

WESTERN CLARION

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



IN THE INTERESTS OF THE
WORKING CLASS

The Official Organ of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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Introduction to Fourth Edition of Our Manifesto.

By D. G. MCKENZIE.

Since the first issue of the Manifesto, many events have transpired of more or less importance, but all to be diverted into insignificance by the outbreak of the most colossal and destructive war of all time—a war which has all the appearance of being the opening of a new chapter in human history, not on account of those of its aspects which loom largest in the popular eye, but for the underlying social and economic changes it is hastening and the valuable lessons it has already writ large for the workers' reading. Yet it is precisely these latter features which are practically neglected, while the former are given an attention altogether beyond their merits.

This war is not being waged because an Archduke was assassinated in Bosnia, nor because a treaty was violated in Belgium. The issue is greater than that. It is a war for the world markets. The "place in the sun" the Teutons seek is a place to sell their wares. The British outcry against the peril of Prussian militarism, is inspired by the fear of German commercial competition. The German military machine, like the British naval machine, is but the jemmy wherewith the capitalist pries his way into his neighbour's domain. The world market calls for world mastery; without the latter, the former is a dangerous ambition.

As a war for world markets, it is a matter of concern only for the various capitalist interests involved. Yet the workers of each country have flung themselves into the conflict, regardless of the consequences to themselves. They have been stampeded by the two faces of the one bogey that has been conjured up before them all. The Teutons have rallied to the defence of the Fatherland from Russian barbarism; Briton and Frank, Slav and Roman have risen to breast the onrush of Prussian militarism. Regardless of the fact that the foe the most to be feared by each is already within the gates—the master class whose battles each is fighting. Regardless of the fact that they have more to lose by victory than defeat—for, in any war, the victorious state has ever been the stronger to oppress its own workers; the defeated state ever the weaker to resist their demands.

Also, at the first blast of war's triumph, fell the walls of our "International" Jericho, an event of no little import to the working class. Justifying the S. P. of C.'s long resistance to any movement to join the International Socialist Bureau on the ground that it was neither international nor socialist, it points the valuable lesson that internationalism is born not made. If the working class is to be internationalised, it is the capitalist system, not Social-Democratic state-manship, that will do it.

Another illusion that has been dispelled is that of the strength of the European Social-Democracies arising out of their opportunist mode of propaganda. These parties have waged their campaign upon the "political issues of the day," thus aligning themselves with that section in the Socialist movement which would sacrifice sound principles to immediate successes. They have numbered their adherents by the million, and have educated them not at all. They have sown the wind—they are reaping. In conflict with them for generation are those who would sacrifice immediate successes to sound principles, who have been content to be fewer in numbers if clearer in understanding, who have harped upon the social Revolution, who have expounded economics and the class struggle, when the

others were shouting against taxes and tariffs, who have earned for themselves the name of impossibilist, and have been content therewith. The war has justified them. Where there are any impossibilists or near-impossibilists in Europe, they have stood firm. The "practical socialists" are cutting one another's throats in the trenches.

But the war.

This war is by no means to be regarded as an accidental and regrettable cataclysm. It is a fundamental and inevitable part of a World Process. A page in the era in which we live—Capitalism—an era in the evolution of the human race toward the complex, highly organized Commune of Civilization, wherein the forces of Nature are to be harnessed to the wheels of Man. The slaughter may seem appalling to us. To an era it is insignificant. To the Process it is of no moment.

"It slayeth and it saveth, nowise moved. Except unto the working out of Doom. Its threads are Love and Life, and Woe and Death, the shuttles of its Loom."

At any rate, "Peace has its victories no less than War." A period of peaceful capitalist prosperity will kill and maim as many as a periodical war.

And the outcome? Just as the outbreak of the war was foredoomed by causes within the capitalist system, so is the outcome, whatever it may prove to be, foredoomed. Just what it will be none may yet say. Only this is certain—forward it must carry us towards the social Revolution. How far forward one cannot see. But the signs are most promising.

On the one hand, debt is piling upon debt and capitalist industry must pay the tax, and the tax will be hard to collect; which is hopeful. For when the state is in financial straits, the revolution is at hand. That is one lesson of history.

On the other hand, the influx of women into the fields of wage labour hitherto occupied by men is remarkable. By virtue of their cheapness they will stay. And, at the end of the war, some twenty million men will be thrown upon a glutted labor market, in an industrial system staggering under its incubus of war taxes. It looks well.

The longer the war continues the more do the "war conditions" of society and industry, outside the war zone, tend to become the normal conditions. The more unsettling, therefore, will be the settlement of the war. It will be an outbreak of peace, as cataclysmic as was the outbreak of war.

On the face of it, uprisings of a more or less revolutionary character seem not unlikely. Whether they will be successful or not is problematical. If they are it will not be the fault of the master class.

One more illusion, indeed, we may put from our minds, if we ever had it—that of a peaceful Revolution. A master class, capable of sending millions to slaughter in the field for the extension of its profits, is capable of making a shambles of an industrial city for the retention of its property in the means of production. To expect them to give up their rulership with any good grace, is to credit them with grace beyond reason. It is only that, when a social system is about to pass, the resistance of its parasites seems to collapse.

At any rate the moral is for the workers to prepare. The worst of the best is about to come. Let us hope for an early victory—for the working class.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND HENRY GEORGE.

(Continued from December issue.)

Proceeding with our analysis we come to page 123, where we find the following:

"Thus wages and interest do not depend upon the produce of labor and capital, but upon what is left after rent has been taken out."

To this we can give a flat denial. Wages are not affected by the rent of land. Instead of this being the case we find that wages hover about the cost of the laborers subsistence, whether rent is high or low. Supply and demand may temporarily affect wages, but it is that social regulating principle known as the law of value, which determines wages. Of course, historical conditions and a moral element may enter into the question, but as a general ruling we can safely say that wages are determined by the cost of the food, clothing, and shelter necessary to the reproduction of labor power.

This brings us to our next point. If wages are not affected by rents, and as rent represents a part of the social wealth extracted, where can it come from? To illustrate the process of extraction, we will assume that a certain capitalist has \$20,000 invested. He owns his factory, machinery, raw material, and he employs 100 workers. If he is an Ontario capitalist, these workers will probably receive \$500 per year each, or approximately \$2 per working day. Now, the capitalist when he commenced to employ these workers bought from them the use value of their labor power, at its exchange value, which as stated, was \$2. The working day we will say is on the average 10 hours. In that time of course the worker produces, not only the \$2 or the equivalent of his wages, but more values still. Hence the name surplus values. This surplus is owned by the capitalist class, but not as a general rule by the individual exploiter. Very often he, as an individual, may have to share part of this surplus with other capitalists. He may have to pay interest on money loaned to him, or, if he does not own the land upon which his factory stands, he will have to pay

part of this surplus as rent, with this continual paying out in taxes, interest, and rent, the profits of the industrial capitalist do not come anywhere near to the total amount taken from the slaves. Hence his great grievance against the landlord, who if eliminated would leave the rent that had been previously taken, in the hands of the industrial capitalist. In this way his profits would swell, for the worker would still receive wages, the equivalent to his subsistence standard.

Turning over a few pages we come across another of George's gems, in which he states that "interest springs from the power of increase which the reproductive forces of nature. . . . give to capital. It is not an arbitrary, but a national thing: it is not the result of a particular social organization, but of the laws of the universe which underlie a society. It is, therefore, just." (Emphasis mine).

According to this, one would imagine that to extract interest from industry, was, and is, a God given right. The financier, of course, knows different. When making investments he generally leaves God out of the question. What he does is to see for himself what kind of a business the debtor may have, and if there is a chance of getting good returns on his loan. The total loan may be lent for a period of time, say 10 years. At the end of that time the debtor is liable for that amount, no more, and no less. But for the use of the loan, interest has to be paid, and this does not grow on trees, but comes out of the surplus previously stolen from the slaves employed by the debtor, who would be termed an industrial capitalist. So then, in the last analysis, interest represents a certain amount of wealth produced by the application of labor power to the natural resources of the earth and transferred by the industrial capitalist to the financier.

Machinery and buildings do not, and cannot produce wealth. They only make labor power more productive and also tend to make it more intensified. Moreover, when we speak of capital we presuppose a social relationship, where we have exploiters and exploited. If there

was no labor power to be exploited, then there could be no capital, and any "increase" in the shape of interest or profit, means that exploitation of the workers has taken place. Machinery only means capital, when it is used by the owner to exploit labor power.

On page 188 we again find ourselves at variance with George. His statement this time is, that industrial depressions are due to land speculation. This of course is absurd. We understand what a panic really is, and have to know the workings of capitalism. We have pointed out already the fact of there being two classes, one of which is parasitic upon the other. We have also seen that the class takes a very large portion of the total wealth. This wealth which first attracted is not money. It may be 1000 pair of boots or stockings, or it may be 1000 bushels of wheat. The capitalist is in the farming business he will not require all the wheat plus wheat. Apart from a small percentage for home use, he tries to convert the rest into money, so as to continue exploiting, and also increase his banking account. In reality the surplus wheat that he sells, represents so much exchange value. When sold, and ready for consumption, ceases to be exchange value, but use value. In short it is of utility to the buyer.

In the event, however, of too many articles being produced for what there is no effective social demand, the surplus over and above the demand is useless. It must be stored away until it can be sold, or, as in the case often, it may be destroyed. As illustrations of the latter we could take perishable goods such as fruit, fish and many dairy products. If the capitalist as a general rule is wise in this matter, and so it is his business to watch the barometer of exchange very closely. When he sees a fall off in his sales, the first thing he does is to cut down his working staff. Unemployment grows by leaps and bounds, and we have what is known as an industrial depression.

The real cause for this can be ascribed to the contractions of capitalism. We have the worker producing \$2,500 worth of wealth in

(Continued on page 12.)

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BEING PART II, CHAPTER VIII OF "ANTI-DUEHRING" BY F. ENGELS
(N.B.—This work was written in 1877—8.—Ed. Clarion.)

II.—THE FORCE THEORY.

(Herr Deuhring argues that the causes of class subjection are to be sought in political conditions and that political force is the primary and economic conditions merely the secondary, cause of class distinctions. Engels makes the following reply to these arguments):

This is Herr Deuhring's theory. It is set out, decreed so to say, here and in several other places. But we cannot find the slightest attempt to prove it or to disprove the opposite theory in the three thick volumes. Moreover, if there was an abundance of proof we should get none from Herr Deuhring, for the matter is proven by the famous fall of man in that Robinson Crusoe made Friday his slave: That was an act of force and so a political act. And this slavery constitutes the point of departure and inoculates the heirs of sin with injustice, so certainly that only lately it has become milder and "transformed in to the more indirect forms of economic dependency." Since the whole of the remaining actual "force-possession" rests upon this original enslavement, it is clear that all economic phenomena can be explained from original causes, that is from force. And whoever is not satisfied with this is a secret reactionary.

Let us first remark that one has to be as much in love with himself as Herr Deuhring is to consider this idea as "original" since it is not so by any means. The idea that the political doings of monarch and states are decisive events in history is as old as the writing of history itself and is the reason why we are so little aware of the real and quietly developing progress of the peoples which goes on behind these noisy and spectacular activities. This idea has dominated the whole of history in the past and got its first shock at the hands of the French bourgeois historians of the Restoration period.

To proceed, let us grant for the present that Herr Deuhring is correct when he says that all history up to now has been the slavery of man by men, and we are still a long way from the root of the matter. Let us ask now how it was that Robinson came to enslave Friday. Was it merely for the pleasure of doing so? Surely not. On the contrary we are informed that Friday "was subjugated as a slave or mere tool for economic service and was kept in subjection merely as a tool." Robinson only enslaved Friday that he might work for the benefit of the labor of Friday. Only by virtue of the fact that Friday produced more means of livelihood by his labor than Robinson had to give him to keep him able to work. Robinson has therefore, contrary to Herr Deuhring's pretty prescription, made, by the enslavement of Friday, a political organization, not just because he wanted to, but simply as a means of providing himself with food, and he ought to see how little he has in common with his lord and master Herr Deuhring.

The childish example, therefore, which Herr Deuhring has discovered in order to show that force is the "historical fundamental" proves that force is only a means to further an economic interest, and in history the economic side is likewise more fundamental than the political. The example therefore proves just the opposite to what it ought to prove. And, as with Robinson and Friday, so it is also with all the examples of Slavery, to use Deuhring's own elegant expression, always implies a means for supplying sustenance (using the term in its broadest sense) and never merely implies a political organization which has been developed by its own will. One would have to be a Herr Deuhring to venture to call taxes only a secondary feature of government, or, to say that the political groupings of the dominant bourgeois of today and the

subjugated proletariat are purely voluntary and not made to serve the material interests of the bourgeoisie, namely profit making and the accumulation of capital.

Let us give our attention again to our two men. Robinson "sword in hand" makes Friday his slave. But to do this Robinson uses something else besides his sword. A slave is not made by that means solely. In order to be able to keep a slave one has to be superior to him in two respects, one must first have control over the tools and objects of labor of the slave and over his means of subsistence also. Therefore, before slavery is possible, a certain point in production has to be reached and a certain degree of inequality in distribution attained. And when slave labor becomes the dominant mode of production of an entire society a higher development of the powers of production, of trade and of wealth, accumulation occurs. In early tribal communities which had common ownership of the soil, slavery is either non-existent or its role is very subordinate. So it was at first in Rome, as a state of farmers, but when Rome became the capital city of the world and the soil of Italy came more and more to be owned by a numerically small class of enormously wealthy property owners, the population of farmers perished in front of the slave population. When at the time of the Persian war, the number of slaves in Corinth was 460,000, and in Egina 470,000, and there were ten slaves to every freeman in the population, the explanation must be sought in something other than force; there were a highly developed art and handicraft and foreign commerce. Slavery in the United States of America was much less due to force than to the English cotton industry; where there was not cotton grown or where slaves were not raised, as in the border states, for the cotton producing states, it perished of its own accord and without any employment

of force simply because it did not pay.

When Herr Duehring therefore calls the property of the present day property resting on force and designates it as "that form of domination which does not merely signify the exclusion of one's fellow beings from the use of the natural means of sustenance, but implies in addition that the subjection of man has lain at the foundation of human slavery," he puts the matter upside down. The subjection of humanity to slavery in all its forms means the control by the master of the means of labor by virtue of which alone he can employ his slaves upon them and the disposal of the means of livelihood by which he can keep his slaves alive. In all cases therefore it implies a certain power of possession which transcends the ordinary? How did this arise? Occasionally it is clear that it was seized and can therefore be said to rest upon force but this is by no means essential. It can be got by labor, be robbed, be obtained by trade, or taken by fraud. It must be worked for generally before it can be stolen.

Private property does not historically come into existence by means as a rule as the product of robbery and violence. On the contrary. It arises from the limitation of certain things in the early tribal communes. It develops in the first place within the tribe and afterwards in exchange with peoples outside of the tribe in the form of wares. In proportion as the products of the tribe assume the form of commodities, i. e., the less they are produced for the use of the producer and the more for the purpose of exchange, the exchange destroys the original form of distribution in the commune itself, and the more unequal become the shares of the individual members of the community with respect to material possessions. So the old communal ownership of land becomes more and more invaded, the communal property is rapidly converted into a village of farmers, each tilling his own piece of ground. Oriental despotism and the changing government of concurring nomads had no power to alter the old form

of communal ownership for a thousand years. But the continual destruction of the primitive domestic industry through the competition of the products of the great industry is bringing about its dissolution. The thing has little to do with force as has lately appeared in the matter of the division of the communal property of the feudal societies on the Moselle and in Hochwald. The peasants are finding the substitution of individual for communal holdings to their interests. Even the growth of a primitive aristocracy as among the Celts, the Germans, and in Mesopotamia, is a result of the communal ownership of landed property, and does not depend upon force in the slightest degree but upon free will and custom. Especially where private property arises it appears as the results of a change in the methods of production and the development of commerce and therefore arises from economic causes. Force plays no role in this. It is clear that the institution of private property must have already existed before the robber is able to possess himself of other people's goods and that force may change the possession but cannot alter private property as such.

But to explain the "subjection of men to slavery" in its modern form, in wage-labor, we can make no use of either force or property acquired by force. We have already mentioned the part which the transformation of the products of labor into commodities, their production not for use alone but for exchange, plays in the destruction of the primitive communal property and therefore in bringing into existence directly or indirectly the universality of private property. But Marx has proved in his "Capital"—and Herr Duehring does not venture to intrude upon the matter—that at a certain stage in economic development the production of commodities is transformed into capitalistic production and that at this point "the law of appropriation resting upon the production and circulation of commodities, the law of private property, by its own inevitable dialectic becomes changed into its opposite, the exchange of

equivalents, which appeared as its original mode of operation, but has now become so twisted that there is only an appearance of exchange since. In the first place, the portion of capital exchanged for labor force is itself only a portion of the product of another's labor taken without an equivalent, and in the second place, it is not only supplied by its producers, the workers, but it must be supplied also with a new surplus. Originally property seemed to us to be established on labor only—property now appears (as a conclusion of the Marxian argument), on the side of the capitalist, as the right to use labor and, on the side of the workman, as an impossibility, the ownership of his own product. The difference between property and labor is the result of a law which apparently proceeded from their identity. In other words if we exclude the possibility of force, robbery, and cheating absolutely, if we take the position that all private property originally depended upon the personal labor of its possessor and that equivalents are always exchanged we nevertheless come, in the course of the development of production and change, of necessity, to the modern capitalistic methods of production, to the monopolization of the means of production and livelihood in the hands of a single class few in number, to the degradation of the masses consisting of the immense majority of producers to the position of propertyless proletarians, to the periodical alternations of swindling operations and trade crises and to the whole of the present anarchy in production. The entire result rests on purely economic grounds without robbery, force, or any intervention of politics or the government being necessary. Property resting on force becomes a mere phrase which merely serves to obscure the understanding of the real development of things.

This course, historically expressed is the story of the development of the bourgeoisie. If "political conditions are the decisive causes of economic conditions the modern bourgeoisie would necessarily not have progressed as the result of a fight with feudalism, but would be the darling

child of its womb. Everybody knows that the opposite is the case. The bourgeoisie, originally bound to pay feudal dues to the dominant feudal nobility, recruited from bond slaves and thralls, in a subject state, has, in the course of its conflict with the nobility captured position after position, and finally has come into possession of the power in civilized countries. In France it directly attacked the nobility, in England it made the aristocracy more and more bourgeois and finally incorporated it with itself as a sort of ornament. And how did this come about? Entirely through the transformation of economic conditions which was sooner or later followed either by the voluntary or compulsory transformation of political conditions. The fight of the bourgeoisie against the feudal nobility is the fight of the city against the country, of industry against landlordism, of economy based on money against economy based on natural products. The distinctive weapons of the bourgeoisie in this fight were those which came into existence through the development of increasing economic force by reason of the growth at first of hand manufacture and afterwards machine manufacture and through the extension of trade. During the whole of this conflict the political power was in the hands of the nobility, with the exception of a period when the king employed the bourgeoisie against the nobility in order to hold one in check by means of the other. From the very moment, however, in which the bourgeoisie still deprived of political power began to be dangerous because of the development of its economic power the monarchy again turned to the nobility and thereby brought about the revolution of the bourgeoisie first in England and then in France. The political conditions in France remained unaltered until the economic conditions outgrew them. In politics the noble was everything, the bourgeoisie nothing. As a social factor the bourgeoisie was of the highest importance while the nobility had abandoned all its social functions and yet pocketed revenues, social services which it did not any longer perform. Even this

THE WESTERN CLARION

is not sufficient. Bourgeois society was, as far as the whole matter of production is concerned, tied and bound in the political feudal forms of the Middle Ages, which this production, not only as regards manufacture but as regards handwork also had long transcended amid all the thousandfold guild-privileges and local and provincial tax impositions which had become mere obstacles and fetters to production. The bourgeois revolution put an end to them. But economic conditions did not, as Herr Duehring would imply, forthwith adapt itself to the political circumstances,—that the king and the nobility spent a long time in trying to effect—but it threw all the mouldy old political rubbish aside and shaped new political conditions in which the new economic conditions might come into existence and develop. And it has developed splendidly in this suitable political and legal atmosphere, so splendidly that the bourgeoisie is now not very far from the position which the nobility occupied in 1789. It is becoming more and more not alone a social superfluity but a social impediment. It takes an ever diminishing part in the work of production and becomes more and more, as the noble did, a mere revenue consuming class. And this revolution in its position and the creation of a new class, that of the proletariat, came about without any force-nonsense but by purely economic means. Further more, it has by no means accomplished it by its own willful act. On the other hand it has accomplished itself irresistibly against the wish and intentions of the bourgeoisie. Its own productive forces have taken the management of affairs and are driving modern bourgeois society to the necessity of revolution or destruction. And if the bourgeoisie now appeals to force to ward off the ruin arising from the decrepit economic condition it proves thereby that it suffers from the same error as Herr Duehring, in that it thinks that "political conditions are the distinctive causes of economic condition" and that by the use of the prime factor of mere political force it can manufacture the secondary factor, of economic conditions.

It thinks that it can shape economic conditions and their inevitable development, and therefore eliminate the economic effects of the steam engine, and the modern industry which has proceeded from it. It thinks that it can abolish the world commerce and the bank credit development of to-day from the universe by means of Krupp guns and Mauser rifles.

(To be continued.)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

Manitoba Prov. Executive Committee.
Statement of Receipts and Expenditure
April 1-15 to Dec. 31-15.

| Receipts | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| April 4th from Local No. 1 | 10.00 |
| April 18th from Local No. 1 | 10.50 |
| April 30th Buttons Sold | 2.80 |
| May 12th from Local No. 1 | 5.50 |
| May 31st Buttons Sold | 0.65 |
| June 19th Constitutions | 1.00 |
| June 26th from Local No. 1 | 5.00 |
| June 30th Buttons Sold | 2.40 |
| June 30th Redd. Cement Spur | 1.00 |
| July 31st Buttons Sold | 3.85 |
| Aug. 20th Local No. 2 | 0.50 |
| Aug. 20th Buttons Sold | 0.40 |
| Oct. 30th Buttons Sold | 2.80 |
| Nov. 12th Local No. 3 | 7.20 |
| Nov. 30th Buttons Sold | 2.80 |
| Dec. 31st Buttons Sold | 1.60 |
| Dec. 31st Local No. 4 | 31.30 |
| Dec. 31st Local No. 2 | 7.65 |
| Total Receipts | \$96.95 |

| Expenditure: | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| April, 4th to D. E. C. | 10.00 |
| May, 13th to D. E. C. | 5.00 |
| May 31st to D. E. C. | 8.10 |
| June, 27th to Cement Spur | 3.50 |
| Aug. 21st to D. E. C. | 7.00 |
| Oct. 4th to D. E. C. | 7.00 |
| Nov. 23rd to D. E. C. | 10.00 |
| Dec. 1st to Postage Stamps | 1.00 |
| Dec. 28th to D. E. C. | 12.00 |
| Dec. 28th Cost of M. O. S. | 0.34 |
| Total Expenditure | 63.94 |
| Balance Cash on hand | 33.01 |
| Total | \$96.95 |

| Assets | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Cash Owing | 0.80 |
| Cash on hand | 33.01 |
| Due Stamps (Cost) 80 | 4.00 |
| Buttons (Cost) 5 | 1.25 |
| Cards and J. W. Bks. (Cost) | 1.50 |
| Total | \$40.56 |
| Per Alex. Paterson, Secy. Treas. | |

ATTENTION!!!

Note our new address, 169
Georgia St. E. Vancouver, B. C.

All communications to be sent to A. McLean, Acting Secretary.

of the dominant class is only a further development of their individual efforts, both equally deficient to hold the reins of power when the workers awake.

J. A. McD.

MILITARISM.

MUCH has been said of late regarding militarism, the assumption being that the phenomena is of recent growth; but however modern the term itself may be, the institution it designates, is of very ancient origin. It arose with the appearance in the history of the human race of chattel slavery and was practically co-incident with the institution of organized religion. It is a fact that armed forces together with religious beliefs had for their objective the same aim—the protection and maintenance of property rights. In accordance with the exigencies of each successive economic period, whether of chattel slavery, feudalism, or modern capitalism, the two institutions have ceaselessly supported each other in the interests of the ruling class to the end that the slave class might always be held in subjection.

Militarism has grown in proportion to the expansion of the economic interests of the ruling class, and whatever outcry there may be against it now, proceeds from a section of the exploiters of labor, who see in the increasing armaments a menace to their profits and consequent speedy extinction. Therefore, militarism must be destroyed and war ensues in Europe, Asia and Africa, to carry out their aim. In short they proceed to stay the flood by adding more water. Out of this terrible and absurd situation there springs into the arena of practical politics anti-military and peace parties and ere long the cry is eagerly seized upon by deluded workers as a way out of the economic darkness.

Just at present, however, it would seem as if the big army and navy proposition was extremely popular, and, looked at from the standpoint of the unwise proletarians, the greatest thing that ever happened to bring

him within reach of his chief object of worship—a steady job. It cannot be gainsaid but that the great war has certainly relieved the unemployed situation among a very large proportion of the world's population and already many, many, thousands have been furnished with a life job and retired for ever.

Perhaps this is why not so much is heard as of yore about "peace and goodwill." Time was when these words had great popularity along about the tail end of each year. Maybe the preachers whose business it was to mouth them have different orders of their masters. Certain it is that the wonderful adaptability of Christian doctrine has once again manifested itself, so that it may retain its position as the premier religion of the world in the service of modern capitalism, outdoing the frankly warlike Mohamedanism. It is reported that recently in the British House of Commons Mr. Robt. Outwaite said in debate "That as there is nothing doing at present in Christianity isn't it important that clergymen should enlist?" The reply was not given, but Mr. Outwaite appears to hold the conventional notion that outside of churches Christianity and clergymen do not function. This is not so, as is amply proved by the logic of events.

In adjusting themselves to capitalism, the clergy have demonstrated clearly that apart from the advisability of enlisting they have already "done their bit" and done it well.

Capitalism, founded upon the graft and deceit, covered by the wage system has discovered in Christianity just that happy blend of hypocrisy that can be used by its clergy with equal facility to cry "peace, peace, where there is no peace" or advocate the righteousness of war under any sort of national or international line up. A short study of present day conditions in the light of the Socialist analysis will reveal to the working class that not militarism nor anti-militarism, not peace politics nor religious activities, will release them from their burden of poverty, but capitalism itself, out of which all these evolve, must be overthrown.

The capitalist system is a slave system and like all others the destroyer of the workers and by the workers must itself be destroyed.

O. E.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

It will probably be about three or four weeks yet, before the Manifesto is off the Press. As this edition is being thoroughly revised and brought up to date, we would advise everyone to get a copy. Send in your orders now!

A PROPOSITION

The Manitoba and Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, at their recent conventions, decided to give to the Government as an aid in the war, the crop from one acre of wheat per farmer. The working class are continually at war with their masters, and as an aid to this war knowledge is the first weapon. Comrade Thos. Foulston, of Eyebrow, Sask., makes the proposition of giving the crop of one acre of wheat to the Clarion in order that this weapon may be as widely disseminated as possible, and asks how many of the farmers of the praries are willing to do likewise. He also suggests that the mechanics and laborers of the cities should donate one per cent of their wages for a period of six months.

Don't swamp the office with your offers.—April, 1915, issue.

Now is the time for those revolutionists in the Prairie Provinces, who agree with Comrade Foulston's one acre proposition, to put it into practice. Let us push our fight with redoubled vigor. We know it is hard, but great will be our reward, when the enemy are thoroughly subdued.

Alberta Provincial Executive Committee will act as the Provincial Executive of Saskatchewan for the time being. Also, Ontario locals take note that, pending the formation of an executive for that province, the Dominion Executive Committee will furnish supplies direct.

(Continued on page 11.)

EDITORIAL PAGE

the Salvation Army would only occupy the attention of the gastric juices for a period of three months the matter would soon be satisfactorily settled. But it won't. The stomach (that great preventative of working class pleasure) must be continuously replenished. But "manna" doesn't fall from heaven as it did in the "good old times."

In order to secure life's bare necessities the worker must have something to offer in exchange. What is that "something" which we of the bottom strata must daily peddle in order that life may not entirely desert us? It is our power to labor; the mental and physical energy stored up within us; in fact we are offering ourselves at so much per hour, or day, to our masters for a pittance that barely suffices to bring us back the next day to repeat this colossal farce.

When business is good, real estate booming, and the building trades active, then a considerable percentage of the workers are given the opportunity of selling themselves for wages. The jobs they so greatly adore are fairly plentiful. But, when conditions resume the normal, when markets are glutted with the wares which willing-workers have abundantly produced, when real estate values vanish and industry becomes disjointed, then the situation doesn't appear so lovely. The number of hands required is small. The unemployed army assumes amazing proportions. But work or no work, the stomach is calling for food.

Were such a condition as this to be left to adjust itself, either the workers would become extinct, through starvation, or else, under the impetus of hunger, they might have courage enough to satisfy their requirements with some of the articles of food and clothing which they produced. In either case the result would be detrimental to the masters' interests, hence the aforementioned institutions with their intense anxiety to relieve conditions. Cheerful givers, altruists, philanthropists and the like are soon in the limelight.

Generosity of heart is only excited by their zeal to preserve intact the masters property and institutions. Benevolence instead of being practised for the purpose mentioned, is of assisting the deserving. Helpless is inspired by a mean, low, sordid interest that must be advanced.

The workers of the world are numerous, too highly productive to function for any great length of time in the system constructed as it is today. The commodities produced cannot be disposed of, the whole industry will not continue to revolve when the demand for the output is vanished. Industrial stagnation results. The conflict of interests comes plainly marked. On the one hand those who produce the wealth existing in a state of misery, on the other hand in luxury and comfort, those who own the wealth.

While the exploiters are waiting for markets to absorb the commodities piled up in elevators, in houses and factories some consolation must be given to the "starving multitude" who produced those commodities.

Several ingenious methods are resorted to in order to keep a plentiful supply of "hands" around the machines of production, but the "greatest of these is charity" which, to the individuals, and private institutions, who scatter crumbs of economic to the needy are always lauded and honored by their fellow beings. This source no longer suffices for the distribution of charity.

As the capitalist system becomes more fully developed the necessity for assistance to the workers becomes more pronounced. Bourgeois economists are already shouting for the State to come to the rescue and itself, become the nerve centre from which charity radiates. But, even while we realize this to be the logical move for the masters to make, we cannot lose sight of the fact that whatever may be the source from which pittance supplied to the workers is derived, it will never move the conflict between masters and workers. The collective effort

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CHARITY.

THIS is the season when the workers position is most plainly seen. A mere apology for food, wearing apparel, and habitation can be made to suffice, while climatic conditions alternate between warm breezes, showers and sunshine. Naturally, then, at this particular season, when poverty (the normal condition of the wage workers) has reached its most acute form, the usual remedies must be prescribed by the various institutions concerned with the maintenance of human exploitation.

Religious bodies, from the powerful Roman Catholic Church to the filthy little waterfront missions, are contributing their usual supply of progress and admonitions. The Press, no matter whether political or secular, government or opposition, Orange or Catholic, greatly deplors the poor workers' condition, and, after pouring forth its motherly exhortations to practice economy, lovingly ends up by opening a "fund for the poor." The women's mission circle, bodies of St. Elizabeth's guild Sisters of Mercy, and daughters of pity, composed of daintily decorated and prettily powdered females are making every effort to appease the hungry, with kind words and occasional dinners.

If the annual Christmas "fever" so generously donated to the poor by

THE S. D. P. OF C. AND REFORM.

The following is practically all of W. A. Pritchard's opening address in the debate with Ernie Burns (S. D. P. of C.) at the Empress Theatre, Vancouver, B. C., May 10th 1914 on the following question:

Resolved that the platform of the S. D. P. of C. is not worth of working class support.

Several slight references to matter that would scarcely be appropriate at this time are left out, but no additions have been made. If any of our S. D. P. of C. "friends" think they are not being fairly treated in the publication of one side of an argument, they are at perfect liberty to use the columns of this paper in reply.

—Ed. Clarion.

If you noticed particularly the resolution for debate as announced by the chairman, you will have observed that the merits—or demerits—of the S. D. P. of C. platform are alone to be discussed.

Running casually through the first portion of that platform, we find very little that serious objection could be raised to. Yet, inserted in a supposedly working class declaration of principles, which states that: "By virtue of the ownership of the means of production, etc., all the wealth the workers produce accrues into the hands of the capitalist class," we find the following:

"As a means of preparing the minds of the people for the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the S. D. P. of C., will support any measure tending to better conditions under capitalism, such as:

- (1) Reduction of hours of labor
- (2) The elimination of child labor.
- (3) Universal adult suffrage with out distinction of sex or regard to property qualifications; and
- (4) The Initiative, Referendum, and right of Recall.

Before I touch upon these specific reforms advocated in the platform of the S. D. P. of C., I want to briefly point out the commodity nature of the worker's, life force—labor power, the only thing of value they have for exchange.

We are all pretty well agreed that commodities exchange on an average at "value," which is measured in units of simple labor time, and that the price of any commodity is merely the monetary expression of such

value." We are also agreed, I take it, that labor-power, being bought and sold upon the world market, possesses this commodity characteristic. The monetary expression of the "value" of labor power is termed "wages." The value of a definite amount of the necessities of life—so much food, clothing, shelter, etc. These are purchased with the aforementioned wages and are sufficient only—taking one period with another—to enable the purchaser thereof to reproduce himself as a necessary factor in production. From which we argue, (and to my mind it is the only logical explanation) that so long as labor-power remains a commodity, —and it must inevitably do so as long as the means of life remain the property of the capitalist class—just so long will the workers, as a class, receive in exchange for their labor power, value for value, that is, enough doughnuts, etc., to keep them sufficiently fit to function as the active factor in production.

I have given these few points so that we might understand the basis upon which the revolutionary program of the working class must be built. If the correctness of my crude outline of economic fundamentals be granted, it must necessarily follow that it is impossible, so long as capitalism remains, to make the position of the working class more tolerable, and all reforms to this system, therefore, whether introduced by avowed capitalist/benchmen or supposed socialists, must look alike to the individual who takes his stand on the inexorable law of value.

We will now briefly refer to the paragraph read out a little time ago. In that paragraph the statement is made that certain reforms, afterwards named, are to be advocated by the S. D. P. of C., as a means of preparing the minds of the people for the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the first place allow me to state that neither increasing misery, by itself, nor yet the proposal to reform something which cannot be reformed will prepare the minds of the workers for the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Only the promulgation of sound knowledge, based upon the conditions now exist-

ing, can be depended upon from the revolutionary standpoint. We have but one objective to strive for—the overthrow of the wages system, the demoralising of the system of production known as capitalism. The conflict of interests between master and slave, necessarily arising from the current antagonisms in society, will necessitate, more and more as time goes by, the introduction, by the henchmen of the master class themselves, of various reforms and prices of remedial legislation, which will be handed like sops to the workers, for the very purpose of beclouding the issue which we are endeavoring to uncover—the ownership of the forces of production and distribution.

If we, purporting to voice the interest of the propertyless proletariat, insist upon the inclusion in our program of any reform, however beautiful it may appear, we must, in the first place, take the risk of having persons who do not understand our position, subscribe to our platform merely because we advocate some reform which they imagine will benefit them in some particular way. In the second place, we leave the way open for certain radical sections of the master class to step in and "wipe" some of our dearly cherished ideals, such as "Woman Suffrage", "clean blankets for hoboes," or any other palliative which cannot palliate. And the moment this occurs, our beautiful dream of a large support turns into a hideous nightmare, for we will find we have counted heads that could not be counted upon (A glance at the German S. D. P., verifies this assertion of Pritchard's, made two years ago—Ed. Clarion).

If the one and only plank—the overthrow of capitalism—remains in any platform, it is pretty certain that those endorsing it do so because of the object stated, and not because they desire the recall of judges, or dog catchers; Premiers or policemen.

Allow me the privilege of making a quotation from an article written by a person well known in Canada. I make this only insofar as it touches upon the question raised in this discussion, and, therefore, I think, lies within the limits of this debate.

"Reforms at their best are but a makeshift, merely patching up, prolonging the system."

That quotation is taken from an article which appears in "Cotton's Compendium of Facts," and was written by H. Martin, National Secretary of the S. D. P. of C. It states emphatically, in direct contradiction to the inference given in the S. D. P. of C. platform that "reforms at their best," far from bringing the Co-operative Commonwealth nearer, are only a makeshift, prolonging the system." But suppose it were possible to introduce these reforms and thereby better the conditions of the workers in any particular trade or locality, the unemployed would inevitably crowd into that trade or locality, and conditions would ultimately become as bad or if not worse than, before. This alone should be sufficient to show us that the workers are kept down to a miserable subsistence level, and as the machine develops, it becomes increasingly difficult to obtain even this bare subsistence. Our "friends," the I. W. W., were wont to declare that an eight hour day would materially affect the worker's position, and in order to obtain this desirable thing, we must organize on the job. That cry is now silenced, for most of us are not attached to any job upon which we could organize. The purchasers of commodities, whether it be doughnuts or labor power, necessarily gravitate to the cheapest market, and with the surplus of labor-power which now obtains I want to know just what kind of a reform could effect a reduction in the hours of labor or a raise in wages, other than those determined by the condition of the labor market.

I do not propose to waste any time with the reforms specifically mentioned in the S. D. P. of C. platform, because the wording of the paragraph referred to is such that anything and everything is allowed for, from government ownership of railroads and mines to the municipalisation of peanut stalls and milk dairies, in the words, "such as."

After several decades of political reforms mongering by so-called working class parties in Great Britain, what are the results? Any difference

in the status of the worker? No! Any preparation in the minds of the people for the coming social change? Again, no! Where any preparation can be observed, you will find that it arose out of changing conditions generated by the constantly developing forces of production; and because certain workers have listened to the "song of the machine," to that extent are they prepared for the inauguration of a new social order. Those who were to have been led into the fold by red-herring reforms and political clap-trap are still to be seen floundering in the quagmire of anarchy and reaction.

Reduction of the hours of labor! The first man, I think in the north of England to introduce the "eight hour day" was Sir William Mother, of Mother and Platt, Limited. After twelve months trial he was able to declare a greater rate of profit than before. The waste in starting and stopping the gigantic plant at break-fast time, the cost of light, in the dark season, etc., were eliminated, and to that extent labor was displaced elsewhere, thus adding to the already fierce competition for jobs. Also by tallies kept by the foremen it was found that a man could be speeded up to produce the same amount in two periods, of four hours each, as he could in three periods of one "two," and two "four" hours. One could quote instances without number to show that all reforms, whether introduced by capitalists, with a view to keeping the workers good and docile, or by mis-called socialists for the purpose of making the condition of the worker better, always work out to the benefit of the masters and the greater exploitation of the workers.

We hear people talking of unemployment as a question which could be solved by itself within the confines of the capitalist system. Such persons have never understood the economic laws governing capitalism, and, consequently, always skim the surface of things. My time is almost up. I have attempted to show the commodity nature of the only thing the worker has, or thing that he must sell in order to live—his labor-power, and how he receives in exchange for it, only a bare sub-

sistence; how reforms are made necessary for the capitalists by the growing intensity of production, because of capitalist concentration, it becomes increasingly difficult for the worker to obtain even his bare subsistence; and how, in consequence of these things, reforms will be introduced by our capitalist masters, whether we trouble about them or not.

Therefore, any program or platform which seeks to do the work of the master's political henchmen can not be a correct expression of revolutionary principles and is, consequently of no use to the workers whose hope of emancipation lies in the overthrow of this system and in that alone; and because the platform of the S. D. P. of C., advocates reform and thereby reveals its capitalist tendencies, I beg leave to state, that, unequivocally in my opinion, the platform of the S. D. P. of C., is NOT worthy of working class support."

NO REFUGE BUT IN TRUTH.

SOCIALISTS who are still struggling with metaphysical problems might with profit read Goldwin Smith's "Guesses at the Riddle of the Universe." "Is there another life?" and "No refuge but in Truth." Not only are the learned professor's studies typical of the modern man's views of orthodox theology, but he also lets "the cat out of the bag" by developing the bourgeois idea that freedom of thought be granted the privileged few, while the masses must be held to blind belief, if the present order is to endure.

Goodwin Smith says: "There is no longer any use in clinging to the untenable or in shutting our eyes to that which cannot honestly be denied."

Then why should he express the fear that it might be presumptuous for the average layman to think for himself? That in spite of the fact of his expressed opinion, that the clergy cannot write with perfect freedom (!) Professor Smith states that modern man deeply ponders over the mystery of the universe. He deals with the results of modern science, as having shown man his

true insignificant position in a vast universe. He concludes: "If omnipotence and benevolence are to meet, it must apparently be at a point, at present beyond our ken." Of immortality he says: "The thought of conscious immortality is one which makes mind ache and imagination reel; yet the thought of annihilation is not welcome, nor have we by this time distinctly faced it." Nor is Smith sufficiently consistent to follow his investigations to their logical conclusion. A typical bourgeois philosopher he always compromises. So in the following: "These are troublous times. Trouble everywhere, in politics, in the social system, in religion. But the storm centre seems to be in the region of religion. The fundamental beliefs on which our social system has rested are giving way. (Emphasis mine). Of these Professor Goldwin Smith scorns the crude belief of heaven and hell. He is convinced that "no one has ever been seen or heard of after death." He feels "to fathom the mystery of the universe, the mystery of existence—that we cannot hope."

But the philosopher who so reasons, who ridicules belief in miracles, who freely asserts: "If there was no fall, there was no need of an atonement; if no need of that, then no need of an incarnation, and that whole cycle of dogma apparently falls to the ground," he who entertains doubt as to the Christ being historical character, this self-same apologizer for class rule exhibits all the poverty and cowardice of bourgeois ethics by asking: "Supposing religion would fail, what would the clergy do? Would they starve? What a void would the departure of religion and the closing of the churches leave in life!" Is it not like declaring that disease was an evil, but a void would be felt, if illness were conquered and hospitals could be done away with! Smith realizes that clergymen as a class must ever compromise. He says: "They are learned, they read, they meditate; many of them must by nature have open minds. But they are found by tests." He tells us: "I have even seen the pastorate of a large parish assumed by one who in private was an evident rationalist

and must have satisfied his conscience (1) by promising himself that he would do a great deal of social good." Some consciences seem easily lulled to sleep—under the influence of a large stipend.

But the lesson for the proletariat we find in the following opinions of the brilliant essayist. "Orthodoxy has still hold enough to exert a great deal of suppression. There is fear of disturbing what is supposed to be and probably to a certain extent has been a security for social order. I have seen this feeling carried to the extent of building a caucus, by one whom I knew to be a most pronounced unbeliever. Nor is the fear of social disturbance, which imposes reticence, if not hypocrisy, unfounded. There can be little doubt that belief in the present state of things as divine ordinance, and in future retribution, dim as it may have been, has had considerable influence in reconciling the suffering classes to the present order of things." And giving a still stronger expression to his evident idea of truth being safe for the privileged few, but, that the gullible mass must be fed with blind dogma, he says: "We are confronted with the vital question, what the world would be without religion, without a trust in providence, without hope, or fear of a hereafter. Social order is threatened. Classes which have hitherto acquiesced in their lot, believing in divine providence and reless and compensation in a future state, are now demanding that conditions be levelled here. The nations quake with fear of change... The leaders of humanity, some think may even find it necessary to make up by increase of power of government for the lost influence of religion."

Does not Goldwin Smith's refreshing candor show us the viewpoint of the ruling class?

What need we add in conclusion, but that to us the lesson is obvious. "They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Continued from page 7.)
Comrade W. A. Pritchard (editor of the Western Clarion) is now on an organising trip through Alberta. His intention is to go as far east as Winnipeg, taking in the most important points on the way. Good reports are expected of his visit, as far as a clarity standpoint is concerned, by the Dominion Executive Committee. All those workers who have the emancipation of their class, as their main object, take note.

On another page will be found a letter by the secretary of New Brunswick P. E. C. regarding the case of Wilfrid Gribble. Now, as it is not Gribble, but the Socialist Party that is on trial, and been found guilty of seditious utterances, we would like to point out to our fellow workers that individuals like Armand Lavergne, M. P. P., and Henri Bourassa, both Canadian French Nationalists, have uttered far more seditious language than any of our organisers, but have been allowed to go about their business unmolested. Why? Because they have powerful capitalist interests behind them, and therefore have power enough to create serious trouble to the other factions of the master class; but we, representing only a small portion of the workers, those who realize their position in modern human society, in this part of the world, have, therefore, little power, and until we have enough members of our class educated to the Socialist position, cannot look for anything but oppression. Might is right. It is not our way to ask for things but to take them, which we can do when we, as a class, realise our slave position, and express a desire to be free. To be a Socialist in this country means to be a pro-German, in the eyes of the ruling class, just as, being a Socialist in Germany means to be pro-British in the eyes of the German ruling class. We realise only one working class the world over, with one common enemy, the capitalist class. Therefore, fellow workers, gain a knowledge of scientific Socialism, and act accordingly.

THE REID CASE.

Edmonton, Alta.,
Jan. 28th, 1916
A. MacLean, Avenue Theatre Building, Vancouver, B. C.
Arrange protest meeting Reid sentenced for fifteen months. Principal charge repeating at public meeting he was British born and was not proud of it, and had no country. It was a capitalists' war. This is a straight challenge against Socialist propaganda. Use this in Clarion.

Edmonton Local
The above night letter just arrived as paper goes to Press.

MANITOBA MISCELLANEA.

The following clipping from the Winnipeg Tribune of December 8th, 1915, has its amusing side when one takes into consideration the fact that amongst the "prominent" citizens who signed Mayor Waugh's nomination papers the name of R. A. Rigg, M. P. P., occupied a place of honor.

City Will Refuse Responsibility of Men Out of Work.

At today's meeting of the board of control, Mayor Waugh emphatically stated that the city refused to consider itself responsible for the supplying of jobs to men out of work whether or not they worked for the city at some previous time. There are less than 20 men seeking employment in civic departments, at present, and the mayor does not think it advisable to open improvement works involving considerable expense. He suggested, however, that it might be possible to put some of the applicants to work cleaning side walks.

"The out-of-works should exercise thrift when they are not out of work and have an umbrella of \$1.00 bills for the next rainy day," he said.

One can only offer up a silent prayer that the efforts of Mr. Rigg in amalgamating the Laborites, as represented by Mr. Pattee, the Independents as represented by Mr. Bayley, and the Social Democrats as represented by Norbert O'Leary, may yet be crowned with success. Ye Gods! how funny it would be to be alive on that great day.

The Reds in Brandon seem to be awakening again, and the chances of a local team formed in the near future are excellent, the material is already there, old differences have largely disappeared and now is the time for action.

An out-land of mine-writing from the trenches tells me that while we must not doubt their patriotism there are many arguments on the firing line as to whether or not "it's all worth while" and the consensus of opinion seems to be, to his mind, veering around to that great saying of George Bernard Shaw's in "Pygmalion" where you will remember the lady with a naughty look in her eyes, pours forth those noble words "Not bloody likely!"

Percy Snow has a long article of adoration in the religious number of the "Voice" on the I. L. P. In it he states that after the war the workers will remember the message they delivered in the war days. One can only wonder if he means the message from the recruiting platform of Jim Parker, and the wail for "Peace at any price" of the late Jas. Keir Hardie, the twistings and turnings of Ramsay MacDonald or the slippery soporific dope peddled by Phillip Snowden. Then the question arises, if a worker remembers all those different ideas peddled by one party supposed to have a common aim and common tactics, can he do anything except denounce them!

The same issue of the "Voice" has a picture of Jesus on the front cover and on one of the back pages a picture of Harry Geller. You are doing fine, Geller, getting presented with a gold watch by those poor little girls of the Garment Workers Union, and the next week getting your picture in the same paper as Jesus. Well you can both say "Suffer little girls to come unto me," only in one case it's for rest, and in the other it's join the union, it helps the per capita. But Geller "what about the label!"

The local S. D. P. are becoming more of a comic opera organization

every day. Norbert O'Leary has organized a "Public Ownership Club" and according to the capitalist Press he already has 20 followers. As we already have public ownership of telephones, elevators and jails in Manitoba, we can expect a great future for the new organization.

A Birch (twice candidate on the S. D. P. ticket for North Winnipeg, speaking at one of the local forums early in the month, told a questioner that after his long experience in the Socialist movement he had come to the conclusion that there was no class struggle and it is now rumoured that he also has a new Socialist organization under way. It is a kind of a Fabian society, with the object in view of converting the "Peepul" to Socialism. In this society you can become an associate member if you are not an avowed Socialist. So you see it is an extremely respectable affair, and in the near future we may hope to see Premier Norris, Hon. R. Rodgers, Percy Hagel, Tom Kelly and Nellie McClung patrons of this new and wonderful organization for the benefit of the dear "peepul".

The following clipping from the Free Press of Jan. 8th, 1916, has like the Cavell incident an effect on recruiting:

LOOKING FOR WORK
French Reservist of Legion of Honor Finds Task Difficult.

Unable to find employment at his home town, St. Claude, Rene Raulin, a reservist of the French army, who fought during the early months of this war, and for his gallant work at the battle of the Aisne received the Legion of Honor cross from President Poincaré, is at present in Winnipeg, where he hopes fortune will be kinder to him. Mr. Raulin has a large family to support, and when he returned from the war he found his wife and children almost destitute. The Returned Soldiers' Association stepped in and immediately stocked the larder for the gallant soldier, and supplied clothing for the children.

Raulin was formerly postmaster at St. Claude, and also looked after the C. P. R. railway station there. Both positions he resigned when he left for the front, and he has been unable to get them back. His knowledge of English is so limited that he finds the matter of obtaining employment in this city a very difficult task.

(Continued on page 13.)

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND HENRY GEORGE.

Continued from page 2.)

the course of 12 months, and only receiving about \$500. He, therefore, therefore, leaves \$2,000 to be consumed by the exploiters. How hard it is, for the master to consume it, can be more readily seen, if we multiply this sum by the number of their workmen. Whilst the masters are few in numbers, the workers are five to their one; therefore 20 per cent. if not less, have to get rid of 4-5ths of the total wealth. Much of it, of course, is reinvested in new countries, but eventually, in its turn, the new investment brings more surplus.

Then again, if we look over a modern atlas, we will see that new markets are getting fewer and smaller. Soon the world will be developed if machine development continues to go on at its present pace, and we have reason to think that it will accelerate, owing to the keener competition between sections of the master class due to a lack of new markets.

And what is the object of bringing better machinery into production. Obviously it is the aim of one firm to beat out the rest and also to increase relative exploitation. Values, on account of the increased productivity of labor power, will drop, and the hostility between use and exchange values will show itself more and more. Weaker capitalists will be crushed into the great mass of workers, whilst relatively, the ones left, will be fewer in numbers.

So then the future holds out no opening to overcome these depressions. Present tendencies point to more lasting and virulent panics in the near future. Try as the capitalists will by monkey dinners, and their like, to stave off these tenebrecies, they can only be futile.

Capitalism is growing old and its very essence, profit making, will be its undoing. Not even Henry George can save it, though his land scheme was carried out to the full.

T. MELLALIEU.

BALANCE SHEET, DEC. 31st 1915.

Western Clarion, Dominion and B. C., Prov. Executive Committees

| | Assets | Liabilities |
|---------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| Accounts collectable | | |
| Western Clarion | \$ 84.86 | |
| Dom. Ex. Com. | 162.43 | |
| B. C., P. E. C. | | |
| Accounts payable | 5.20 | \$252.49 |
| Dom. Ex. Com. | | |
| Cambie Printing Co. | | 30.00 |
| Western Clarion. | | |
| Issue for Jan., paid in advance | 52.25 | |
| Office Equipments | 105.00 | |
| Literature | 84.50 | |
| Party Supplies | 98.30 | |
| Mailing List and machine | 85.00 | |
| Dues Stamps | 210.00 | |
| Cash in hand, Dec. 31st, 1915 | 36.34 | |
| Balance | \$893.88 | \$893.88 |
| | \$923.88 | \$30.00 |
| Net worth | | \$893.88 |

CASH BALANCE, DEC. 31st, 1915

Western Clarion, Dominion and B. C., Prov. Executive Committees

| | Cr. | Dr. |
|-------------------------------|----------|----------|
| Western Clarion | | \$213.10 |
| Clarion Maintenance Fund | \$247.45 | |
| B. C., P. E. C. | 67.90 | |
| Dom. Ex. Com. | | |
| Cash deficit, July, 1st, 1915 | | 58.40 |
| Cash balance, Dec. 31st, 1915 | | 7.51 |
| | | 36.34 |
| | \$315.35 | \$315.35 |

Prepared by W. A. Pritchard

Audited and found correct: C. Stephenson, Wm. Morris
Auditing Committee.

DEMAGOGUES AND SOAP BOXERS!

On the evening of Jan. 10th, 1916, Dr. Westwood, of Winnipeg, addressed an audience in the Calgary Public Library, on "Karl Marx." Scott, Budden, Pritchard, and one or two others, went to hear what the learned gentleman had to say.

The character of Marx was such that it ranked second to none, not excepting the be-whiskered Jew of Nazareth. Marx' love story was a most pathetic one, and, although he had a somewhat atheistic vocabulary, he had deep religious understanding, and was a very religious character. More "tripe" of this kind was dished out and when the speech concluded questions were asked for.

Budden pointed out that three times had the Doctor blundered upon a half truth when he stated that the message of Marx was: "Workmen of all countries unite," and three times had he evaded the real issue by not completing the message: "You have nothing to lose but your chains, a world to gain."

Budden also objected to the silly statement that Marx was an evolutionist and not a revolutionist, but the chairman cut him off for trying to make a speech.

However, Budden did manage to say that the Doctor was like all other apologists and asked: "Why do you fellows always twist and evade the facts?" To this there was no response.

After one or two unimportant

questions, Pritchard pointed out that he, along with Budden, belonged to that unfortunate crowd of soap-boxers, who, knowing economic terms, were not endowed with economic understanding; and that while he did not claim either acquaintance with the vocabulary or understanding, he was perfectly convinced that the Doctor was in the same boat. The chairman stopped the talk and demanded questions, whereupon W. A. P. put the following:

Did not Marx hold that "force was the midwife of progress" did he not state that "religion was the opium of the people;" and since the Doctor had touched upon history, what would he understand from a historical standpoint, by the term "evolution?"

No reply was given, but on the religious point the Doctor said that if Marx ever used the words quoted then this was one point in which he was false to his own conception.

The meeting closed with the national anthem, the "Reds" remaining seated.

After the meeting the lectures tackled Budden as to why we were so bitter against religion. Budden told him that religion was nothing more than the worship of corpses, and that not one priest, or parson, had, at the present time, the guts to say: "Workmen of all countries unite, etc." and do the only thing possible to stop this bloody murder in Europe.

"Can decent working stiff have any respect for that tripe? Do they not earn the contempt of every thinking person?"

But Budden's query was enough and His Reverence disappeared into the frozen gloom.

Keep the message clear and see that emasculators and demagogues are not allowed to get in their pernicious work.

With a straight message, a clarified party, and a determination to "spread the light," the S. P. of C. has, indeed, a great future before it.

THE WESTERN CLARION

GRIBBLE DEFENSE FUND

I hereby acknowledge the following for the Gribble defense fund.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| Dec. 27th Vancouver No. 1 | \$5.00 |
| Jan. 3rd Winnipeg No. 1 | 9.00 |
| Jan. 3rd Toronto No. 24 | 5.00 |
| Jan. 4th Vancouver No. 1 | 11.75 |
| Jan. 5th Roseville Fillmore | 3.20 |
| Burton N. B. | 10.00 |
| Jan. 6th Montreal No. 1 | 4.25 |
| Jan. 6th St. John V. Ward | |
| Oromocto, N. B. | 2.00 |
| S. E. WHITE | 50.00 |

Ed Clarion, 24 Main St. St. John, N. B.

Our comrade Walter Gribble's case finished yesterday with a verdict of GUILTY. This was the verdict after seven witnesses had testified that he did not use expressions which were charged against him by the Crown witness, which was the only witness for the Crown. The Judge's charge to the jury inferred that the evidence of the witnesses for the defence could not be credited to the four were socialists and one was in sympathy with socialism and one was the son of a the socialist movement is on trial and not Comrade Gribble.

The press has been almost dumb during the whole trial which commenced Tuesday, Jan. 18th and was in progress for three days. A deliberate attempt is being made to crush the movement in the locality, and I would not be surprised if a warrant were ordered for the Mormons out of the City a few months ago forbidding them to hold any meetings whatever.

Now Comrade this is going to be a big fight. The sentence is postponed until Thursday, Jan. 20th. In the meantime Com Gribble is behind the prison walls and unable to do anything for himself. It is therefore left for us to carry on the fight. Com Gribble told me just before the jury returned their verdict, sentence was six months, or less, he wished for no appeal, but would serve the sentence. So the Comrades here are considering an appeal if the sentence should be more than six months. The only two hundred dollars have been collected and only seventy of that has come from outside. The other being collected from Comrades and sympathizers in the City and district. The case has cost about \$2000 up to the present, so Gribble's wife. We hope to be able to make it up to her. I hope the whole party throughout the Dominion will be stirred to act and act promptly.

Yours in the cause for economic freedom.

A TAYLOR, Sec. N. B. P. E. C.

Address East Saint John, N. B.

HERE AND NOW.

\$ 50c 25c

J. R. Knight 12 5 3

L. R. Larson 10 0 0

H. B. Seelye 6 0 0

Local Van. No. 1 5 3 0

W. A. P. 5 1 1

| | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|
| Local Victoria | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| S. E. White | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Esau | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Hagan | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Paterson | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. D. Houston | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| C. M. O. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| M. Mitchell | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| W. T. Mitchell | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| S. Major | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| F. Grant | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| N. M. Leach | 0 | 1 | 0 |

Singles—Dollar subs. 14.

Fifty cent subs. 4.

Twenty-five cent subs. 1.

MANITOBA MISCELLANEA.

(Continued from page 11.)

Regarding that old argument re Socialism breaking up the home, I'm afraid that it won't get the chance, as the following cutting from the Free Press plainly shows:

Woman Doctor Has Plan For Repopulation.

Washington, Jan. 10.—By adopting recent scientific discoveries, Europe can repopulate itself after the present war is over notwithstanding the lack of able-bodied men, without degrading its women into polygamy, according to Dr. Elnora Folkmar, head of the Washington Women's Clinic.

Dr. Folkmar not only believes repopulation can be brought about by scientific methods, chief of which is artificial fertilization, but she also believes a better race of men and women can be produced through application of these methods than by adoption of polygamy or marriage of physically unfit men with physically fit women.

Talk about the destruction of individual liberty. I wonder what the suffragettes have to say about that. In the early days of machine production the slaves destroyed the looms etc., in the hope that by doing so they could hold back the wheels of progress. One can only wonder if the women will follow suit and insist on the methods used by their mothers being adhered to; or will they stand for the abolition of this "historic right" of women.

PAT

Executive Committee Reports

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COM.

Convened at office of secretary, Dec. 28th, 1915, at 9 p.m. Present:—McLean, McDonald, Jenkins Smith and the secretary.

Chairman:—McDonald. Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Correspondence—Chief Press Censor, Ottawa; C. M. O'Brien, Detroit; H. B. Seelyer, R. C. McCutchan, Winnipeg; Wm. C. Curry, San Francisco; Alta; E. C. Camille, David, London, Eng.; H. Adie, Calgary; Local Toronto; Paterson, Winnipeg; T. E. Scriven, Wolsley, Sask.; Local Crawford Bay, B. C.; Local St. John, N. B.; Orgr Reid (2); Local Montreal; A. Watchman, Victoria, B. C.; J. Johnson, Eagle Hill, Alta.; J. G. Randall, Royston, Alta.; G. G. Moffett, Dumfries, N. Y.; Local Roseland, Sask.; T. Buick, Calgary; Orgr Connor.

In response to request from Alta. P. E. C. secretary as to position of D. E. C. with respect to CONSCRIPTION the conclusion was reached that conscription in this country does not seem imminent, and that we do not consider it expedient to make any statement until that time is announced.

Secretary was instructed to reply to communication from Winnipeg Local re position of this committee regarding motions passed on Nov. 16th 1915.

Convened at office of secretary, Jan 18th, 1916. Present:—Jenkins, McDonald, Smith, Harrington, Bennett, Stephenson and the secretary. Chairman: Jenkins. Stephenson seated as delegate vice Partridge unable to attend.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted. Correspondence: I. R. Larson, Oxville, Alta.; J. S. Olegard, Prince Rupert, Local Victoria; Local Roseland, British and Colonial Press, Ltd., Toronto; Canadian Patriotic Fund, Vancouver; A. Knott, Halifax, N. S.; Alberta P. E. C. Edmonton; A. J. McCallum, Ottawa; Local St. Catharines, Ont.; The Canadian Bank of Commerce, Vancouver; W. A. Pritchard, (3) Alta.; Local Toronto (2) A. Paterson, Winnipeg; J. D. Houston, Montreal; P. Q. Local St. John N. B. (2) and night letter.

Secretary was instructed to give Local Toronto copies of correspondence between this committee and the S. P. of N. A. as requested. Also to reply to communication from Local St. John, N. B. re our stand regarding party members speaking under the auspices of any other parties not affiliated with us.

Instructions were also given to secretary to reply to communication from Local St. Catharines re Ontario and Quebec P. E. C. Adjournment.

Amendments submitted from Sub-committee re constitution left over until Com. W. A. Pritchard returns. Adjournment.

Convened at office of secretary, Jan 11th, 1916. Present:—Jenkins, McDonald, Smith, Bennett and the secretary.

Chairman: Jenkins. W. Bennett seated as delegate, vice Pritchard out of town. Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Correspondence—A. Taylor, East St. John, N. B.; J. H. Wilson, Anson, B. C.; W. Griddle, St. John, N. B.; Moses Baritz, Detroit, Mich.; J. D. Houston, Montreal; S. Major, Toronto; Gust, Nestlin, Fargo, N. D.; C. M. Olsen, Buffalo, N. Y.; Organizer Knight, Edmonton, Alta.; A. Paterson, Winnipeg; Local Winnipeg; The Desbarats Advertising Company, Limited, Montreal.

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Financial Report. Dec. 28th 1915 to Jan. 18th 1916. Receipts: Stamps—Alberta P. E. C. \$20.00 Man. P. E. C. 10.00 N. B. P. E. C. 10.00 Local Toronto 3.00 Literature—Orgr. Reid 2.00

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Local Winnipeg 4.50, G. Nestlin 0.40, W. J. Bone 0.25, Supplies—Alta. P. E. C. 2.00, Buttons—Man. P. E. C. 1.00.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Expenses: W. A. P. 22.00, A. McLean 11.00, Sundries—P. O. Stamps 3.30, Missell 2.30.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Western Clarion: Receipts: Sub. 87.85, Directory: Alberta P. E. C. 1.00, Man. P. E. C. 1.00, Local Van. No. 1 1.00, Local Roseland 1.00, Local Victoria 2.00.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. T. Buick 1.00, G. Moffett 2.70, C. M. O'Brien 3.00, T. Connor 0.50, G. Nestlin 0.40, Local Van. No. 1 3.00, Local Toronto 10.00, Local Roseland 0.50, Local Victoria 1.00, Local Montreal 10.00, Local Ottawa 1.00.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Local Roseland (Press) 25.00, Local Roseland (Asst.) 3.20, Local St. Van. No. 1 (Asst.) 7.10, Local St. Catharines (Asst.) 1.00, W. B. M. 1.00, Per S. Earp 1.00.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Total \$169.25. Expenses: W. A. P. (4 weeks) 44.00, W. A. P. (Advance) 10.00, A. McLean 11.00.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Sundries: Mailing and P. O. Stamp 2.50, Missell 15.00. Total \$60.00.

Sam Busch TAILOR. Cleaning, Pressing, Repairing. 409 Vernon Drive City.

PROPAGANDA MEETING Vancouver Local No. 1 S. P. of C. EVERY SUNDAY, 8 p. m. NATIONAL THEATRE Hastings Street

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN COMRADES TAKE NOTICE.

Comrades of Alberta and Saskatchewan

The Provincial Executive Committee of Alberta have started a strenuous winter campaign and have already three organizers in the field and two more ready to start out immediately after the New Year.

Organizers Connor, Knight and Reid have done good work so far and have held meetings in places that have not previously been visited by organizers of the Socialist Party of Canada.

An enormous amount of work has been necessary to get in touch with the comrades through out the Province. Between 700 and 800 letters have been sent out from this office during the past three months for organization work.

So far the routes have been laid out embracing only those places which could be linked-up into a scheme of work without causing any loss of time to the organizers in going from one place to another.

We have several calls to comrades who want speakers but not to be mixed with other places where no work is being done, have up to the present had no dropped meetings. It is important that organizers in going from one place to another.

Local Edmonton No. 1 S. P. of C. Free reading room and headquarters at 115 Second St. Propaganda meetings every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, first at 4 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 4 p.m. L. Buckthorpe, Organizer, P. O. Box 1482, H. H. Somers, Secretary, P. O. Box 1482, Phone 5455.

Local Enderby No. 65 S. P. of C. Business meetings first Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m. Propaganda, third Sunday in each month at 4:30 p.m. in the Theatre, Main St. Everybody welcome. J. Filington, Organizer, W. R. No. 4, Armstrong B. C.

Local Lethbridge, Alta. No. 12 S. P. of C. Meets every Sunday at 1:30 p.m. in Miners Hall, Secretary, W. Shaw 214 13th St. N. W. Devroy, Organizer.

Local No. 1 WINDSOR, S. P. of C. Club and reading room in 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, 144 Ross Ave.

Local MONTREAL No. 1 S. P. of C. Headquarters 178 Dorchester St. West. Open every evening, N. M. Leech, Secretary, Box 143, Sta. H.

Local TORONTO No. 1 S. P. of C. Propaganda meeting, Sunday 8 P.M. in Forum Bldg. Yonge & Gerrard. All communications to be sent to W. H. Daniels, corresponding and recording secretary, 244 Victoria St. Geo. Rossier, field sec. 25 Tiverton Ave.

Local GLACE BAY, N. S. No. 1 S. P. of C. Headquarters Commercial St. open every evening. Business and propaganda meetings every Sunday at 3 p.m. Harold G. Ross, Secretary, Box 582.

Local SANDON, 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. Sandon, B. C.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN ORGANIZATION FUND. Name Amount. J. A. Zender 2.00, A. R. M. 2.00, Thos. Dye 1.00, Jas. R. Shields 1.00, Alexr. Beaton 1.00, Mr. and Mrs. Nicoloeff 0.50. Total 8.00. Send all donations to S. I. J. Knight, Box 785 Edmonton, Alta. Reid Defence Fund. H. Christians 0.50.

Socialist Party Directory

LOCAL VANCOUVER No. 1 S. P. of C. Business meetings every Tuesday evening. Economic Class every Sunday at 8 p.m. Education Class every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at Headquarters, Avenue Theatre. Dialectics Class every Friday, 8 p.m. in 15 E. C. Headquarters, A. R. Sinclair, Secretary.

VANCOUVER LETTER LOCAL No. 58, S. P. of C. Business meetings every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meetings every third Sunday at 7 p.m. Open to everybody at Finn Hall, 2215 Pender E. Secretary, R. Amat, Box 467.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C. No. 45, FIDELITY Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month 2215 Pender St. East. Ova 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 S. Dib. Secretary, Gibson's Heights, Howe Road, H. C.

LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1 S. P. of C. Free reading room and headquarters at 115 Second St. Propaganda meetings every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, first at 4 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 4 p.m. L. Buckthorpe, Organizer, P. O. Box 1482, H. H. Somers, Secretary, P. O. Box 1482, Phone 5455.

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

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Social Party of Canada meets every alternate Tuesday 9 p.m. Avenue Theatre, Vancouver. H. C. W. A. Britton, Secretary.

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

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Invites all socialist Societies 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 5, Amulth Block, Furby St., Winnipeg.

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 Cochran, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N. S.

NEW BRUNSWICK 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 Cochran, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N. S.

LOCAL FERRIS, S. P. of C. hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall, every Sunday at 7:00. Business meetings every Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Orgr. Erickson, Secretary, Box 565; Organizer, Wm. Allen, Box 595.

LOCAL ROSELAND, No. 25, S. P. of C. meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secretary, Box 51.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C. Headquarters and Reading Room 1424 Government St. in the month, 10:30 a.m. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, Fred Hartman, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C. No. 70.—Business meetings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m. Economic classes every Monday and Friday at 8 p.m. in the Socialist Hall opposite P. O. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity. Secretary, H. Walker.

LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B. No. 1 S. P. of C. Visiting Comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.

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

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

3. 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.

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

5. 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.

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

7. 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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Light, well Ventilated Room
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in connection, "Billy Bennett"
in attendance.

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Fourth (Revised) Edition, with a Preface by D. G. McKenzie

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