

WESTERN CLARION

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The Suppression of Foreign Organizations in Canada

The Canadian Government, in its wisdom, has decided to declare certain foreign organizations and language newspapers unlawful.

The following is the press report of the terms of the Order-in-Council:

ACTIVITIES OF ALIENS CURBED

Thirteen Organizations, Including I. W. W., Must Disband at Once.

No Future Meetings in German, Russian or Finnish Language

Ottawa, Sept. 27.—The government has taken strong steps to suppress the activities of aliens through foreign associations and foreign papers and to deal with organizations of a Bolsheviki tendency. Thirteen organizations have been declared to be unlawful. They must be disbanded and it is declared unlawful to attend any of their meetings. The list is headed by the I. W. W.

The remainder are the Russian Social Democrats, the Russian Revolutionary Group, the Russian Social Revolutionists, the Russian Workers' Union, the Ukrainian Social Labor Party, the Social Democrats of the Bolsheviki, the Social Democrats of Anarchists, the Work-

ers of the International Industrial Union, the Chinese National League and the Chinese Labor Association.

These organizations have been carefully investigated by the Government, which has copies of their literature. It is all of a revolutionary and Bolsheviki character. Penalties of five years in prison or \$5000 fine can be imposed for belonging to these organizations.

The order-in-council is general in character and gives authority to suppress any association which advocates political, social or economic changes by force. There are in future to be no meetings, except those of a religious character to be held in enemy languages or in Russian, Finnish or Ukrainian.

Steps have also been taken to suppress papers published in enemy languages. They can only be published under license from the secretary of state and must be published in English or French. The languages coming under the order are German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Roumanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Finnish, Ruthenian, Syrian, Croatian and Livonian.

Most of the papers affected are published in Western Canada. Publications in these languages can not be imported except those of a scientific or religious character which contain no objectionable articles.—*Province*, Sept. 27th, 1918.

We have always realized that the government of a people, whose group interests are profoundly in conflict, must of necessity be a dictatorship. In times of great national stress, and especially of war, it finds extraordinary measures of coercion necessary to ensure the success of its policies.

In times of peace these coercive measures are found neither necessary nor excusable, and the statesmen and rulers of the past whom posterity have most delighted to honor have generally deemed it wisest and most politic to relax this tyranny and rule with the iron hand under the velvet glove.

Society is made up of many conflicting elements.

The great and important divisions in the body politic arise from basic material causes, economic in their nature. Each of these divisions, always the product of a long historic process, develops its own point of view, its own critique and philosophy of life, in its many phases, out of its own necessities and conflicts with its historical opponents. In short it develops a body of thought more or less well defined and co-extensive with its attainment towards maturity as a political factor.

The Socialist philosophy is the ideological expression of one of these political divisions in society today. Its adherents are of such number and intelligence that they are a factor to be reckoned with and even their numbers,

though daily increasing by leaps and bounds are no criterion of the movement as a moral and intellectual force. The influence of its rank and file, because of their consuming interest in and knowledge of social affairs, spreads far away beyond the bounds of the movement proper.

In view of this we are loth to believe that any government would be so pitifully blind and foolish as to attempt to suppress this movement. We hope and trust they will not. For our desire, more even than our political opponents, because we know our histories better, is for a peaceful orderly solution of the admitted social evils of modern times.

We regret the act of the Canadian Government and can not regard it as necessary, but we do not believe yet, that its intention is to try to suppress the socialist movement, and think the extraordinary measures that have been taken are taken not with a view of their permanency, but as temporary expedients of a war-time policy. However, time will tell.

We have had more than enough from Press and pulpit of the shallow anarchistid bourgeois justification of wars, that the world needs a blood bath periodically in order to achieve spiritual and social regeneration. Wars and other social violences are the surface effects of deeper lying causes than any such need. The truth of

greatest significance that history has to show us is that these calamitous affairs result from the arresting of social forces in their natural channels of development; some obstruction; something standing in the way.

Socialists claim no monopoly of the virtues. They concede to all their opponents, equal with themselves, strength of desire to abolish social ills, but they believe they know what is wrong with society, and more than their opponents think it possible to accomplish, they believe they know how to remedy the wrong, how to remove the obstruction and set the social life processes free. And from this work they can not stay their hand.

We counsel all our comrades to keep their heads. Carry on the socialist propaganda within the law. Organized society, even such as it is, is the product of historical development. You can not place yourself outside it, outside its forms, its pains and penalties, its rules and procedures, and kick it into your desired position as you would a football.

Be of good cheer. After all we are sure of this, that the working class have the "good will of history." No government can suppress that fact.

NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

NATIONAL ownership, which during the last decade or so has been advanced by the old political parties and reform idealists, as a means whereby the miseries of the working class would be alleviated and which has even been labelled "Socialism" has been the recipient of some severe shocks recently.

Because of government control of steamship lines, railroad systems, munition plants, etc., the impression had gained ground, assisted by the efforts of certain leaders of organized labor, that the sure cure for the troubles and sorrows of the working class is the nationalization of industry. Now these ideas have been somewhat upset by late occurrences.

Take the munition workers strike in England a few weeks ago as an instance. Earlier in the war there was an outcry against munition profiteers, raised, principally, by other sections of the capitalist class, who were not so advantageously situated in regard to labor exploitation, and under pressure from the said sections, the British Government took over and began to operate the munition plants. And yet, recently, in the most conservative city in England, formerly the stronghold of imperialistic Joe Chamberlain, 100,000 munition workers were on strike. Nearer at hand we have the strike of Canadian postal employees.

Apparently Government ownership is no better for the slave than private ownership, and it even seems as if under governmental control the workers are in a more absolute slave position (if possible) than ever, bound by rules and restrictions and subject to more direct coercion than before.

In referring to the striking English munition workers, David Lloyd George said: "All strikers of military age will be drafted promptly into the war," and Hon. J. Doherty, acting Prime Minister of Canada, in an announcement concerning the striking postal employees said: "Firm action is necessary, there are several methods that can be used."

Quite correct! for as 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 their property rights in the means of wealth production

and their control of the products of labor. National ownership or control is only a more complete development of capitalism and is generated by the commercial jealousy of one section of the capitalist class against another, which holds a monopoly of some essential industry and in furtherance of their aims, they bamboozle the workers at election times into voting for so-called "public ownership." Socialists realize that nationalization of industry will not remove the slave system under which the working class are compelled to live. For any government dominated by the capitalist regime necessarily functions as an organization to look after and uphold the interests of the owning and ruling class. Only when the working class awakes to a comprehension of the fact that there are two classes in society, one class the useful working class, the other the parasitic capitalist class, and so organizing with the object of overthrowing and abolishing class and class control—will they arrive at the desired objective of normal human beings, viz., freedom from slavery.

With this end in view all members of the working class are urged to study Socialism.

Get in touch with the S. P. of C. Attend, where possible, the propaganda meetings, subscribe to the Party organ, read Socialist literature!

Efforts or arguments towards the realization of the nationalization of industry, and its appendages, hours and wages, will never rid us of our chains. Just the reverse. So know your enemy, and fortified with scientific knowledge, begin to do your bit by fighting that enemy scientifically.

BRITISH COLUMBIA NOTES

Comrade Braes informs us that the Naylor-Aitken Defence Fund has been well supported throughout the Dominion, and that they have no fear but that the money necessary will be in before the fund closes.

Good propaganda meetings are being held every week in Vancouver in spite of the fact that opposition from the conglomerate organization known as the F.L.(a)P.A. is very keen. All the efforts of that outfit of misfit parsons and ambitious labor leaders will never be able to offset the work that has been done by Vancouver Local in the last ten years. During that period over \$8,000 worth of scientific literature has been disseminated in the city by our literature agents. This is apart altogether from subs. to the *Western Clarion*.

ALBERTA NOTES

The pamphlet on the Russian Situation, published by the Alberta P. E. C., has been banned by the Canadian Government. Anyone found with a copy of this pamphlet in his or her possession is liable to fine and imprisonment. A word to the wise—Don't be found with one.

Comrade Mrs. Knight had the misfortune to fall foul of the authorities in Winnipeg. Further particulars will be found on another page.

The Alberta P. E. C. have enrolled about seventy members at large within the past three months, and its literature mailing list is being taken advantage of by comrades in Alta. and Sask. judging by growth. Any comrade who wishes to receive current Socialist literature as it is received here has only to notify the secretary.

Genuineness of "Bolshevik Documents"
Published by Committee of Public Information Doubted
by Capitalist Newspaper.

The following is an Editorial taken from the New York Evening Post, of September 16th, 1918:

THE BOLSHEVIK DOCUMENTS

Mr. Creel is confronted by a simple and immediate duty. He should supply the newspapers with facsimile reproductions of the documents that Mr. Sisson brought with him from Europe and which, in the English translation, have been given to the press. We do not ask for this because we think the material as given out by the Committee of Public Information does not correctly represent the originals, but because we believe that the documents themselves are far from being above suspicion, and should therefore in their exact form be subjected to as wide a scrutiny as possible. In the material as printed yesterday and today there is plenty of ground for doubt. It may be that the publication of the Russian or German facsimiles will supply other evidence. The plain fact is that some of the most important charges and documents brought forward by Mr. Sisson were published in Paris months ago and have, on the whole, been discredited. Mr. Sisson remarks of Document 2, printed in the *Petit Paesien*, that "the Petrograd Bolshevik papers proclaimed it a falsehood." He does not tell us what new reasons there are for believing in the authenticity of Document 2 in view of the very solid arguments that were made against it.

In one important sense the Sisson disclosures now have only an academic meaning. The policy of our own Government and of the Allies toward the Bolsheviks was shaped by much more powerful data namely, by the open and avowed acts of the Bolsheviks. Whether or not Lenin took money from Germany, the facts remain that the Bolsheviks have destroyed Russia, have put her under the heel of Germany, have proclaimed civil war not only against the bourgeoisie, but against all revolutionary forces in Russia outside of themselves, have doomed Russian freedom unless it be rescued by the Allies, and have impelled all that is sanest in Russia to call upon the Allies for such rescue. Whether Lenin sold Russia or merely staked Russia in a desperate gamble for his own wild ideas, makes little difference and the Sisson charges, even if true, will not alter the situation. But it is of the utmost importance for this Government to know the quality of the agents to whom it entrusts difficult and delicate missions. We are coming nearer to conditions with regard to the whole war in which the character of the Government's information must inevitably influence its policy in a tremendous world crisis. The "facts" upon which the Administration and the American people base their opinions and policies must be, indeed, facts. A close but by no means exhaustive study of the first instalment of the Sisson documents raises the following doubts:

(1.) The circular of the German Imperial Bank concerning remittances to Lenin, Trotsky, and others is dated March 2, 1917. This would be a week before

the revolutionary troubles began in Russia, and nearly two weeks before the Czar was deposed. Did the German Imperial Bank foresee the overthrow of the Czar so precisely? In Europe this document, No. 2, has been repudiated on the ground that it was written long after the events, by a Russian, who thought in the Russian chronology, which is thirteen days late, and that March 2 was really a mistake for our March 15, when the overthrow of the Czar was an accomplished fact. This charge requires an answer.

(2.) Document No. 2 speaks of the arrest of a certain agent having on his person the original of the Imperial Bank circular of March 2, 1917, "with notations and stamps of the Petrograd secret police (Okhrana)." Now, the offices of the notorious Okhrana were stormed by the crowds in the first days of the revolution, say on March 10 or 11. We must suppose, therefore, that a circular issued by the German Imperial Bank on March 2, and addressed to bankers in Sweden, had time to get to Petrograd, to fall into the hands of the Okhrana, and to be stamped by the Okhrana officials in just a week. The thing is almost incredible and points to fabrication.

(3.) Document 5, a letter from the German General Staff to the Bolshevik Government, accrediting certain German agents, is dated "October, 1917." In October, 1917, there was no Bolshevik Government. Their coup was delivered on our November 7. We must suppose therefore, that the German General Staff dated its letters by the Russian chronology. Even then, October, 1917, cannot be later than November 12, so that five days after the Bolshevik coup the German General Staff is assigning agents to the Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance. And always on the supposition that Berlin thought in terms of the Russian calendar.

(4.) Document 7 is a letter from the German General Staff to the Commissary of Foreign Affairs, ordering the election of a large number of Bolshevik leaders to the General Executive Committee by the Soviet Convention. These leaders are spoken of as "candidates for re-election," so that the Soviet Convention must have been in session. The Convention was opened January 25. But the German letter is dated January 12. Again we must suppose the General Staff at Berlin to be using the Russian chronology which would make the date exactly January 25—a striking coincidence.

These are but specific items. The general tone of the documents is a strain upon credulity. The orders and instructions and demands and responses have the directness of a thieves' kitchen; it is not the way in which Government conspiracies are couched. Mr. Creel owes it to the country to do his best to find out whether we are really face to face with the most extraordinary cabal in history or whether Mr. Sisson is the victim of a gigantic hoax.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

SLIGHTLY CONTRADICTIONARY

LABOR CONFERENCE A GOMPERS TRIUMPH
London, Sept. 21.—Samuel Gompers and his party of American labor men will go to France next week and then probably to Italy. They are very much satisfied with the result of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, which the newspapers acclaim as a distinct personal triumph for Gompers. His firmness throughout in insisting on essential points and while tactfully avoiding mixing up British labor politics greatly impressed the delegates. One of the most notable results was the final backdown of Arthur Henderson on his proposition of conferring with enemy labor men.

AMERICANS WILL NOT MEET HUN DELEGATES

London, Sept. 21.—At the Inter-Allied Labor conference yesterday a motion by Samuel Gompers that "we will meet in open revolt only those of the Central Powers which are in open revolt against their autocratic governments," was defeated on the nationality vote by 63 to 26, whereupon William Bowen, one of the American delegates, declared that if another inter-Allied conference was held during the war and enemy delegates were admitted representatives of the United States would not participate.

—From the *Vancouver Province*, Sept. 21, 1918.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS AND LONDON CONFERENCE

(From a Correspondent)

The *Populaire* of Monday published a letter from the executive of the Italian Socialist party addressed on August 21 to the French Socialist executive explaining why the Italian Socialists were not disposed to send delegates to the Inter-Allied Conference to be held in London next week.

Among the reasons given for this attitude is the fact that the Conference has been convoked at the request of Mr. Gompers, "who is not an adherent of the International Socialist Bureau, and is far removed from Socialist principles and methods which should indicate the position to be adopted on the question of the war." It is also complained that the Conference will include delegates from "pseudo-socialist parties and improvised organizations which have been formed since the war, and with which all the parties have absolutely no contact." On the other hand, several legitimate representatives of Socialist parties adhering to the International, such as the American and Russian Socialists, will be excluded from the Conference.

The Italian Socialists consider that all the efforts of Socialists should be directed towards the restoration of international relations between all the Socialists "opposed to any truce with the dominant classes." The object of this restoration should be the co-ordination of the efforts of the workers of the world for an immediate peace and against the existing capitalist system. The Italian Socialists are therefore of opinion that conferences like those of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, not restricted to one group of belligerents, should be organized.

The French Socialists executive has replied urging the Italian Socialists to send delegates to the London Con-

ference, although, says the *Populaire*, many French Socialists agree with the Italians that the Conference is undesirable.—*Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 12, 1918.

PLAN AUSTRALIAN UNION

Melbourne, Oct. 3.—At the conference of seventy-five Victoria trades unions today a proposal was adopted to form one big union, which it was hoped would gradually become linked up with similar organizations in the other states and thus form an Australian union.

GERMANS MAY BE MASSACRED

COMPLETE ANARCHY REIGNS AT BULGARIAN CAPITAL—BOLSHEVIKI ORGANIZING

By Raymond Clapper
Washington, Oct. 2.—With Bulgaria out of the war and Roumania only waiting her chance to get in again, Allied strategists are planning the isolation of Turkey to force her to capitulate.

By the armistice of Saloniki, rail connections to the suburbs of Adrianople, the Turkish outpost in Europe, are open to the Allies. Troops may be expected to move in that direction as soon as the Allied commanders are sure Germany will not move on Bulgaria with a large force to resist the armistice.

Complete anarchy is raging at Sofia, official cables from Athens stated today.

"Complete anarchy exists at Sofia," an official cable to the Greek legation stated. "Establishment of a Bolshevik regime is feared, too. This would mean massacre of all Germans."—*Vancouver Province*.

GERMAN WOULD NOW DOUBLE-CROSS "REDS."

Washington, Sept. 18.—New evidence of Germany's double-dealings in Russia reached the state department today in a despatch showing that German Government agents some time ago sought ineffectually to form an alliance with strong Russian groups against their tools, the Bolsheviks.

This information came from Moscow by courier to Samara and thence to Consul-General Harris at Irkutsk.

THE NEW GERMAN CHANCELLOR

Early in the present year, Prince Maximilian gave a semi-official interview in which he outlined his views of Germany's peace terms. His statement was a rude shock to the pan-Germans in that he advocated the abandonment of all ideas of conquest. He advocated the Anglo-Saxon peace in the sense that the German Empire must serve as a bulwark in protecting the western nations from the spread of Russian Bolshevism.

Prince Maximilian's wife was formerly Marie Louise Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburg and bears the title of Princess Royal of Great Britain and Ireland.

He is a cousin of the reigning head of Baden, and his wife is a sister of Princess Ernest of Brunswick, who married the Emperor of Germany's only daughter early in this year.—*London Despatch*, October 3.

Another Comrade in the Toils

Financial Assistance Needed

As we go to press information has been received that another of our Comrades has fallen foul of the organized forces of the State, T. B. Roberts, of Silverton, B.C. Although not well known to the movement, Comrade Roberts has been one of our most energetic and enthusiastic workers, carrying with him wherever he has gone, the philosophy of revolutionary Socialism. He was arrested charged with "sedition," and kept in durance for over a month. He was released on October 4th on bail of \$1,000, when he was able to let us know of his plight. His case will come up for hearing at the Assizes to be held at Nelson on October 22nd. We do not know much of the details of the case, but from our knowledge of the man we are convinced of his innocence.

Com. Roberts' activities have proved that he is no friend of the mine owners in the district, and this has been alleged to be principally the reason for his apprehension. He assures us that the miners are standing be-

hind him, but there must be no half measures. We must not allow one of our fellow slaves to be railroaded to jail. Every effort must be put forth on his behalf, so we are engaging the services of a Vancouver lawyer to ensure a square deal for him.

Like all other cases of this kind, money is a prime necessity. At least \$300 will be needed for the sines of war. The D. E. C. has promised some financial aid and we make this appeal to everyone interested in keeping our comrade out of the claws of the capitalist tiger, to send a little to help to defray the cost of the defence. You will see from the account of the Naylor-Aitken prosecution that we have saved two comrades by our determined stand. Comrade Roberts' services to the movement demand that we see this matter through. Send contributions to the Editor, *Western Clarion*, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver.

Naylor and Aitken Acquitted

As we go to press we learn that Comrades Naylor and Aitken have been acquitted of the charges laid against them at Cumberland, by the jury at the Nanaimo Assizes, although Comrade Aitken has been committed for trial upon a new charge, to come up before the Assizes next May. He was liberated on bail of \$1,000.

Without doubt the action taken by organized labor and the socialists of the Province caused the authorities responsible for the charges to sit up and take notice that they could not get away with any such moves now. The time has gone by when the workers of the Province would sit quiet and allow their fellow workers to be railroaded either over the line or to jail on some trumped up pretext or to satisfy the behest of some corporation.

We are very far indeed from being the educated bunch that we should be, but the propaganda of class knowledge that has been spread these many years has at least had the effect of convincing the intelligent among us that we cannot afford to let individuals from our ranks be victimized simply because they happen to hold prominent positions either in the Political Socialist Movement or the Trades Union Movement.

The charge against Comrade Aitken is still substantial, by the same although the date has been altered. The

counsel engaged insisted upon the matter being held over on account of not being prepared for the new action.

In these, and the coming days, we need, and shall need, every one of our men, but above all we need to get the lesson firmly implanted into the heads of our fellow workers that our interests as members of the working class are identical and that only by getting to fully realize this can we hope for any really intelligent action. The competition of the labor market where we sell our labor power tends to obscure this fact. When we get the idea properly imbued by our fellows that the elimination of the labor market and its commodity means the dawn of a new era, then our hour will have struck.

Meantime we must dodge the effects as best we may, and such committals as those of Comrades Naylor and Aitken must be expected as natural results of government of the working class by another class. We can expect nothing else but that the ruling class will use its State to the limit against any move that it conceives to be detrimental to its own interests. The fact that our fellow workers are showing readiness to right these moves is encouraging. If we can show them how to make these moves futile, we shall have accomplished something.

Show them the State!

W. W. L.

"LEST WE FORGET."

AGREE TO OUTLAW "REDS."

Washington, Oct. 5.—The Allied governments have replied to the state department's appeal to declare the Russian Bolsheviks outlaws. The neutrals, however, are delaying their answers, the state department announces. The Allies are in accord with the United States.—*Province*.

Subs. still continue to come in from Victoria and other parts of the Province.

Constable Dan Campbell, of the Dominion police, the man who killed Ginger Goodwin with a soft nosed bullet, has been acquitted of the charge of manslaughter brought against him, the Grand Jury returning a No Bill.

The venue was changed from Nanaimo to Victoria for reasons known only to the prosecution, who as you all know, "are all honourable men."

Editorial Page

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When a successful Roman general was granted a triumph, amid all the pomp and display which accompanied the splendid ceremony, a slave was appointed to sit in the hero's chariot, charged to constantly repeat this phrase: "Remember thou art a man!"

"REMEMBER THOU ART A MAN!"

History suggests that whatever influence the slave's prompting had upon the memory of the triumphant one, he often practiced sabotage upon the memory of others by arrogating to himself divine power. Shaw endows the Britons of Caesar's day with the cold and clumsy morality of the modern English prude, and justifies the anachronism in a preface. We would not go so far, but, we believe, however, that a Roman would respond to the same stimuli to which we react. If you pricked him he would bleed. If you tickled him he would laugh. Possibly if we suggest the salutary advice of antique triumphs it might fall on fruitful soil, and—possibly not.

Mankind, like all other animals, is compelled, in order to sustain life, to feed and protect himself against the elements. At the lowest stage of his development this was task enough. He appropriated to himself certain artifices which more by good luck than good guidance, he found to hand, and assisted his inadequate natural means when he strayed from his "natural" surroundings. He has progressively added to these artifices from that dim unrecorded past to the present writing. The result of this stupendous addition is the complete subordination of nature to his needs. Yet, notwithstanding his victory, many of his kind are denied the few requisites which his prehistoric ancestors rarely lacked.

The course which our race has traversed, in its long development, is marked by countless victims to the hunger lust, satisfy the stomach, hunger arises from another source. "May awakes the warm desires." Beyond that again, a hunger not so general, but quite as compelling, bids man still strive, and struggle to exhaustion and to death! Mental hunger. To satisfy these

appetites mankind has spread over the earth, altering it to suit his purpose. If an obstacle confronted him he went round, through, or over; if he could not, he removed it. At any rate he is here, the obstacles are not. In his struggle with nature a gross superstition entangled his mind and handicapped his efforts. His natural curiosity and grub hunger led him into the land of ghostly ghouls and brazen giant; through the straits where Scylla and Charibdis kept watch and past the Pillars of Hercules into the unknown sea. These phantoms of his primitive days formed a tremendous barrier to his progress, but he mastered them, only to find, like travellers in the foothills greater barriers beyond. This superstitious dread came to be used by interested members of the tribe to subdue other members. When the demands of the stomach became too exacting the food of the gods (and the priests) was consumed: The gods received a gentle reminder that they were men.

Ignorance and superstition came in time to be the basis of the greatest international institution in the history of man—the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Developing through a thousand years of mental darkness it perfected an organization of oppression impossible to reproduce. Its agents were in every household, if not constantly, as in the palaces of the mighty, occasionally, as in the hovels of the serf. Its begging friars spied upon the lives of the needy multitude, its Cardinals kept guard upon the wealthy few. Beyond this oracular confessional dragged to the surface secrets dark and dreadful as the mind of man. The Holy Inquisition and its familiars attended to those whose slightest action or lowest whisper suggested enmity to the Holy Church. The ingenuity of man was directed to the production of instruments calculated to produce the greatest degree of suffering without killing the victim. And a science of torture arose promoted by unlimited power and resource to a high efficiency. This powerful weapon was exerted to the uttermost to stamp out all opposition to the Papal See.

Again the child was wholly in the hands of the church. In sickness the priest performed his mystic ceremonies, when death occurred, the same solemn humbug administered equally fruitless follies, to ensure the welfare of the soul. Little understanding, but greatly impressed, the child mind was as wax in the hands of these cunning masters of human psychology. Ignorance, dense and gloomy, completed the victim's subjection. The warfare of this institution against science is well known. Every discovery in the realm of knowledge was made known at peril of life and limb. The greatest of the race, measured in terms of mental power, felt its heavy hand; and of these many were members, priests and monks, of the church itself. And who can say how many lesser intellects, or greater struggling intellects were turned aside from their high resolves or smothered their mind children at birth.

Copernicus waited thirty years ere he made his discoveries public. Even in England, William Harvey delayed for years to announce his discovery of the circulation of the blood. Yet with all its influence, its power, its resource, its unity of purpose through centuries, its

world-wide ramifications, it failed to maintain a barrier against the progress of man.

Where this Roman Church failed, no other social organism can hope to succeed. The stomach and mental hunger of man must be satisfied by the perils which they may. One man may be crushed or a thousand. But when mankind the world over present the same economic and social demands, the stars in their courses may fight for whom they may, the realization of those demands is a matter of time. It will profit the master to give ear to the slave. "Remember thou art a man." J.H.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEASON FOR STUDY CLASSES.

Local Vancouver No. 1 commences its winter session of study classes this month.

On Sunday, October 20th, at 3 p.m., in their headquarters, the course in economics will be opened and continued on every succeeding Sunday to the end of the season. All are invited to attend, whether they are Socialists or not, and take part in the discussions should they feel inclined.

Also a class on Historic Materialism will be held Wednesday nights at 8 p.m.

Word has already been received from Regina, Brandon and other places that their study classes have got off to a good start.

In this connection we see our chance for a homily.

Scientific Socialists the world over insist that classes for the study of economics, historical materialism and philosophy are a prime necessity before a scientific criticism of the present order of society and an explanation of its phenomena can be undertaken with success.

Every Socialist is a propagandist, but, alas! not every propagandist, a Socialist.

Because a man has a grouch or feels himself unsuccessful in the battle of life, or may be is brimming over with sentimentalisms on every known subject, is no guarantee that he is a socialist. Far from it. Many such people there are who attach themselves to the movement and call themselves socialists probably without having a grain of Socialist knowledge.

They may in all truth be earnest and active enough in their advocacy of remedies for present social ills, but their very earnestness often brings the movement, which has already a sufficiency of an uphill fight, into discredit and ridicule, by the unscientific and weird schemes they put forth in the name of Socialism.

Every Socialist, we said, is a propagandist, and as such, he owes it to himself and to the most profound, all embracing, and potent social movement in the history of the race, that he be as well grounded in economics, history and philosophy as is possible.

At this day it is the fate of the working class that they must work out their own problem. No other class will do it for them. There was a time, it is true, when they gained certain advantages because the rival classes, the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocrats were bidding for their support. But that day is of the past.

There are only two classes in society today. On the one hand, the merchant-manufacturing-landed aristocrats merged into the modern capitalist class. This class owns and controls the means of existence of the rest of society and is interested in preserving the present bourgeois system of production for profit, because this profit accrues to them by the exploitation of the proletariat through the wages system.

On the other hand we have this proletariat, owning nothing but their labor power, the value of which is not the value it produces, but its value as a marketable thing. Its value determined by its cost of production like all other commodities and its price i.e., wages, is regulated by the fluctuations on the labor market: Supply and demand.

The commodity nature of labor power is a sore spot to be hidden by many people: by the capitalist, because when exposed it shows the hidden source of his profits, also the fundamental class nature of society and predicates the working class problem as a revolutionary one: By the labor leader preaching identity of interest between capital and labor, co-partnerships, etc., because he has visions of an endless series of conferences, with his capitalist friends, around a table haggling over price: of commissions, royal and otherwise, and last but not least of eternal contributions of per capita. Our hard headed, conceted working man too hates no less to see this sore exposed to view for it constitutes a flat contradiction to his fondly cherished illusion, that he is a free-man.

But our social problems are not to be solved by hiding our social sores or locking up our accusing skeletons in the closet.

And now to the subject of our study classes again.

The discussions which arise in a study class are a most valuable means towards clearing up many knotty and abstruse problems which would be insurmountable to the individual pursuing his studies alone.

So wherever you are, readers, form your study clubs. Where there are no locals you can still do this. Two or three gathered together for mutual help is better than one struggling alone. Take as your text books "Value, Price and Profit," by Marx, a 15c pamphlet, or better still, the first nine chapters of volume 1 Marx's "Capital," the price of which is two dollars.

We have prevailed upon Comrade J. G. Morgan, of Vancouver, to contribute to the Clarion a series of articles which will be of assistance to our study of economics this season.

Comrade Morgan is the last man to desire any eulogizing, but in order to ensure that confidence in the teacher, necessary to a student, we may mention truthfully that for more years than he cares to mention, Morgan has been a close student of scientific subjects with special reference to sociology.

A Marxian Socialist, widely read in all the other economists, we must consider ourselves fortunate in securing his assistance. Comrade Morgan's articles are due to commence in the November 1st issue. The form they will take we do not yet know. But from some years experience of his methods with young students in our classes here, we think he will not take the pedagogic attitude of telling us, but will conduct the course by the method of suggestion and lead us on to think out the problems ourselves, with his assistance.

He takes the stand that it is thinkers we must endeavor to produce, and not mental parasites who rest their case on phrases and formulas learned by rote.

If after thorough examination and discussion there are points which the students fail to clear up, they are invited to send their difficulties to the Clarion, in which an endeavor will be made to explain them. By doing this the students will be helping Comrade Morgan to so frame the articles as to be of greatest value to them, by dealing with those points which they find most difficult to understand or to agree upon. So bend to the task

comrades, equip yourselves mentally, so that you may leave the lump of working class ignorance and slave-like apathy. You need more of the working class on your side, for the time approaches near when your revolutionary faith will be tried to the utmost, and in the years to come all your intelligence and all your courage and endurance will be needed to enable you to play your part in the reorganization of society. That has to be done. Will be done, have no fear for that.

HERE AND NOW

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Regina Local	\$1.60
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This list was compiled on October 5th. A total of 124 new subs. since last issue. This is a little better than 208 in the issue of October 1st, but it is not quite enough yet. Our goal is that point where we have to acknowledge 150 one dollar subs per issue. This is necessary because of the increased cost of production. The days are gone when the Clarion bill for printing amounted to about \$40. The paper has been doubled, the work has been doubled, the expense has been doubled, will the subs. be doubled? This is the question for us and the task for you. It is your paper. If you desire it to be a dynamic factor in the education of that section of the working class that is still floundering about in the morass of ignorance you will know what is expected of you.

MRS. KNIGHT TO FACE SEDITION CHARGE FRIDAY

Shorthand Operatives Took Notes on Her Theatre Speech Sunday

Over Ton Printed Matter is Seized

The arrest of Mrs. Sarah J. Knight, labor speaker from Edmonton, and the raiding of seven headquarters of labor or socialist elements, and the homes of several of their leaders, for seditious literature, marked Wednesday's work in the police campaign against anti-ally propaganda. Literature weighing one and a half tons and suspected of containing "objectionable matter," was seized in the raids, which Chris. Newton, deputy chief of Police conducted. Here is the list of the places raided, with the exception of the private houses:

The Liberty Temple, Dufferin avenue; the New Labor Temple, Pritchard avenue at McGregor street; the Baker Press, 394 Selkirk avenue; the Israelite Press, 811 Main street; two book stores, one at 796 Main street, one at 822 Main street; the publishing house of the Rabotokj Narod and Robotokj Narod, one in Russian, the other in Ukrainian, known as "The Working People." There is no evidence at present that any of the literature taken is of an unpatriotic nature. Interpreters and stenographers are at work today making transcripts of it all and it will be read by the police and members of the district intelligence office. Charges will be laid only if these transcripts are found to be inflammatory.

Mrs. Knight Arraigned.

Mrs. Knight appeared in police court today and pleaded not guilty to a charge of breach of the War Measures Act for her utterances in the Rex Theatre, Sunday. She was remanded till tomorrow for trial.

She appeared to be not more than 25 years old. She was arrested by detectives from the central station at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon as she was preparing to leave for the United States. The charge against her was laid by Capt. Daniel Campbell of the intelligence department. Operatives from his office took shorthand notes of her speech at the Rex Theatre.

The homes of several persons whose names have been connected with the recent disclosures of anti-ally propaganda also were raided by the police yesterday. The names of the persons were withheld by the police, as there is as yet no evidence of their guilt.—Free Press, October 3, 1918.

SAYS LABOR WILL BACK WOMAN ARRESTED HERE ON CHARGE OF SEDITION

Officials at the Labor Temple are prepared to support Mrs. Sarah Jane Knight, of Edmonton, who was arrested Wednesday afternoon, charged with uttering sedition. Mrs. Geo. Armstrong, of the Women's Labor League, today said the labor element is behind Mrs. Knight. She declared that witnesses would be secured to deny Mrs. Knight's guilt.

Mrs. Knight appeared in city police court today before Magistrate Macdonald. She is alleged to have made a seditious address at the Rex theatre, Sunday night, when she criticized the United States for entering the war. Mrs. Knight was remanded till Friday. She is out on bail. T. J. Murray is acting for her.

Mrs. Knight was arrested at her boarding house, Jubilee avenue. She is now staying with Mrs. Armstrong, at 374 Victor street.

She was passing through Winnipeg on her way to Mayo brothers, Rochester.—Tribune, October 3, 1918.

FARMERS' FORUM

THE question of the farmer's position in society seems to be a knotty one in the Socialist movement in Canada. Bruce raises the question and exposes the knots once more.

The big knot seems to be: "If farm produce sells at its value, and the goods the farmer buys are sold at their value, how is the farmer robbed, or is he robbed at all?"

The question is undoubtedly a serious one, for, on its solving depends, whether we are able to present to the farmer, propaganda that will appeal to him, without promising him something that is impossible of fulfillment.

One writer on this question, presumably maintaining that farm produce sells at its value, informs us that the Royal Commission of Grain Markets, Saskatchewan, "establishes the proof" that 55c is the "cost" of producing one bushel of wheat. He forgets that the "cost" of producing any commodity is reckoned by our capitalist masters by adding the value of the depreciation of machinery, buildings, etc (constant capital), to the value of labor power (variable capital). This is not the true cost but the cost of the capital involved, and omits the surplus value (profit) from the calculation.

Do we find any government statistics giving the number of hours of socially necessary labor embodied in a bushel of wheat?

I may give a "bold guess" that if such statistics were available three times that cost, viz.: in labor time, would not cover the value of a bushel. This is a statement that it is impossible to prove, except theoretically. If it were possible (and I do not see any insurmountable difficulty) to gather from the comrades of different countries even a meagre idea of the true cost (in labor time) of producing one bushel of wheat—which is the staple farm product—proof, or disproof, of the theory that I propose to expound would be forthcoming.

To understand this question an understanding of the law of value is essential.

First, I may state what the law of value is not. It is not the dogma, which many believe, that prices are always values, that is average prices. It is not that the value of a commodity is the amount of labor time that is required to produce the gold that exchanges for it on the market.

The law of value, briefly stated, is this: that the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor (reckoned in time for that is the only way labor can be reckoned), contained in it.

It is quite true that normal and average profits are made, not by selling commodities above their value, but, on the average, at their value. This, however, does not prevent the sale of goods, when abnormal conditions present themselves, above, or below their value; nor does this nullify, or in any way disprove the law of value. In every commodity there is embodied a definite amount of social labor; there its value is; this definite amount of social labor whether expressed in gold or another commodity.

The law of value is absolute. A government may impose a tax of 30 or 50 per cent, on a commodity going into a country, and force the consumer who must have it, to pay that amount towards the upkeep of the capitalist state; for all of this commodity he buys, but the law of value stands unmoved; a definite amount of

social labor has been expended on the production of the commodity and that is its value, in spite of its price on the market.

The law of supply and demand, "that inexplicable law" well known as its action may be, will account for many of the instances where price and value do not coincide.

When a particular individual or firm puts more labor into the production of a commodity than the average of the producers or firms, then the individual value of that commodity; produced by that individual or firm, is higher than the average; this is its individual value. "When this commodity goes on the market and loses its identity in the mass of commodities of the same kind its value is lost in the average value of all the commodities of that particular kind, so that the social exchange value of the mass of commodities of this kind is determined by the labor time expended in the whole, divided by their number; this gives the labor time expended in each. All that remains is to find how much gold is produced in an equal time and we have the social exchange value of the commodity.

Now suppose, as is constantly happening, that the whole of the producers of a commodity (say wheat), expend more time in its production than the whole of society needs the commodity cannot stomach this mass of commodities. So, it says in effect, you producers of wheat have expended more time on that commodity than is necessary, it cannot be stomached at the price, you must be discouraged, and be paid therefore only a portion of its actual value, as measured by social labor time, and, as Marx says, "Caught together, hung together." Go, if you can, and produce less. The converse is the case, when the producers produce too little, society says, through supply and demand in effect, "You have produced too little for our use, you may have encouragement in a higher price."

We do not wish it to be thought, that we mean, that this effect is produced consciously. We are explaining the effect of the over, or under, supply on the market. This effect is unconsciously attained, by giving the purchaser the best of the argument when more of a commodity is produced than is necessary, and giving the seller the advantage when too little for society's needs is produced. The underlying object of this tugging and straining which is formulated in the law of supply and demand, is to bring supply to demand and prices to values, but when some outside pressure is brought to bear, giving to the purchaser or the seller an advantage, prices do not fluctuate around values, but around a point which takes into account this abnormal pressure from one side or the other.

Now let us take some commodity which has different amounts of average, necessary labor time embodied in it in different countries. Where free trade obtains, the selling price of this commodity will fluctuate around its international value, other things being equal; that is, the price will fluctuate around the cost as indicated by the average amount of labor time embodied in it in all the countries. The national values are different to each other, in many instances, just as the individual values of different commodities of the same kind, are different to their social exchange values.

If, then, one country, A, produces certain goods cheaper than another, B, and B charges a toll on all goods going into it, then it is obvious that these goods, in B, must sell above their international value, for, other things being equal, in the price is embodied a tax, that, on the one hand goes to keep up the state (army, etc.) and on the other hand goes to subsidize the manufacture of goods in an unprofitable locality. This is one instance where goods sell above their values.

Again, commodities which have practically no exchange value, such as old postage stamps, and things of a like nature, which have practically no labor embodied in them, may sell for a price, obviously above their value. When supply and demand is freed from the steadying weight of production, within which it has grown, it fails to function, and runs wild.

In the above instance we have demand but no source of supply; a demand which cannot be satisfied, consequently prices may go to any length, a king's old boot may sell for \$1,000, or an admiral's letters for twice that amount. Do they sell at their value, as determined by the socially necessary labor time embodied in them?

Again, and here we come to what I believe is the main cause of the farmer's poverty. There can be no doubt that "any fool can farm," that is, the average man, with normal strength and an average amount of intelligence, can get enough out of 160 acres, even in the first few years after leaving some other occupation, to exist on, and after a few years' experience can get quite a decent living if he is industrious.

There are still spots on the earth's surface where land can be had for the asking. The machine companies and other capitalist institutions are willing to give the embryo farmer a helping hand, in the form of machinery on "time" (if he is industrious) and a little cash, etc., at a "nominal" rate of interest. This help, with the aid of the money he had been able to save by thrift (for he is not of the most downtrodden of the wage workers), enables him to farm. There are, in the north-west of Canada, very many of the above type of farmers. Doubtless there are many in other newly-developed countries; all helping to create an oversupply of farm produce, which over supply was, before the war, a chronic condition.

What is the result? That the ideology of the wage slave is rampant, viz., a living wage enough to reproduce him as a farmer, and if he is lucky, the average rate of interest on the capital invested (horses, implements, etc.) Whether this interest goes into the pocket of the farmer, as owner, or into the pockets of mortgage companies and implement firms, does not effect the matter. There are so many millions of dollars of capital invested in the farming industry this may yield interest or profit to the owners whoever they may be, if the farmer is owner, then to him accrues the interest, if a machine company are the owners, then to the farmer does not accrue the interest.

That the capital yields interest, however, does not in my opinion give to the owner thereof, should they be the workers, the power to extract the full value of their labor, as indicated by time.

Who will maintain, that, because the village blacksmith owns his shop, forge, hammers, etc., that he is able to charge a price for his work that will be equivalent to his labor? Should he attempt such folly he would very soon find himself in competition with a host of out-of-work blacksmiths, expelled from the ranks of the producers, by the over supply of labor power in that

particular branch of industry and be forced to reduce his prices to the level of the cost of the labor power and interest on his buildings, tools, etc.

I have stated the case of the blacksmith in the above form for simplicity. In actual practice the result is brought about in a slightly different manner. The actually "out-of-work" blacksmith is usually in too "hard case" to look for pastures new but the wide-awake artisan, seeing others crowded out, stints and saves until he is able to move from the wage market to a position as owner. But I must repeat, he is held to practically his former position, and prevented from obtaining the full value of his labor, by the waiting or latent, and active competition of the wage workers.*

How much more dominated is the farming industry by this waiting, watching, source of competition. Should the price of farm produce rise to a point where more than a wage and interest on capital is obtained then this flood of wide-awake artisans, laborers, "old men" (of 40) who feel themselves sliding, etc., come over to beat down again the price to its natural level, as indicated by the dominating wage system. Here we have supply and demand making an attempt, as it were, to reduce the surplus time expended on farm produce to zero, by reducing the price to a point where society can "stomach the product," an instance of "caught together, hung together." We have the converse of the old postage stamps, etc., to a certain extent.

I believe it is very necessary that this theory, if correct, should be accepted by the Party, as it would give to the movement, propaganda among the farmers that would be acceptable to them. Though, like Bruce, I do not think they will take a very active, positive part in the coming revolution. But they may, if they do not see a prospect of being justly treated, take an active negative part.

If it is true that 55c or thereabout is the value of what, and a similar relative amount for other farm produce, I for one am very actively engaged in cutting my own throat, for I get more than that under the present system.

In the next issue, two weeks hence, the writer will furnish some statistical considerations which he thinks will be of value to this discussion.

H.F.S.

*To use these terms is not strictly correct, as competition can never be latent, but must always be active. However I can find no better terms to express by meaning and I think it will be understood.

BOLSHEVISM ACCORDING TO A BOURGEOIS

This by a New York business man writing in the "World's Work," October issue, of his experiences in Russia. He credits Lenin, probably one of the best scholars in Europe, with the following nonsense:

"All the education any statesman needs is the three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic."

Here is another gem from his "experiences." He tells the story of an office boy in a bank ousting the directors and the clerical staff and running the business himself on his own lines. Some boy!

Again: "A close friend of mine, representing a large English firm in Russia, told me shortly afterwards that one of his Russian employes, an ignorant peasant, had been put in charge of the International Bank."

In another place, he says that positions of trust and administration were given without a single exception to the most ignorant and unskilled—office boys, peasants, soldiers. A large railroad system is now headed by a conductor." Etc., etc., etc.

THIS PAGE RESERVED FOR "The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States"

PROBING PROBLEMS

II

(Continued from last issue)

THE science of astronomy had made great strides since the days of Hipparchus, and the improvements in the telescope allowed man to make better observations of the firmament than had hitherto been possible.

Emanuel Kant was the first man to give a reasonable explanation of the making of worlds by his Nebular Hypothesis. This was again put forward, and independent of a knowledge of Kant, by Laplace, some fifty years later. This has been somewhat moderated by the Planetary Theory of Chamberlain.

By these theories we see that worlds come into being and pass away and that consequently all life as we know it must cease to exist. We see the interrelationship of all things in the universe and in the words of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, "Nothing is, everything is becoming." And so it is with man and his social institutions.

Right down to the middle of last century, the theologians still reserved a special place for man. They would willingly grant evolution to the lower animals, but man was still a divine creature and chosen by divine right to rule the universe. Also those in power sought to prove by the good book that they were specially ordained to rule and spread the cardinal doctrines of Jesus, viz., Blessed are ye meek, for ye shall inherit the earth, etc. Then came Charles Darwin with his epoch-making work, "The Origin of the Species."

This book gave the metaphysicians their hardest blow by proving that man himself had evolved from a lower species, and that all species of animal life are related. For a long time the book was treated with silence as the master class thought it would prove to the masses the vulnerability of the divinely chosen position of masters. They had good need for this fear as we shall see on analyzing conditions prevailing in society at that period. Some eleven years previous to the publication of Darwin's book, there was published a work of an altogether different nature, viz., "The Communist Manifesto," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The Manifesto, we are told by Engels in his elucidating preface, was published as a platform for the Communist League, a workingman's association. In it was first put forward the joint discovery of Marx and Engels, "The Materialist Conception of History," which as Engels states, "is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology."

Before this work appeared, all great events which had occurred in the written history of man were put down either to the will of Jehovah or the whim of some great man. But now thanks to this discovery, the great man theory was ruthlessly exposed and kings, war chiefs, statesmen and other gaudily attired nincompoops were seen to be merely the pawns of conditions prevailing at any particular period. History was explained as not being due to any idea or set of ideas of this or that

person or persons, but from the manner in which man gained his livelihood.

The "Materialist Conception of History" furnished us with the tool whereby we were able to explain the different forms of society, and society's actions. Many have been the attempts to misconstrue this theory into one of economic determinism. Prof. Thorold Rogers, Achille Loria, etc., being the most prominent. But the economic factor while undoubtedly the propelling force, is insufficient to explain the whole. This Marx and Engels were fully aware of, and were careful to take into account geographical situation, climate and temperament of man, etc.

Marx was a student of Hegel, and therefore a user of the dialectic method of reasoning. But he differed from Hegel in regards to the priority of the idea and while accepting the Hegelian dialectics and applying it to society, he completely discarded the erroneous conception that the phenomena of nature is but a reflex of the idea. This was afterwards more fully dealt with in Joseph Dietzgen's works, "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy" and "Philosophical Essays," and to whom as Marx truly says, the present day professors still owe an answer.

At the period in which the "Manifesto" appeared, a great social unrest among the lower strata of society, the working class, was making itself felt. Organizations of workers, both secretly and openly, were being formed all over Europe. These organizations were the result of the conditions they were living under, and many were the Utopian ideas for removing these conditions. It remained for Marx and Engels to show the workers the correct lines of action and what must be the ultimate outcome of these struggles. The Communist Manifesto was the first attempt to give the workers a class-conscious direction. It was afterwards followed by a number of their other works, the chief ones being the "Critique of Political Economy," and "Das Kapital," Marx, and "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," by Engels.

These works rescued socialism from Utopia and placed it on a scientific basis. It is by studying these works that we see that as long as capitalism remains, so long will we have exploitation and misery of the masses.

Man is a social animal. In his struggle with nature in order to gain a living he has developed tools which enable him to wrest from the earth sufficient and plenty for his needs. In this process of production, even the humblest worker fulfills a function. The machinery which he uses for this purpose is ever becoming more efficient and with his labor applied to it is producing an ever growing amount of surplus value.

What becomes of this surplus? Marx in his work has shown us. It accrues to the capitalist class, by virtue of their ownership of this machinery of production necessary for the sustenance of human life. We find therefore, that the poverty of the masses is not due to any mental or physical incapacity, but is due to this private ownership. Thus is solved the greatest problem of the present age. It is up to everyone therefore who has

fully grasped this and calls him or herself a Marxian Socialist to point out to the workers the necessity of removing this antagonism of private ownership and social moving this antagonism of private ownership and social ownership as well as social production.

Marx and Engels have paved the way; let us carry on the good work.

J. CONLAN.

MARXIAN DIALECTICS

II.

(Continued from last issue.) CAUSAL SEQUENCE—MONISM.

WE find early man associated into groups as protection against stronger animals than himself, which has the effect of securing to him a more easy method of getting his living, by a division of labor. The discovery of how to make fire and primitive tools also adds to his security.

This greater security brings an increase of population, and a clash between groups results over the control of hunting grounds, leading to enslavement of captives of war whose labor produced those great chattel slave empires already mentioned in part one of this series, until in the process of historical evolution this system of chattel slavery, after breaking down primitive Communism, becomes in part the cause of its own downfall, by weakening the resistance of the Roman Empire (the last great empire of chattel slavery) and making it an easy prey to the Barbarians.

The invasion by the Goths, Huns, Vandals, etc, did not occur because of any innate desire on their part to kill and pillage, but was itself the effect of a purely natural cause, the drying up of their pasture lands in the uplands of Asia.

Following the conquering of Europe by the Barbarians, a settlement of the nations occurred and a new form of society called Feudalism, came into existence, based upon the ownership of land instead of the ownership of chattel slaves, but in which slavery exists in a different form.

But this form of society could not last forever, the growing capacity in production creating surplus of products and also the growing needs of the feudal kings and barons demanded the exchange of these products between countries, the effect of which was the rise of a class of merchant traders, at first serving the interests of the Feudal lords, but afterwards, as they acquired wealth and power brought about the overthrow of Feudalism and the establishment of Capitalism in which they became the owners of the means of life and the masters of society. The workers were forced from the land into the mines, thus being deprived of all access to the means of life except by the sale of their energy from day to day or week to week. This new trading class pushed forward to the ends of the earth in search of markets for the disposal of their wares and introduced into these new and undeveloped countries their particular form of wealth production and in the process annihilating those races of mankind who could not adapt themselves to the system.

Into their service they pressed the arts and sciences and all the knowledge of society accumulated from the past. Also became their faithful slave religion, from the might and majesty of Roman Catholicism to the crude hysteria of the Salvation Army. The power of the press and the professor's trained abilities, have contributed to build up the capitalist system of production and justify its innumerable iniquities.

Its latest accomplishment is that millions must face each other daily for the purpose of trying to slaughter each other, whilst other millions must toil long hours to provide the instruments of slaughter.

If this were to be the end, well might we sigh with the old tent-maker:

Ah love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Remold it,—nearer to the Heart's Desire!

But this is not to be the end, for we must not conceive of the operation of causal sequence as being cut and dried and pre-arranged, or of every effect having its own special separate cause. If we do, we fall into a metaphysical mode of thought ourselves, for the dialectic method demands the recognition that there are many causes operating to bring about many effects which will run into one another. Early man would not have associated into groups had it not been for the fear of other animals, nor would he have developed the intellect and reasoning powers which he has, had not the severe struggle for existence forced this weapon upon him.

It would not have been possible for man to develop the making of complex tools without his power to reason in the abstract, while conversely, his power to reason in the abstract is a result of his indirect method of getting his living, resulting from the manufacture and use of tools.

A development of society into socialism is not possible without the long centuries of slavery which have gone before and made possible an accumulation of wealth and knowledge and a development of tools and methods of production. Slavery may have been most uncomfortable for the mass of society, but it is useless and foolish to decry it as a bad and wicked mistake on the part of mankind. It was both necessary and inevitable.

We know that getting our living takes up the greater part of our lives and that as a result this effects our ideas and methods of thinking more than anything else, but we must not view this factor as the sole cause of our ideas as do the teachers of "economic determinism," for into what determines our ideas and method of thinking enters considerations of the climatic, racial, geographical, and many other factors, especially in the case of savage man, and in the case of modern man there operates the force of old ideas inherited from former societies, and all the interplay which results from these traditions commingling with modern ideas.

England, Germany and the United States all have the same economic conditions, yet one has an "absolute" monarchy, one a constitutional monarchy, and the other a republican form of government. Again the English, Germans, French and Italians get their living in the same manner, yet the first two named are in comparison gloomy and morose, while the latter are vivacious and volatile.

In the illustration we gave of the conquest of Rome by the Barbarians, the cause is not purely economic, but more of a cosmic and climatic nature, and the success of their invasion was conditional upon this drying up process taking place at a time when Rome was already internally weakened.

England could not have developed capitalism as she did, had it not been for the discovery and use of her rich mineral deposits; and finally all our movements are conditioned upon the regular operation of cosmic forces. Should the earth cease its daily and yearly motion, or should our sun explode or come into collision with some

other star, or should any other catastrophe occur "in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth," it is obvious that for us social progress would cease.

In fact, we must take a monistic view of the universe, i.e., that view which sees all natural forces or phenomena as part of the whole and as being interrelated one with another.

But we know that all causes have their effects and that granted the continuation of social progress this system of society is bound to give place to, or be negated by, another form, and so we will look for the effects of the development of capitalism and how those effects will react on society. This brings us to the law of the negation of the negation, which we will examine next.

W. H. C.

CAPITALISM IN ITS LATER STAGES IN ENGLAND

(Continued from Previous Issues)

Through the misery of the workers, both the landowners and manufacturers prospered greatly. The high rents exacted and the increasing need for capital made farming a difficult undertaking for the small farmer, who, nevertheless, clung desperately to his holding because of the dazzling prices received for corn.

Any attempt on the part of the workers to improve their conditions was regarded in the nature of a conspiracy and severely suppressed. Up to 1824, when the Combination Laws were repealed, workmen could not even meet to discuss or deliberate on questions of wages or hours. But, of course, it was considered no offense for employers to organize for the purpose of regulating working conditions to their own advantage.

Lacking political power, the workers were unable to help themselves, but even had they possessed a voice in the government, it is certain that they would have accomplished nothing of permanent benefit to themselves, for they understood the fundamental causes of their misery even less than do the workers today.

When the Reform Bill was agitated by the Liberals, who were the spokesmen of the manufacturing class, the workers believed that its passage might be of benefit to them, and therefore helped greatly to secure its enactment, but it was afterwards seen full well that the reform of the boroughs merely strengthened the position of the mercantile party at the expense of the landlords.

In 1833, the landlords, posing as philanthropists and altruists, gave the manufacturers a rap by passing an act reforming conditions in the factories. In fact, all the factory legislation that had been passed up to this time was due solely to the benevolent interest and humanitarian concern, apparently, of the wealthy landlords. Through their agitation, the condition of apprentices was somewhat improved in 1802, their working hours being reduced to 12 a day. A few years later, the manufacturers were prohibited to employ children at night, and no child was allowed to work under the age of nine. A little later no person between 9 and 21 years of age could work at night, and the working day for those between the ages of 9 and 16 was limited to 12 hours. All this legislation, however, applied only to cotton mills. But with the bill of 1833, similar reforms were instituted in wool and other factories.

In 1847, the hours of women and children were reduced to 10 a day, again through the efforts of the landed class. But evidently the manufacturers were of a sus-

picious nature and could not understand the existence of so Christian a spirit on the part of their opponents, for, having in mind probably the old saying, "Charity begins at home," they sent commissioners to investigate the conditions of the agricultural laborers of the country and found them to be on a par, and in some cases far worse than anything which existed in the factories. Most of the farm work was done by children working in gangs under the supervision of a master, who paid them almost nothing and treated them most inhumanly.

It was quite easy to see that the landlords were only concerned with reforms that would hurt the pocket-books of the political rivals, and quite lacking in charitable instincts where their own revenue was involved.

As a result of the 10-hour bill, the manufacturers found it necessary to reduce the labor of men to the same number of hours, as work could not be carried on without the help of the women and children in factories.

Although the factory acts were strenuously opposed by the mill owners, they eventually resulted in the greatest benefit to them, as was soon noticed. In the first place, to offset the reduction in the hours of labor, greater labor-saving devices were instituted, with the result that in most cases more work was turned out than during the longer hours. Employers found, too, that the workmen were better able to recuperate their strength after a shorter day and therefore worked with greater intensity.

In having to adopt safety devices for the protection of the workers, fewer accidents occurred, which lessened the insurance taxes which the manufacturers had to pay. All in all, the factory acts were nothing short of a blessing to the manufacturing class, who soon discovered too, that it took very little to satisfy the workers, and that their discontent could always be appeased by some slight concession for which they could be made to pay in some other form.

Another beneficial effect the factory acts had on the bigger manufacturers was that, through lack of capital, the smaller manufacturers were unable to improve their mechanical equipment, and therefore forced out of business, which had the effect of putting the capital of the country into constantly fewer hands.

Before the 10-hour day went into effect, the workers had made an effort to improve their position by forming what is called the Chartist movement. The demands of the Chartists were indeed moderate, consisting mainly of Parliamentary reform and of universal suffrage, but when they attempted to hold a mass meeting for the purpose of presenting their petitions, both the military and police were called out to disband them. The Chartist movement weakened with the passing of each factory act and died out practically with the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

As mentioned, the Corn Laws had been passed with the idea of protecting the home farmers from foreign competition, but the manufacturers, who were in no way interested in their welfare, desired cheap corn because cheap corn meant smaller wages. It was due to them that the Corn Laws were repealed and foreign corn permitted to enter the country. The immediate result was a reduction of 10 per cent. in the cost of living, and a corresponding reduction in wages.

It is important to note the adoption of Free Trade principles in England in place of the old Mercantile Theory. From 1820 on, restrictions on imports were abolished, and the Navigation Laws repealed. Eng-

land was no longer afraid of outside competition. What she produced could not be brought in for less and what she could not produce advantageously she allowed other nations to supply her with. Money, too, was no longer kept within the country, but shipped out and invested in the development of new lands.

The Civil War of America, in which the mill owners of England took great interest, was purely due to economic differences between the Northern manufacturers and the Southern cotton growers. Of course, it was waged in the guise of a moral cause, but the real question was whether the manufacturers or the cotton growers should be the dominant power, and therefore, whether wage labor or slave labor should prevail in the country. The two institutions could not exist together without friction, for one was a check upon the growth of the other. The issue could be determined only by war, and the victory of the Northern capitalists meant the spread of their system into every part of the country.

No matter how much the English manufacturers might have sympathized with the cause of the American manufacturers, they were forced to hope for the victory of the slave owners, on whom they were dependent for their supply of cotton.

In America, as in England, the landed class and the industrial class have gradually merged into one. Factory owners have taken every opportunity to purchase land and landowners have invested largely in industry, so that the two fields of revenue are now practically controlled by the same class. It is true that the two political parties still exist, as expressed in the United States by the Republicans and Democrats, but their differences are only nominal, and fostered mainly by the activities of office-seeking politicians. Either party serves equally well the purposes of the master class.

The only real economic conflict that exists today, resting on a clean cut, irreconcilable difference of interests, is that between the master class, controlling all the resources of the earth as well as the instruments of production, and the working class, the members of which possess nothing but their life energy and therefore are forced to sell themselves, if only by the day, in the service of their masters, in order to obtain the necessities of life. On one hand, we see a few people owning everything and producing nothing; on the other, a large class producing everything and owning nothing.

The competition among the members of the capitalist class forces them to constantly increase the productivity of their machines in order to undersell each other, and thus effect the quick disposal of their goods, but this causes production on an ever larger scale, while the size of the market remains comparatively stationary. The result is that every few years the market becomes so glutted with the surplus output that production must be greatly diminished until the extra goods are sold. These trade crises are purely the result of overproduction, although many economists who refuse to recognize the evils of capitalist production, attempt to place the blame on a condition which has existed since the beginning of class society—under-consumption—the fact that a large portion of the working class has never possessed more than the bare needs of life, and sometimes lacked even those. The only way for the capitalists to prevent such crises is to enlarge the market, and hence arise wars of expansion, which also provide a larger field for the investment of capital. The South African War, for example, was due solely to the need of the English capitalists for new fields

of exploitation, for there was no longer any fruitful avenue of investment left open at home.

Wherever capitalism exists, the same conditions prevail. The workers in no way benefit from the increased productivity of their toil. In fact, their position is still further debased, for as the necessities of life are produced for less, their wages become proportionately smaller, thus the profits of the manufacturer are increased.

Trade unions have been formed by the workers for the purpose of improving their conditions, but they never can get for them any real benefit, nor any more in the long run than the commodity value of their labor-power.

Those who advocate making use of labor's "economic power" fail to realize that with the means of livelihood in the hands of a few, their ability to lay off is determined solely by the size of their bank-roll, and failing that, it is either work or starve. All the help that one organization can give to another cannot equal the resources at the command of the employer. If "direct action" be attempted, the employer has only to call to his aid the preservers of law and order.

It is therefore clear that the political field is the only one that can accomplish anything for the workers, providing that they are equipped with a correct understanding of the form of society in which they live, and then it will be recognized that not until capitalism is abolished can the workers come into their own.

(End of this series of History Articles).

A. CROSETTI

The press which denounces the Bolsheviks for some of their methods of government, is strangely silent about the "better class" government now in power in Finland. Besides being pro-German, as the bourgeois of North-West Europe appear mostly to be, it is strongly Capitalist and holds no dirty views about the repudiation of the National Debt. It is also strong for law and order. Mr. Bassett Digby, the correspondent of the *Tory New York Globe*, thus describes their civilizing methods:

"The trial as criminals of the defeated Red Finns is proceeding rapidly and is yielding an army of slaves. The men are sentenced to long periods of compulsory unpaid labor under the bayonet of armed guards. The Whites have adopted the German exploitation of war prisoners as slaves, with this difference, that the Finns are penalizing their own fellow countrymen after the conclusion of peace, which is a procedure without precedent in any civil war outside of Asia or Africa within modern times.

"In one city alone, according to Mr. Digby, 7000 workers have been set to slave labor by the 'better class'; in another city 4000. They are offered at wholesale terms to any farmer or contractor who applies for them, and are fed 'on root food, varied with a little reindeer moss and bread.'"

It is thus the middle class makes the world safe for democracy.

Rayformers, Hinmissy, is in favor of suppressin' ivery-thing, but rale pollyticians believes in suppressin' nawthin' but ividence.—Mr. Dooley.

When the State is corrupt then the laws are most multiplied.—Tacitus.

Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Business meeting held in office of secretary, 401 Pender Street E., October 6th, 1918.

Present: J. G. Morgan, J. Kavanagh, W. A. Pritchard, L. Robertson, J. M. Jenkins (chairman), and Secretary. Com. W. Bennett, assistant editor (absent).
Correspondence read.—B. C.—W. Braes, Cumberland; J. Stevenson, Victoria (2); Provincial Library, Victoria; Chas. Johnson, Chase; R. Thomas, Victoria; J. A. Greider, Kingsome River; R. R. Jeffrey, Jr., Franciscus Lake; C. Webster, Vancouver; T. B. Miles, Whitesman's Creek; P. O'Brien, Kingsome River; Martin Loveng, Biele; E. C. McKay, South Wellington; Treasury Dept., Victoria; J. A. Teit, Spence Bridge; J. T. Stott, Victoria; E. MacLeod, Anyox; H. J. B. Harper, Port Hardy; S. Clements, Port Neville; Oscar Erickson, Fernie; Mrs. J. E. Whalley, Morisset; Wm. Ferguson, Y. T.

Absent—J. P. McGuire (2), Edmonton; Mrs. Mellard, Edmonton (2); Tom Beattie, Coleman; Will Irwin, Wimborne; H. S. Dyve, New Norway; F. L. Hastings, Calgary; Alfred Isaacson, Eckville; Gus Johnson, Wayne; L. Joffe, Drumheller; P. H. Jowett, Dan Politt, Calgary; A. T. Ewell, Delburner; E. J. Zender, Edmonton. S. Sask.—Gen. R. White, Fiske; J. N. Woloshyn, Forest Hill; Harold Melbo, Horse Butte; Frank A. Johnson, Regina; Manitoba.—T. Hanwell, Brandon; Pat. Winnipeg (2); Frank Malone, Inwood; E. Mitchell, Brandon; R. B. Russell (Telegram), M. R. Marshall, Winnipeg.

Ontario.—E. Eggle, Port William; A. C. McCallum, Ottawa (2); A. Gould, Point Robinson; D. Thomson, St. Catharines; S. P. of N. A.; L. Bainbridge; M. Zeman, Toronto; Mrs. H. Delacourt, St. Lamberts; P. Q.; H. W. Long, Milkish, N.B. Foreign—Bessie M. Davies, Bay City, Mich.; L. M. Beardsley, Detroit, Mich.; H. W. Housley, England; W. M. Brown, Cal. B. Ohio; Wm. Edgar, Minneapolis, Minn.; Socialist Publication Society, New York; Ralph Errington, New Zealand; Moses Baritz; Frank Giffen, A. Oliver, San Francisco, Cal.

Financial Report for Sept.

Receipts
Subscriptions to Clarion \$201.55
Directory and Bundles 24.00
Clarion Maintenance Fund 22.25
Literature Sales 41.80
Stamps and Supplies 48.55
Cash on hand Sept. 1st 689.40
\$1067.55

Expenditures
Printing \$ 89.15
Wages 70.00
Miscellaneous 24.00
Cash on hand Sept. 30th 842.26
\$1067.55

Special meeting held at 401 Pender Street E., October 6th, 1918. Present: Comrades J. G. Morgan, Harrison, Jenkins, Robertson and Secretary, Comrades Smith, Bennett and Chris. Reinas seated.

The case of Com. Roberts apprehended at Alberton, B. C., on a charge of sedition, was discussed. Com. Harrison moved: "Motion seconded. That we write promising to send financial aid and to open a subscription list."
—Carried.

Charter application from nine Italian comrades at Port William, recommended by Man. P. C. C. Motion: "Harrison—Robertson that charter be granted. Carried. Led to be known as Local Port William No. 98 (Italian). R. Tappin, secretary, pro tem.

Bills submitted and warrants ordered drawn.

LOCAL KINDERSLEY, No. 10 (Sask.)

S. P. of C.—H. Vindeg, Secretary, Sunkist, Sask.

LOCAL MARKERVILLE, No. 31 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—S. E. Baldwin, Secretary, Markerville, Alta.

LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.—314 St. Catherine St. W. Address all enquiries to P.O. Box 253, Station B, Montreal, P. Q. Secretary Charles H. Robertson. Headquarters open every evening.

LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. K. Macdonald, Secretary, Kichwaie, Alta.

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LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Beany Johnson, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.

LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Economic Class every Sunday, 2 p.m., 34 William St.

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

LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 55 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—W. A. Brown, Secretary, Travers, P. O., Alta.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 401 Pender St. E. Economic class every Sunday at 3 p.m.; History class Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Propaganda meeting at the Royal Theatre every Sunday, 8 p.m. Secretary, J. Kavanagh.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St. Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth and 8th. Secretary, Albert Korin, P.O. Box 2025.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.—Headquarters Room 4—328 Smith St. Business meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings Sundays, 8 p.m. Economic Class, Sundays 5 p.m. Lending Library 50 cents per year. Organizers, Johns Henderson and Stewart Secretary, Albert Korin, P.O. Box 2025.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Business meeting 1st Sunday in the month at Monument National, 2nd floor, 3 p.m. Secretary, A. O. McCallum, 378 Frank St.

REGINA LOCAL No. 6.—Business meeting and Economic Class held every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. in the Trades and Labor Hall—Frank A. Johnson, Secretary.

LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—P. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horseguards, Alta.

LOCAL BRANDON No. 88 (Man.) S. P. of C.—Secretary, Theo. Hanwell, 341 21st Street, Brandon, Man.

LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Business meeting every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p.m. Economic class every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Headquarters, Room 207, Bay Block, 236A 9th Ave. W. Secretary, W. R. Lewis, 1018—13th Ave. West.

LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.—Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bldg. Propaganda meeting every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 8 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Flegg, secretary, P. O. Box 785.

LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 32 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—A. A. McNeill, Secretary. Erskine, Alta.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 505.

LOCAL FERGUSON FLATS, No. 85 (Alta.)—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Flats, Alta.

LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—P. H. James, Secretary, Deerling P. O., Alta. Business meetings first Saturday of every month.

LOCAL BEKVILLE, No. 58 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Bekville, Alta.

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, produces 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 class. 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 struggle for political supremacy. This is the 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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