—slave-holders and slaves, landlords and tenants, capitalists and wage workers—but that, on the contrary, in small farming, class distinction does not arise from the farming operations of separate individuals but from the mere beginnings of farming on a large scale. The introduction and development of the use of gold into a country where formerly exchange of actual goods was the exclusive or general practice, is closely associated with a slow or rapid revolution of the mode of distribution hitherto prevailing, and to such an extent that inequality of distribution among individuals and, so, antagonism between rich and poor becomes more and more apparent. Local guild hand-production as it prevailed in the Middle Ages made great

capitalists and life-long wage workers just as impossible as the great modern industry, the credit system of today, and form of exchange, corresponding with the development of these, free competition, render them inevitable.

With the difference in distribution however class differences are introduced. Society becomes divided into upper and lower classes, into plunderers and plundered, into master and servant classes, and the state which the original groups composed of societies claiming the same ancestry only regarded as a means of protection of the common interests (remnants of which remain in the Orient, e. g.) and against foreign force, takes upon itself the duty of maintaining the economic and political supremacy of the dominant class against the dominated class by means of force.

So distribution is not a mere passive witness of production and exchange; it has an immediate influence on both. Every new method of production and form of exchange is imposed, not only through the old forms and their particular forms of political development, but also through the old methods of distribution. It can only bring about its own method of distribution as the result of long conflict. But just in proportion as a given method of production and exchange is built up and develops, distribution all the more rapidly reaches a point where it outstrips its predecessor and where it comes into collision with the system of production and exchange existing up to that time. The old tribal communistic forms of which we have already spoken may last thousands of years, as is seen in the case of the Indians and Slavs of to-day, until intercourse with the outside world develops causes of disruption within them as a conclusion of which their dissolution comes about. Modern capitalistic production on the other hand which is hardly three hundred years old and which first became



dominant with the introduction of the greater industry about one hundred years ago, has, in this short time, developed antagonisms in distribution—concentration of capital on the one hand in the possession of a few persons and, on the other, concentration of propertyless masses in the great cities—which must of necessity bring it to an end.

The connection between the form of distribution and the material economic conditions of a society is so much in the nature of things that it is generally reflected in the popular instinct. As long as a method of production is in the course of development, even those whose interests are against it, who are getting the worst of the particular method of production, are highly satisfied. It was just so with the English working class at the introduction of the greater industry. As long as this method of production remained the normal social method, satisfaction with the methods of distribution was, on the whole, prevalent; and when a protest against it rose even in the bosom of the dominant class itself (Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen) it found at first practically no sympathy among the masses of the exploited. But directly the method of production has travelled a good portion of its upward progress, when half of its life was over, when its destiny was in a great measure accomplished and its successor was knocking at the door—then, for the first time the ever increasingly unequal distribution appeared as unjust. Then was the first appeal made from actual facts to so-called eternal justice. This appeal to morality and justice does not bring us a step further scientifically. Economic science can find no grounds of proof in moral indignation however justifiable, but merely a symptom. Its task is to show the newly developing social wrongs as the necessary results of existing methods of production and, at the same time, as signs of its approaching dissolution, and to point out, amid the break up of the existing economic system, the elements of the new organization of production and exchange which will abolish those wrongs. The feeling stirred up by the poets whether in the pic-

turing of these social wrongs or by attack upon them or, on the other hand, by denial of them and the glorification of harmony in the interests of the dominant class, is quite timely, but its slight value as furnishing proof for a given period is shown by the fact that one finds an abundance of it in every epoch.

Political economy, as the science of the conditions and forms under which various human societies have produced and exchanged and according to which they have distributed the products of their labor,—political economy, in this broad sense, has yet to be planned for the first time. All that we have so far of political economic science is almost entirely limited to the beginning and development of the capitalistic mode of production. It begins with the genesis and growth of the capitalistic mode of production, and exchange recognizes the necessity of the appearance of these by means of the capitalistic forms, then develops the laws of the capitalistic methods of production and their corresponding forms of exchange on the positive side, that is on the side on which they further the objects of society, as a whole and closes with the socialist criticism of the capitalistic methods of production, that is, with the exhibition of its laws on the negative side, with the proof that this method of production arrives at the point, by its own development, where it is no longer possible. This criticism proves that the capitalistic methods of production and exchange constitute more and more an insufferable fetter upon production itself. The mode of distribution which is necessarily associated with this form of production has brought about a class condition which grows daily more unbearable. It has produced the daily sharpening antagonism between the continually less numerous but constantly richer capitalists and the more numerous, but on the whole, continually poorer propertyless wage-workers. Finally the tremendous productive forces of the capitalistic methods of production, which are practically unlimited, are only awaiting their seizure at the hands of an organized cooperative society to secure for all the members of that soc-

ety the means of existence and the fuller development of their faculties in an ever increasing degree.

In order to fully accomplish criticism of the bourgeois economic acquaintance with the capitalistic form of production of exchange and of distribution was not enough. Preceding forms and others, existing side by side with the capitalistic mode in a few highly developed countries, had to be examined and compared, at least in their chief features. Such an investigation and comparison has been undertaken as a whole by Marx alone, and we consider that this investigation practically sums up all that has been established respecting theoretical economy prior to that of the bourgeois.

While political economy in a narrow sense arose in the minds of a few geniuses of the seventeenth century, it is, in its positive formulation by the physiocrats and Adam Smith, substantially a child of the eighteenth century, and expresses itself in the acquisitions of the great contemporary French philosophers with all their excellencies and defects of that time. What we have said of the French philosophers applies to the economists of that day. The new science was with them not the expression of eternal reason; the laws of production and exchange discovered by them were not the laws of a given historical form of those facts, but were eternal natural laws; they derived them from the nature of man. But this man, seen clearly, was a burgher of the Middle Ages on the high road to becoming a modern bourgeoisie, and his nature consisted in this that he had to manufacture commodities and carry on his trade according to the given historical conditions of that period.

Herr Dühring, having applied the two man theory to political economic conditions and having decided that such conditions are unjust, upon which conclusion he bases his revolutionary attitude, Engels remarks as follows:

"If we have no better security for the revolution in the present methods of distribution of the products of labor with all their crying antagonisms of misery and luxury, of poverty and ostentation, than the con-

sciousness that this method of distribution is unjust and that justice must finally prevail, we should be in evil plight and would have to stay there a long time. The mystics of the Middle Ages who dreamed of an approaching thousand years kingdom of righteousness had the consciousness of the injustice of class antagonisms. At the beginning of modern history three hundred years ago, Thomas Muenzer shouted it loud to all the world. In the English and French bourgeois revolutions the same cry was heard and died away ineffectually. And if the same cry, after the formation of class antagonisms and class distinctions left the working, suffering classes cold until 1830, if it now takes hold of one land after another with the same results and the same intensity, in proportion as the greater industry has developed in the individual countries if, in one generation, it has acquired a force which defies all the powers opposed to it and can be sure of victory in the near future—how comes it about? From this, that the greater industry has created the modern proletariat, a class, which for the first time in history can set about the abolition not of this or that particular class organization or of this or that particular class privilege but of classes in general, and it is in the position that it must carry out this line of action on the penalty of sinking to the Chinese coolie level. And that the same greater industry has on the other hand produced a class which is in possession of all the tools of production and the means of life but in every period, of prosperity (Sahwindelperiode) and in each succeeding panic shows that it is incapable of controlling in the future the growing productive forces; a class under whose leadership

society runs headlong to ruin like a locomotive whose closed safety valve the engine driver is too weak to open. In other words it has come about that the productive forces of the modern capitalistic mode of production as well as the system of distribution based upon it are in glaring contradiction to the mode of distribution itself and to such a degree that a revolution in the modes of produc-

## POT POURRI.

By Wap.

We are not in it for plunder.  
—Horatio Bottomley in "The Hour has struck!"—"John Bull," Oct. 9th, 1915.

Grave scandals have come to our knowledge connected with the manipulation, by certain officials, of munitions orders.  
Same writer, same paper, same date.

According to a correspondent of the "New York Tribune," General Joffre when in London insisted on the abandonment of the Dardanelles expedition. He is also credited with having stated that the action at Loos had no practical value and that the position on the western front was a stalemate, any real success being next to impossible.

It may be perfectly true that the Dardanelles campaign is to be abandoned but there would be no need for General Joffre to publish the fact.  
(Emphasis ours. Ed. Clarion.)

And that is according to the "Vancouver Province." What a pity the government couldn't give its editor a job at keeping Joffre's mouth shut!

## AN INSULT TO THE NATION

By Horatio Bottomley.

"John Bull" poster.  
"Open confession is good for the soul."

Sir Richard McBride has resigned as premier of British Columbia; Bowser takes his job.

The government organs infer that all is O. K. The Liberal sheet, the "Vancouver Sun," throws several violent paroxysms and declares that McBride has been ousted through the scheming of Bowser and passed

on and distribution must take place which will abolish all class differences or the whole of modern society will fall. It is in these actual material facts, more and more necessarily becoming more and more evident to the exploited proletariat, that the confidence in the victory of modern socialism finds its foundation and not in this or that bookworm's notions of justice and injustice.

to a job in London now held by an aged and failing man. But our worthy contemporary that speaks on behalf of our, the "B. C. Federation," claims that McBride was a politician of the first rank, but not a statesman—demonstrating his remarkable sagacity in resigning in such troublous times, leaving Bowser to face the music. His administration announces the "Fed." ranks as one of the worst from the working class standpoint.

To us a good statesman is a long-headed politician, and a successful politician a shrewd statesman. And as long as capitalism sits enthroned it is sheer nonsense to speak of "good" and "bad" administrations. They are all "good" for the masters, and "bad" for the workers. McBride's reign was as "good" or "bad" as the next one. You can either ride on the swings or the roundabouts.

After hammering away for five years, I got Kitchener at the War Office; I got the two Parties to coalesce; I got those banners off the walls of St. George's Chapel; I got business Committees appointed to assist Ministers in their work. And I am prepared to keep them supplied with new notions as fast as they can assimilate them. Indeed, I am not sure that, after all, I may not be more useful out of Parliament than in it, and that I am best occupied in filling the role of Purveyor of Ideas to the House of Commons.

Then this—  
As regards Greece, the policy was equally simple. Greece has a very accessible coastline. Twig!

—Horatio Bottomley.

Hurrah for Belgium and the rights of small nations.

Then if the "Damnable Alliance" wants a war of extermination, by the Gods of Battles let them have it; let them be purged from the face of the world, and the places that knew them know them no more for ever. Let Britain become the scourge of God, and whip those unholly things back to hell.

—A. G. Hales

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## THE "NEW YEAR."

"The moving finger writes and, having writ, moves on—"

"1915" is thrown into the discard. Another leaf is turned over in the book of time. "Happy New Year!" What puerile piffle! "Happy New Year!" What a meaningless, nonsensical phrase! Is there any plausible reason why the coming year should be particularly pleasant? The members of our class who understand their social position can easily make answer with a thunderous—No! Judging by all that has transpired in the many years we have left behind us, there is nothing whatever to warrant us making an optimistic survey of the one before us! In order to understand this clearly let us briefly review the main events since last the minions of press, pulpit, and platform, led off in the annual chorus of "Happy New Year!"

With the opening of the present year we find a war in progress. Most of the civilized countries of the world linked together in a struggle where one group of nations seek, by every means in their power to wipe out of existence another group engaged on a similar errand. Even the atrocious acts ascribed to the followers of "Alaric," and "Attila," when entering the gates of the Roman Empire, assume all the complacency of a presbyterian festival when compared with the deeds of violence perpetrated

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ed by the suppliant tools of capitalism. Caesar, Napoleon, or Hannibal, even in their wildest schemes of conquest, never stooped to such sordid, heartless, and bloody means of attaining their ends as are openly practised by the commercial cannibals of today. And for what? To remedy the miserable condition of the world's workers? No! No! No!

The real reason for all this bloodshed, and violence, is the securing of markets and routes of trade, that may absorb the huge mass of commodities produced and which must be sold. As the world's markets are rapidly contracting, new machines brought into action that tend to replace more and more of the factory hands; the methods of production becoming more systematic, and efficient, making it possible to place on the market in a given time a greater amount of commodities than ever before; such a condition easily supplies the incentive for the ghastly inhuman slaughter we read of day by day. But, great a place as the European war holds among the events of the past year, there are other happenings we cannot altogether ignore.

The usual conflict between the workers engaged in the various branches of industry, and those who possess such means of production, continues unabated. It has been lessened only insofar as the number, and output, of those industries has been curtailed. In almost every section where capitalism has properly developed we hear of numerous cases where workers, grouped together in mill, mine, or factory, have been forced to test their strength against the overwhelming odds that oppose them. Invariably the result has been the same. The masters, in control of every avenue of wealth, with police, parsons, law courts, and militia, at their disposal to maintain that position, are assured of an easy victory from the very start. The almost inconceivable ignorance displayed by the workers, even in the few instances where they attempt to do anything, remains a great barrier

that can only be surmounted by greater efforts on our part to disseminate a knowledge of the scientific method.

In the great industrial centres of England, Germany, France and Russia, where the increased price of foodstuffs and other necessities of life has made existence a physical impossibility without a slight increase in the size of the pay envelope, we, occasionally, find that the power of labor power has also advanced. But only in exceptional cases has this advance in any way corresponded to the soaring prices of other commodities. In many places, where the workers' action might prove an obstruction to the course mapped out by their masters, the State—that nerve centre of brutality and coercion—has been called upon to operate certain departments of industry and such an innovation has proved successful because of the fact that they possessed the power necessary to achieve their ends. In other cases, particularly in that of the dockers, long-headed statesmen have conceived the brilliant idea of placing the industrial worker in the same category as the fool in the trenches—a defender of the Empire, garbed in warrior costume, and imbued with the idea that he is doing his "bit" in defending "his" country just as heroically, and nobly, as if, with musket on his shoulder, he was parading "bleeding Belgium," hunting the horrible Huns.

But enough of the past year. Space forbids an extended narration of its wars, and struggles. Let us gaze at the future. "Happy New Year!" Hypocritical junk! Nothing pertaining to happiness suggests itself to workers armed with a knowledge of the past. Capitalist manufacturers with fat contracts for supplying munitions of war, coal barons, steel kings, small arm knights, and food baronets, can look hopefully forward. They are entitled to do so. The earth and its fulness is theirs. On the plane of power they are united. But how long is their position safe? How long must we occupy our servile

contemptible, position? The answer is simple. It is this:

Just so long as we are contented to remain in our present lethargy, indifferent to our material interests, meekly allowing an insignificant portion of society to enjoy, unmolested, the wealth of the world.

A new year is beginning. Let us awake, throw aside our inactivity, educate ourselves, and those around us. "Knowledge is power." Grasp this weapon, and the battle for freedom is soon won.

J. A. M. D.

## "ATTRITION."

The war has been responsible for many things. Besides stifling the hysterical wailings of the militant suffragettes and "shunting" from political life the garrulous Churchill, it has renewed our almost forgotten acquaintanceship with certain points in geography as well as having given us a whole lot we never were acquainted with. It has furthermore introduced to the lay mind certain trisyllabic and polysyllabic terms of which the "man-in-the-street" was hitherto totally unaware.

Thus we all glibly speak of "commandeering" this or that, of the result of the operation of a certain "moratorium," etc., but one term which today flows most easily from the ducts of editorial "Waterman's" and "Swan's" is that of "attrition." With that superb aplomb which is an enduring characteristic of prostituted literati, the editorial writers of the kept press, especially of Britain and her colonies, inform us that this is to be a "war of attrition."

"Attrition," according to Webster's, is "the act of wearing by friction, or by rubbing substances together." Superficially considered, we imagine that the term is somewhat inadequate although we admit that the "friction" process, not to mention the "rubbing together." But our intelligent publicists and editorial declaimers mean something a little different from what one might gather by a mere perusal of the dictionary.

Czar Nicholas, to whom is ascribed many gallant victories in ante-bellum

days, when engaged in suppressing any expression, on the part of the slaves of his empire, of a radical nature, almost immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities, voiced the strong opinion that he would ride triumphant the streets of Berlin, if it cost him his last "moujik." We must not think for one moment that His Majesty was engaged in a poker game and intended to lose his last "four bits." Not at all! A "moujik" is a Russian peasant. So we can understand the magnanimity of Nicholas in this regard, especially considering his one time passion for sacrificing "moujiks" even when riding through Berlin streets in majestic triumph was not his immediate objective.

President Poincare has also stated his intention of meeting the Emperor of all the Russias in the neighbourhood of Potsdam, while Herbert Henry Asquith of the "wait-and-see" policy, speaking on behalf of the British crown, is reported to have stated that "we will not sheath the sword, which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium has been cleared of the invader, etc., etc." The chief spokesmen of the belligerents appear like minded upon the desirability and necessity of exterminating the opposing forces. But, entrenched in positions almost impregnable in the main theatre of war, both sides vigorously announce victory for themselves (these victories, of course, usually are "moral" ones) until it would appear that some truth is contained in the reported words of Joffre that "the game is stalemate." With fifteen millions of fighting men dead or permanently disabled (according to a blue blooded member of the "coroneted landlords and mitred clergy" assembly) and little or no real difference in the relative positions of the combatants, it becomes necessary for the henchmen of our masters to hoodwink us still further in this matter by stating that no terms of peace will be considered until Germany has been beaten to her knees.

Germany declares that she will wage war on the barbarism of Russia, the ferocity of France, the hypocrisy of Britain, and the perfidy of Italy, with all the strength that she possesses; Russia will stake her last

"moujik," France will shed the blood of her last son, Italy will sacrifice every olive faced slave in her realm, and Britain will resist to the extent of all her available resources.

Three million Germans already sleep, over one million Frenchmen have spoken for the last time, and several million gallant warriors of Russia, Italy and Britain have fought their last battle. But the end is not yet!

A stalemate is arrived at for both sides pile up armaments in equal proportions with feverish haste, and the question, therefore, remains unsolved.

"A war of attrition!" declare our gallant warriors of the pen and pulpit. "The British Empire has twelve millions available for war and the power that can place the last man on the field of battle will prove victorious."

Verily, a glorious prospect! The last "moujik" and the last Austrian peasant; the last son of fair France and the last worshipper of Mahomet; the last boy of the "bulldog breed" and the last consumer of "beer and sausages" fighting the war of "attrition" to the bitter and final conclusion.

What arrant fools our masters be! No notion of mutual destruction such as the wise men of today eagerly anticipate ever entered into the heads of the Kilkenny felines. The exploits of Xerxes and Nabonidus, the bloody savagery of Nero and Torquemada, the terrors of the Spanish Inquisition and Siberia's icy wastes, pale into utter insignificance compared with capitalism's crowning act of debauchery and slaughter—a Christian war of "attrition."

In the day that is fast approaching when the workers banded together as one man oppose their might to their master's might, their knowledge to their master's cunning, their wisdom to their master's perfidy; when no quarter will be given and no mercy asked, may we remember the lessons of this day, and, pushing the honeyed words of those who now rule and rob down their cowardly throats, make clear in very deed, to them, the significance of a "war of attrition."

W. A. P.



## SPREAD THE LIGHT!

The Socialist Movement does not justify its existence by advocating the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth. Neither is it proof that persons who endorse such an objective with no foundation other than the beautiful utopia they build are Socialists.

Then who are the Socialists, and what is Socialism? Taking the last question first, we will try to outline it as briefly as possible.

Socialism is a movement which arose as an expression of the antagonism of interests between the wage worker and the capitalist.

Class Struggles of previous forms of society reflected more or less the interests of a developing feudal class against the rulers of chattel slavery, or later, the interest of a rising capitalist class against that of feudalism; and although the enslaved portion fought in these battles and was a greater factor in so far as physical force is concerned than any other portion of society, we know that the various clashes of conflicting interests in the past, supported by the workers, were simply those of new classes aspiring to political power, that they might the better exploit the workers and realise greater profits.

The Socialists have discovered these class struggles and explain them as one of the fundamental arguments in favor of the abolition of capitalism. The Socialist knows by looking into the past and following general progress to the present that these class struggles could not have culminated in any other form of society than capitalism.

The evolution of the tool from its primitive stage up to the huge complicated machinery of the present has banded the world's producers together through division and subdivision of labor, the result being that no one produces any article completely but merely assists in the production of all articles.

For instance, those who produce the raw material, such as farmers, miners, etc., must have instruments of production to carry on their work successfully. These instruments, in

the case of the farmer, who is supposed to have such glorious advantages according to the "back-to-the-land" advocate, must have at least a plow. Who made the plow? Not the farmer. Does the farmer ever try to find out? Well! those that do soon discover that their independent position is a myth, as the plow can only be produced today with the assistance of every brand of labor from the miner who produces the ore and coal to the smelter who, with the use of coal prepares the furnace that was built by bricklayers to smelt the ore and make it into steel, and the machinist who shapes and produces the finished plows. There are numerous other details that go towards the production of the plow. All these producers, who play their part in the production of the plow (and the same applies to every other article) depend on the farmer tilling the soil, producing the wheat, transporting it to the mill where it becomes flour, and later on becomes bread, which we all need in order to live. This crude outline goes to show that as units our productive power is greatest when we use it collectively. We, the workers of the world, have become organized around the tools of production, so that the greatest benefit can be realized by the workers as a whole when a sufficient number of them realize that man's power is social and not individual.

The "tooth and claw" struggle for existence that capitalism maintains is no longer in harmony with human progress. The competitive struggle was necessary to development, but it has performed its function by concentrating all the forces of production in the manner outlined, and as a result driving the capitalist class into a parasitic position where they live in luxury and debauchery, totally useless in the realms of production.

What material difference would it make if the directors of the C. P. R. were to drop dead? The trains would run just the same. Outside of the relatives and friends mourning, and the mis-informing newspapers writing up several yards of slush and lies about the great loss to the world, everything would be all right. But supposing all the engineers and firemen were to die there would certainly

be a great material difference. The train service would be upset until these very useful individuals had been replaced. A child six months old can control millions of dollars of wealth in the means of life. No intelligence is necessary on the part of the wonderful owners of the forces of production. The profits roll to them simply as a result of having been born in that particular class supported and protected by the majority of the workers.

To solve this problem we must remember the slogan of Marx: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, a world to gain."

The powers of production are sufficient to satisfy society with all the necessities of life. If we realize that it is the historic mission of the working class (the last class in history) to emancipate itself, then being the last class, it will, as a result of its emancipation, also free society as a whole from economic bondage and eliminate classes for ever. Remember the song the machine is singing "Own the land and you solve the bread and butter question." To attain this we must organize our power. The Socialist Party of Canada is an expression of those who are conscientiously working in the interest of progress, realising that the material conditions demand even now a change of thought on the part of the workers, which change in its turn will be reflected in the removal of the existing reactionary institutions, political, religious, etc., and the establishment of an administration that will represent the interest of those who toil, and not, as it is today, protect the property interest of a small set of parasites.

We, therefore, call upon all workers to assist in the spreading of working class knowledge and thus kill vote catching schemes and political reforms. Thus alone can we be saved from the confusion manifested in Germany, Great Britain, U. S. A., and other places where numbers were considered more important than knowledge. In all these places where big parties grew like mushrooms, all kinds of professional men who were "alike"

talkers became Socialists (1) and joined the party, finally harmonizing it with popular sentiment, thereby making it of commedial value. We can judge this Socialist (1) commercial movement only by its propaganda. We represent the revolutionary working class whose only plank can be "the establishment as soon as possible of production for use instead of for profit." The name "Socialist" is no more proof of a Socialist than the label on a black bottle, is proof that there is "black and white" whiskey in it. The contents might be water, or coal oil; the bottle might be empty, investigation will disclose the truth and the seeker cannot be fooled.

Therefore, we urge all workers interested to analyse the propaganda of our party, and attack any attempt to switch it from the uncompromising position. By the distribution of literature, through the efforts of speakers and organisers, the knowledge must be disseminated that the workers, as a class, can alone accomplish their emancipation when they realize that the individual expresses far greater power acting in harmony with the rest of his class.

In order that this may be brought about as speedily as possible assist those who have banded together under the banner of the Socialist Party and are taking the only stand: "No compromise! No political trading!" Support the "Western Clarion!"

**TOM CONNOR**  
(S. P. of C. Organizer).

## "TRAMPS."

(This article was penned some 15 months ago, but is nevertheless, appropriate for the present time. It is published without apology or excuse.—Ed. Clarion.)

Since Frank Munsey bought the New York Press the editorial outlook has pointed towards a more "progressive" policy. Its columns now and again contain matter of an extremely interesting character, so interesting in fact, I am constrained to quote, or rather deal with an article that in some instances consists of statements that could readily have been related by a Socialist in a propaganda speech.

Of course to expect any capitalist periodical to point to the real cause altogether, would be as reasonable as expecting a mortal to aspire to the actions of Zeus. Yet even in its endeavor to deal with the question, it has adduced certain opinions that are worth preserving.

The article is on "Tramps." Of course, we know what the tramp is. We know how he arises, and knowing that we also know that there is out one way to abolish him.

The hobo, tramp, and 'ner-do-well', are not such because they are desirous of so being. No! They are hoboes, tramps and 'ner-do-wells' because their social conditions have made them such. But the present article is one that deals not so much with the hobo as the tramp. The fact is that the tramp is generally a social outcast, one who, after years sometimes only months, of wearisome endeavor to obtain a good job, becomes melancholy, begins to view conditions in a new light and desires to roam about in order to drown his sorrows. Being unemployed, his persistence in asking for a job and as constantly being refused naturally makes him a person absolutely unfitted for a job. He has degenerated into an unemployable. This class always degenerated. But all unemployables are not always termed degenerates.

There are unemployed who are considered both decent and regenerate. But this class are also a pauper class, depending upon the charity of the capitalist class for their sustenance.

The sole difference between these two sections is that, whereas the dispossessed worker is pauperised by the fact that his class is robbed, the other pauper is pampered due to the workers being skinned.

Society breeds paupers at both ends. One with crowns, sceptres, coronets; the other, a shoeless, listless, dejected crowd sweltering in a morass of despair.

The "Press" gave the opinions of persons qualified in such subjects, such as mission workers, charity organisation men and social workers. One, Dr. Lewis, gave his reasons for the existence of tramps as follows: He says they result from overerowd-

ing, child labor, sickness, accidents at work, idleness. In this country the possibility is greater for "tramping" because of the availability of the railway service.

Mr. Charles Blatchley, a superintendent of a charitable institution dealing with such cases, pointed out how the judges deal with these tramps. "A few weeks ago I was in court," says this gentleman, "and I saw how the judge sent 13 persons over to the island (Blackwell's Island, N. Y.) for six months each. This took him just about five minutes. He did not make any investigation concerning the circumstances attending any of the cases. I later on discovered that one of the 13 was a consumptive, one was an imbecile, and the third was mentally deficient."

The superintendent of the Bowery Mission, New York, made some startling remarks. He said "that many people who do not frequently get in contact with tramps have curious ideas about them. They think that a tramp is a drunkard, an outlaw, and lazy. That is not true. If anyone made a study of these people, he would think in another direction. Born under distressing conditions, their whole life has been depressed, they themselves are not responsible, nor are their parents, but the conditions under which their parents lived.

"Many of these tramps are half crazy because they get no full sleep. They have no place to take off their shoes. They haven't the opportunity to keep themselves, and their filthy bodies affect their mentality. It is true that seven-eighths of the tramps drink liquor. But they only drink to drown their sorrows.

"One drinks because he has lost his family. Another because of his dejected condition. A third because he is old and weak. They all wish their death rather than lead such a life. These people are not lost altogether. Many of them get out of these situations. If society would only assist a little a majority of them could be reclaimed. For the old people, there is no hope, they are beyond redemption."

That in brief is the position as the "Press" states it. They point out

that there are 40,000 tramps in New York. Here is a problem that the master class will have to deal with. Hoboes are inherent in the capitalist system. Only by putting an end to the system can you abolish the unemployed.

The testimony of the last witness is invaluable, because he deals with the drink question in a manner that would give sensible prohibitionists (if there are any) the blues. Men of the "lowest" type are not so because they drink. They drink to drown their sorrows. There is the lie direct to the water wagon mob.

But after all we may extend our sympathy to such poor wretches as capitalism makes in its orbit. We may go even further and pity them. One thing, however, we cannot forget, that the flotsam and jetsam of capitalism are bone of bone of ourselves, and they with us must be emancipated. Hoboes are just as necessary to the system as workers are. For the hoboes are the rejected useless tools of the master class. The hoboes who grace the thrones of the world are necessary to our—and their—masters. This idle diseased and degenerate crew want abolishing along with the other hoboes.

The Socialist Party is not a mission charity organization. These deal with the effects of capitalism. All sections of the master class do that. We are concerned only with the overthrow of the present regime, and not with curing ills or evils of capitalism, whilst we are slaves. The only "remedy" for capitalism is to abolish it. The speedier the better.

#### MOSES BARITZ.

President Wilson was "quietly" married the other day to Mrs. Galt. Let Uncle Sam now vigorously prepare for war with Austria.

"If I were director of recruiting."

—Bottomley talking to Lord Derby in "John Bull."

"If I were a woman."

—Bottomley addressing the "dear ladies" in "Everywoman's Weekly."

"Lions led by asses."

—Heading to article in "John Bull."

#### GRIBBLE PROTESTS.

The Dominion Executive Committee  
Socialist Party of Canada,  
W. A. Pritchard, Secretary.

Comrade—

In reply to your communication dated 17th November, refusing joint credentials to myself and wife as propagandists, I wish to state that I emphatically differ from you, deny your authority to withhold credentials for reasons (2) stated, and absolutely and finally refuse to accept your ruling.

My position is that all the power you have in the matter is to decide on the honesty and competence of prospective speakers or organizers.

In motion "B" the statement is made that my wife and I intended to use same (credentials) as a means of obtaining permission to speak under the auspices of the Socialist Party of America. This wording shows a suspicious alacrity to jump at a conclusion, as the Socialist Party of America has never been mentioned in our communications re credentials, and to a means of obtaining permission to speak, I have never found it necessary to show my credentials on the other side of the line, or on this either, for that matter.

All you have to hang such a statement on is my communication giving route which would probably be taken by my wife and I, which was partly through the States. I may say that arrangements have already been made for meetings in the States, not by any Locals of the S. P. of A., but by personal friends of my wife and I, and we your august permission to avail ourselves of their ready offices? But let me say right here that I will do in the future as I have in the past, as O'Brien has done, is doing, and I am convinced, will continue to do, and as all speakers of the Party have hitherto done, and that is to avail myself of any help in propaganda work from any source, at any time in any place wherever we have no local organization.

I will speak to any crowd that any local or individual member of the S. D. P. of C. or the S. P. of A. may gather for the purpose, giving as best I can, what I have always given—the straightest, undiluted revolutionary message.

What if the S. P. of A. and the S. D. P. of C. are reform-parties, we would be foolish to refuse to accept the help of such of their Locals or individual members who are in advance of the party. We have had good reason to accept their help as our propagandists of the S. P. of C. who have the stomach to stay on the road any length of time know from experience.

I may say that I have found from experience that the "wise guys" of the S. P. of A. and the S. D. P. of C. do all in their power to prevent their membership helping our propagandists, which fact alone is enough to show the wisdom of accepting the help of any honest rebels, and there are many such, who happen to be more or less temporarily, members of those organizations.

Propaganda work in Canada is already hard enough without being made still more difficult by any such ridiculous restrictions as you are endeavoring to impose, and I emphatically repeat that I shall pay no regard whatever to your dictum in this case, unless and until a referendum has proved the Party to be in its favor, but shall in any place where our Party has no organization, accept whatever help I can get.

I asked for joint credentials for my

wife and myself. In her case, all you had to judge by what a single article written by herself and my word that she was sufficiently posted in the science of Socialism to speak. As for myself, I am already an authorized propagandist of the Party, and shall continue to act as such unless and until the PARTY says "Nay," denying the right, because I deny the power of any group of men within the Party to withdraw that authorization by abolishing a long established and useful principle of the Party—the right and duty of its propagandists to expound Socialism to the workers at every opportunity on any occasion, however "great" those men may be by virtue of their official position.

I may say in conclusion, that these same men are badly afflicted by the "reform disease" they mention, judging by their arbitrary attempts to "reform" the Party.

Hoping I have been sufficiently explicit, I remain in all comradeship,

WILFRID GRIBBLE

P.S.—I am sending this to every Local of our Party of whose existence I am aware.—W. G.

#### "WE" RETORT

That, considering the present predicament of Wilfred Gribble, this committee do all in its power to help him in his trouble, but reiterates its previous statement re members speaking for other political parties. Also that Gribble's letter be published in the next issue of "Western Clarion," and that secretary be instructed to state position of D. E. C. at same time.

In the above stated motion carried unanimously at a special meeting of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada, the position of that committee is tersely stated respecting the peculiar position of that committee, of Wilfred Gribble.

A glance at his communication to us (which, it will be observed, he had also sent to all Locals of the S. P. of C., of which he has any knowledge) is enough to convince any person of the attitude adopted by him, but an extended explanation of "our" own position may not be out of place at this point.

Having, first and foremost, the education of the members of the working class in mind, and recognizing the terrible influence of the "reform" and "compromise" disease, which played such sad havoc with the German S. D. P., and is even now leading the S. P. of A. into the same hapless position, and further realizing the reform and, therefore, capitalist nature of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, we were compelled, by the very necessity of

"our" knowledge of the capitalist system and the position that a party professedly voicing the revolutionary proposition should take up, to commence to clean up our own party of "reform" and "compromise." "Charity begins at home" is an adage not without its merit.

For the past few years, the majority of the present personnel of the D. E. C. have been constantly at war with the "labor" element on the coast, which one time was a part of the S. P. of C. They have also been compelled, on every possible occasion, to oppose strenuously the pernicious twaddle indulged in by the S. D. P. here. That they have succeeded, at least, in placing this element outside of the party, is an accomplishment which cannot be lightly set aside. That those who thus fought for clarity in the movement and for reformers and "labor" politicians to be placed in their proper position, and succeeded in a measure, will tolerate for one moment the efforts, conscious or otherwise, of any individual parading the colors of this party, to help out and build up the same element in the East (where, if anything, it is worse than on the coast) is, consequently, the last thing to be expected.

We have no objection (nor could any other persons have any objection) to any member of the S. P. of C. holding forth before an audience brought together under the auspices of the S. P. of A., or the S. D. P. of C., providing he stated, without equivocation, the position of this party, in which case he would, of necessity, be compelled to show the reform and bourgeois nature of those particular parties referred to.

Thus we do, and will continue to, object to any member of the S. P. of C. holding meetings, or series of meetings, under either of the aforementioned auspices and pandering to the membership of those particular parties from which, at the moment, they may, more or less, be drawing a meal ticket.

"No compromise! No political trading!" long ago was supposed to be our motto. It was made farcical by the very antics that Gribble (according to his own statement) will

persist in indulging in. From now on we are determined that this shall have more than mere terminological value; that is, it shall, indeed, be made a living principle of the party. Many men who were members of the S. D. P. of C. have written us stating that they have finally become convinced of the futility of "boring from within" and have left the S. D. P. of C. to rot in its own corruption. This they have done, not because of helping any of those members who may be a little in advance of the party, but because the opposition of the S. P. of C. to the S. D. P. of C. opened their eyes to the reform canker.

We are convinced that the policy that has been so aggressively prosecuted by the present D. E. C., has with few exceptions, found favor with the bulk of what many are pleased to term the "rank and file" of the S. P. of C. In taking this stand we do not presume the position of autocrats, but adopt it for the good of clear propaganda and real education to the class of which we are members.

#### The Dominion Executive Committee

A. McLean  
J. Jenkins  
F. Parsons  
H. Partridge  
J. Smith  
J. A. McDonald  
W. A. Pritchard,  
(Secretary)

#### VANCOUVER LOCAL NO. 1. STATES ITS POSITION.

Vancouver, B. C. Dec. 21st 1915

To The Secretary,  
Dom. Ex. Com.

S. P. of C.

Dear Comrade—

At the regular business meeting of Local Vancouver, No. 1, S. P. of C. held to night, the following motion was carried unanimously.

"That the Local endorse the resolution passed by the D. E. C. prohibiting members of the Party from speaking under the auspices of the S. D. P. of C. or the S. P. of A. except

in opposition."

In the opinion of the members of this Local, taking into consideration the non-revolutionary and reform attitude of both the S. D. P. of C. and the S. P. of A. this resolution is most timely.

Any member of the Party who handles the straight propaganda, according to the adopted principles of the Party, must of necessity be in opposition to any and all reform parties; and we therefore fail to see any room for objection by any member of the party who places the straight propaganda above the securing of a meal ticket.

While there may be many "honest rebels" (whatever they may be) in the S. D. P. of C. and the S. P. of A. we are compelled to say that, judging from their attitude in the present "crisis" there are not many revolutionaries, which, in itself, is very significant in view of the amount of propaganda supposedly disseminated in recent years in some of the strongholds of the S. D. P. of C., in the East.

Finally, according to the duties of the D. E. C. as laid down in the constitution, Art. IV. Sec. 1. Par. 1.—"To employ organizers to further the interest of the Party, the Committee to be held strictly responsible for the qualification and efficiency of such," in our opinion empowers the D. E. C., to grant or withhold organizer's credentials from any member of the party at their discretion. Furthermore as Art. 2, Sec. II, prohibits any local from entering into any compromise with any other political party or from rendering financial aid to any other political party, the same prohibition must necessarily extend to all members of locals otherwise the section quoted becomes meaningless.

In conclusion we would say that in our opinion any member dissatisfied with the above mentioned resolution of the D. E. C. is in the wrong party.

J. Kavanag,  
W. Morris  
W. Bennett  
Committee.



### "FOR THE SOLDIERS CONSCIENCE."

In the "Literary Digest" of Nov. 27th, 1915, an article appeared under the title "For the Soldier's Conscience" in which the writer attempts to show how the Catholic Church sets the minds of the faithful at ease with respect to the war. This work which is an illustrated "Short Life of Christ" has been distributed among the Italian soldiers by the "Society of Catholic Youth of Italy."

Of late the newspapers have been full of items explaining the various means by which the Papacy was striving for peace, and the above is one method which has been apparently put into practice. For instance, here is an extract from the preface written by an Italian priest named Father Genocchi: It is indeed true that Christ said: 'If one strike thee on thy right cheek turn to him also the other.' But neither he nor the apostles ever ordered soldier converts to renounce their military service and war. And, moreover, there are so many other things in the gos-

pel, in the apostolic writings, and in the treasure of the holy traditions preserved by the church that the sound explanation of that great evangelical precept is not difficult to find. Christ puts before us a divine ideal of perfection, to be put in practice as well as possible in the degree granted by our moral condition, exception being made in the case of some great duties for which everything, even life itself, must be sacrificed."

The main ethic of the Christian religion is submission, and that means submission to the powers that be, i.e., capital. When capital orders men to kill their fellow workers of other lands, because one set of masters have a quarrel with another set, they must obey. That is all that the above paragraph means when religious glamor is torn off and its real meaning exposed to view. That is the "Evangelical precept" re-interpreted to suit this particular occasion. As to the "divine ideal of perfection" it simply means the continuation of the—from the master's point of view—most perfect of all systems

(the present one) for which "even life itself, must be sacrificed."

Thus we see the main function of religion in modern times is to chloroform the minds of the workers so that they may have a "clear conscience" in doing their master's bidding.

The church, like every other institution, is composed of a number of individuals who get their living by its maintenance, and, quite naturally, it opposes any other movement which conflicts with its interests. As these interests must be in accord with capital, they are antagonistic to the revolutionary working class, and the beneficiaries will therefore, do all in their power to maintain the existing order of society. In fact this does not only apply to the christian religion but to all others.

It is plain then that religion was ever opposed to us in our struggle to overthrow capitalism, and we must fight it whenever necessary. We must, however, bear in mind at the same time that it is only one of many forces which are used against us. For instance, there are the schools, colleges, courts, the state, the press, etc.

The Press is one of the most powerful levers for forming public opinion, and it does so at the present time to suit the powers that be. News is distorted, and censored; lies are printed by the score. In order to expose the kept press and educate our fellow workers to their own interests as members of a class subjugated it becomes the duty of every revolutionist to do his or her part in making the circulation of our paper as large as possible. For before the working class can be intelligently organized into a political party they must be educated along scientific lines and a regularly issued paper is the best organizer.

It is upon the understanding of certain scientific facts that the Socialist philosophy is founded, and the sooner the workers become aware that in order to gain economic freedom they must understand these facts; that there are no short cuts by which we can avoid education; that better conditions will not fall like manna from heaven, nor yet a

Jesus Christ arise to lead them into the promised land. No! "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves." Recent events in Europe and America prove the truth of this contention.

We have seen "labor leaders" and pseudo-Socialists misleading the workers whom they were supposed to represent; but an educated worker cannot be misled because he does his own thinking, and the leader loses his job. In fact a small organization with an educated membership is far stronger than a large organization with the majority of its members uneducated. Among the uneducated the necessity for leaders arises and they must inevitably land into the camp of their enemies bound and gagged. Along such a path of compromise and reform tread the German Social Democracy.

We can observe, therefore, that education is the first consideration. So take your place in "the firing line" and do your "bit" for your "class" by distributing Socialist literature whenever and wherever possible. Thus can you help to build the international Socialist movement upon a sound scientific basis. To this end we insist on scientific analysis, on clarity of thought and strenuously object to coquetry or evasion respecting religious tomfoolery.

A. McLEAN

69 Raglan Road,  
Kingston, Ont.  
Nov 24th, 1915

#### Ed. Clarion:

The writer having been a "preacher of discontent" for nigh unto twenty years, his remarks on the vital and much debated topic of "Socialism and Religion" may not be entirely without merit.

I joined Berlin Local shortly after its formation as a local of the S. P. of C., and stayed with it after the split when it became a local of the S. D. P. of C.

I look back with pleasant memories to experiences with many good Reds, both among the membership of the S. P. and S. D. P. of Canada. But since my experiences in Montreal during the spring and summer of this year, also having in mind

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Issued by the

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

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Socialist Party of Canada

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the lessons of the war, after joining the Montreal Local of the S. P. of C., I have not only become convinced of the futility of "boring from within," but also feel that all true Reds should adopt the motto of "No compromise," and as all political parties are the expression of class interests, true Socialist organizations must, like the S. P. of C. and the S. P. of G. B., wage war on all other political parties, i.e. be opposed not only to avowedly capitalistic but to so-called labor and pseudo or Christian Socialist crowds as well.

So the writer was pleased with the declaration as to the official stand of our

party published in the June issue of the "Western Clarion." I read the various contributions on the subject, finding Barton's essay particularly interesting and worth while.

Now after these few personal reminiscient remarks, as a contribution aiming to show up the hypocrisy of our rulers, it may be in order to give the readers of the "Clarion" the little essay the writer contributed to "Cotton's Weekly" of Sept. 18th, 1913.

Yours in revolt,  
**GUSTAVE PRAGER**

(Article mentioned will appear in next issue.—Ed. Clarion.)

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# :: Executive Committee Reports ::

## DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At the office of the Secretary, Tuesday, Dec. 7th, 1915, at 9 p.m.  
Present: Smith, Parsons, Jenkins, McDonald, McLean, and the Secretary, Chairman: Smith.

The Secretary reported reason for calling special meeting, same being to discuss communication from special committee of the S. P. of N. A., with headquarters at Toronto.

The communication, which gave a short account of why Local No. 24 of the S. P. of C. (Toronto) had withdrawn from that party in the year 1910 went on to state that in the interim many changes had taken place in the personnel of both parties, and that the stand of the S. P. of C., respecting Socialist essentials and party discipline apparently now approximating that of the S. P. N. A., no valid reason existed for not discussing the situation to see whether or not any real difference existed.

The Secretary was instructed by motion (McDonald—McLean) with a long and earnest discussion, to state the position of this committee as desiring to keep the message to the workers clear and unadulterated; that we welcomed any sincere desire on the part of anyone understanding the revolutionary proposition and that a revised constitution had already been drawn up in draft, but had not been submitted to referendum owing to lack of finance. Further instructions were to the effect that the personnel of the present D. E. C. of the S. P. of C., understood and fully appreciated the position of local Toronto No. 24, S. P. of C., at the time of their withdrawal, and had themselves remained within the ranks of the S. P. of C. for the purpose of cleaning out the fakirs, and cleaning up the reform mess from within. On these grounds the D. E. C. of this party suggests that the S. P. N. A. become affiliated with the S. P. of C., the latter name being considered far more suitable for a party operating within the Dominion of Canada.

The Secretary was further empowered to borrow the funds now in the bank under the name of "S. P. of C. Press Fund" considering that there was no immediate prospect of going ahead with the proposition, our present prices for printing being cheaper than what we could operate on ourselves even with a plant.

Convened at the office of the Secretary, Dec. 14th, 1915, 9 p.m.  
Present: Jenkins, Parsons, Partridge, Smith, McLean and the Secretary.  
Chairman: Jenkins.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.  
Correspondence: S. Odegaard, Prince Rupert, B. C.; D. G. McKenzie, Alberni, B. C.; Neil McIntyre, Chase River, B. C.; A. Harris, Velder Crossing, B. C.; Gibson's Landing Local, B. C.; J. Piffenington, Armstrong, B. C.; Paterson, Winnipeg Daily Herald League, London, Eng.; J. Connett, Kenora, Ont.; Local Roseland, B. C.; Local Clayton, B. C.; G. Prager, Kingston, Ont.; Local Travers, Alta.; Night letter from S. E. White, St. John, N. B.; Org. Connor (2); Org. Reid (1).

On motion (McLean—Partridge) the matter of the arrest of Wilfrid Gribble (as stated in night-telegram from St. John, N. B.) was left over until further particulars were forthcoming, when special meeting would be called.

### Financial Report

Western Clarion	
Receipts.	
Advertisement: Main Hotel	\$ 5.00
Job work: Cordova Hotel	5.00
Subs:	18.00
Directory:	
Local Gibson's Landing	1.00
Local Roseland	1.00
Local Edmonton	1.00
Local Vancouver No. 1	1.00
Bundles:	
Local Gibson's Landing	.30
Local Roseland	.50
Local Kenora	1.00
Local Edmonton	2.00
Local Vancouver No. 1	4.00
Organiser: Connor	.50
C. M. F.:	
Local Vancouver No. 1	6.10
Local Clayton	1.50
A. Karme	1.00
Per S. Earp	2.00
Per Loan from "Press"	70.50
An Albertan	2.00
J. Donovan	1.00
	\$4.10
	\$184.30

Expenses.	
Cambie Printing Co.	11.00
	71.10
P. O. Stamps	
Mail—stamps	2.00
Glue, Cartage, etc.	.75
Extra bundles to O'Brien etc.	.75
Janitor	2.00
	7.50
	\$89.60

### Dominion Executive Committee

Receipts.	
Buttons: Local Travers	\$1.00
Stamps: Local Travers	1.75
	\$2.75
Expenses.	
W. A. P.	\$11.00
Sundries: Stamps	22.00
Express to Reid	.30
	2.30
	\$13.30

### Adjournment

Special meeting held at the office of the Secretary, Dec. 18th, 1915, at 9 p.m.  
Present: McLean, Parsons, Jenkins, Smith, McDonald, and the Secretary, Chairman: McLean.  
The Secretary stated the purpose of the meeting: Gribble's reply to the statement made by the D. E. C. respecting organizers some time ago.  
After long and serious discussion the following motion was put and carried unanimously.  
(McDonald—Jenkins). This, consid-

ering the present predicament of Wilfrid Gribble, this committee do all in its power to help him in his trouble, but reiterates its previous statement re members speaking for other political parties. Also that Gribble's letter be published in the Western Clarion, and that secretary be instructed to state position of D. E. C. at same time.  
Adjournment.

### THE DOM. EXECUTIVE

Committee for the year 1916 will be composed of the following:  
A. McLean, J. Jenkins, J. Smith, H. Partridge, J. A. McDonald, J. Harrington and W. A. Pritchard.  
W. Bennett will be seated during the absence of W. A. P.

### MEMS AND NOW

"Jock" Reid	5	13
C. M. O'Brien	1	1
H. Lightstone	1	1
W. A. P.	2	
	9	15

Singles.—Dollar Subs.: A. A. Cronk, Jas. F. Stott; B. D. Huntley; J. W. Dargie; Ted. Saxon; Alex. Leckie. Fifty cents Subs.—W. Mulholland; S. Earp; A. Harris; J. C. Campbell; John Barton; T. Connor.  
Twenty Five Cents.—Nelson; M. Leech.

Thirty seven new readers! With some help from Montreal, and other eastern points we will get the paper out twice a month, yet.  
How about Montreal, Bartog? Let us hear from you.

### PROPAGANDA MEETING

Vancouver Local No. 1 S. P. of C. EVERY SUNDAY, 8 p.m.

### NATIONAL THEATRE

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## SECRETARIAL SCRAPS

by "Domsec."

The "Party Manifesto," having been carefully reviewed by a sub-committee of the D. E. C. appointed for that purpose, has now been turned in to the printer for publication, when it will re-appear as the "fourth edition." When the proofs have been drawn copies will be submitted to all P. E. C.'s for perusal with a view to ascertaining their opinions. The work has been remodelled, particularly the section dealing with the "Class Struggle," and we think that, as it now stands, it is one of the most scientific expressions, for its size, of the working class position, printed in the English language.

"Ye editor" rises from his seat of virtue in the "sanctum sanctorum" on the 6th of the month and betakes himself to Calgary, where he will speak on the 9th. After that, by short stages to Edmonton. If he can withstand the weather, the "Moral Reform" League, the "Ladies Aid," and the S. D. P. he hopes to have a pretty good passage.

In another part of this issue, the D. E. C. position respecting Wilfrid Gribble arrested for sedition in St. John, Dec. 7th, is defined for the benefit of readers "generally" and members "particularly." While this committee will not tolerate any melodramatic blood and thunder on the part of any one, who is new, or yet hopes to be, organizer for the Party, it, nevertheless, realizes the gravity of Gribble's present predicament, and, as pointed out in it, reply to him, cannot do other than all in its power to assist in his release. Any one desiring to assist financially send donations to S. E. White, 24 Main St., St. John, N. B. Receipts will be acknowledged in this paper.

Com. H. Vindeg tells us he is about to send in the proceeds of ONE ACRE. There are also several members of Local Roseland, Sask., who have promised to do the same. And yet we consider Sask. one of the poorest organized provinces in the Dominion.

# Socialist Party Directory

**LOCAL VANCOUVER No. 1, S. P. of C.**  
Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Education Class every Sunday 8 p.m. Propaganda Class every Wednesday 8 p.m. at Headquarters, Avenue Theatre. Dialectics Class every Friday, 8 p.m. in D. E. C. Headquarters, A. R. Sinclair, Secretary.

**VANCOUVER LETTER LOCAL No. 58**  
S. P. of C. Business meeting every first meeting every third Sunday at 8 p.m. Open: P. O. Box 1422, 1115 Pender E. Secretary, R. Amat, Box 687.

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C. No. 46, Finlay**  
Meets every second and fourth Wednesday in the month at 2116 Pender St. East. Org. Lind, Secretary.

**LOCAL GIBSON'S LANDING, B. C. No. 49**  
S. P. of C. Meets first and third Sundays of each month in Socialist Hall, W. Bennett, Secretary, Gibson's Landing, B. C.

**LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.**  
Free reading room and headquarters at 715 Second St. Propaganda meetings every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre. First Tuesday at 8 p.m. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8 p.m. L. Buckthorpe, organizer, P. O. Box 1422, H. H. Somers, Secretary, P. O. Box 1422, Phone 3495.

**LOCAL EDMONTON No. 65, S. P. of C.**  
Business meetings first Sunday in each month at 7:30 p.m. Propaganda, third Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m. in the Theatre Main St. Everybody welcome. J. F. Langton, Secretary, R. R. No. 4, Armstrong, B. C.

**LOCAL LETHBRIDGE ALTA, No. 12, S. P. of C.**  
Meets every Sunday at 7:30 P.M. in Miners' Hall, Secretary, W. Shaw, 219 19th St. N. Wm. Derooy, Organizer.

**LOCAL No. 1, WINNIPEG, S. P. OF C.**  
Club and Reading Room, 6 Home Bank Building, Main Street. Business meetings every Friday at 8 P.M. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at 7:45 P.M. in Globe Theatre. Portage Ave. Literature Agent R. C. McCutcheon, Secretary, R. J. Johns, 1484 Ross Ave.

**LOCAL MONTREAL N. E. S. P. OF C.**  
Headquarters 178 Dorchester St. West. Open every evening. N. M. Leech, Secretary, Box 144, Sta. B.

**LOCAL TORONTO No. 1, S. P. OF C.**  
Propaganda meeting, Saturday 8 p.m. Lecture Hall, College & Elizabeth. Geo. Kossiter, Secretary, 52, Tiverton Ave.

**LOCAL GLACE BAY, N. S. No. 1, S. P. OF C.**  
Headquarters Commercial St. Open every evening. Business and propaganda meeting every Sunday at 8 p.m. Harold G. Ross, Secretary, Box 583.

**LOCAL SANDOW, B. C. No. 36, S. P. OF C.**  
Meets every Tuesday at 7:30 P.M. in the Sandon Miners' Union Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandow, B. C.

**LOCAL NELSON, S. P. OF C. MEETS**  
every Friday at 8 p.m. in Miners' Hall. Nelson, B. C. I. A. Austin, Secretary.

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Socialist Party of Canada meets every alternate Tuesday, 9 P.M., Avenue Theatre, Vancouver, B. C. W. A. Pritchard, Secretary.

**BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, Socialist Party of Canada, same as above.

**ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, Secretary, Mrs. S. I. Johnson, Knik, Box 785, Edmonton.

**SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, S. P. OF C. Invites all comrades residing in this province to communicate with them on organization matters. Address, Geo. Grazer, 73 Hochelaga E., Moose Jaw, Sask.

**MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**: Invites all scientific Socialists in the province to become affiliated with the Party. If unable to form a Local in your district you can become a member at large. For any information or literature apply to the Secretary, Alex. Paterson, Suite 6, Asquith Block, Furby St., Winnipeg.

**ONTARIO AND QUEBEC PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, W. H. F. Kent, Box 143, Station B, Montreal, P. Q. All Socialists desiring information on organization matters, or literature, should write to the above address, and will receive prompt attention.

**NOVA SCOTIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, Socialist Party of Canada, meets every second and fourth Sundays in the Cape Breton office of the Party, Commercial Street, Glace Bay, N. S. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay.

**NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**—A. Taylor, Secretary, Last St. Invites all for Party literature and information on organization matters, etc. write to above address.

**LOCAL FERRIS, S. P. OF C.** hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall, every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 10 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 568; Organizer, Wm. Allen, Box 568.

**LOCAL ROSELAND, No. 25, S. P. OF C.** meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secretary, Box 84.

**LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. OF C.** Headquarters and Reading Room 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meeting every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, Fred. Harman, 1424 Government St.

**LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C. No. 70**—Business meetings every first and third Sunday at 7:30 p.m. at 10:30 a.m. economic classes every Sunday and Friday, at 7 p.m. in the Socialist Hall opposite E. O. Registrar's Office. Propaganda meetings at every opportunity. Secretary, H. Walker.

**LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B. No. 1, S. P. OF C.** Visiting Comrades are welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 44 Main St.

Alberta! Alberta!! Alberta!!!  
"What will you say when asked: 'What did you do in the GREAT war?'" Echo answers—what!  
The next issue may give us some clue.  
Let us hope so!

**IF** LOCALS would remit on accounts regularly half the anxiety now felt at headquarters would disappear.



# PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produced all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system give to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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drink they go to the

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