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POOR OLD BRITANNIA

What a very selfish world it is, to be sure. While we British Columbians are cudgelling our gray matter, increasing our collection of gray hairs, and ruling our digestive organs, over that old chestnut, "Local option," poor old Britannia is on the sea-saw between the devil and the deep sea—between Socialism and tariff reform.

At least that is the prophetic and pathetic last will and testament of that noble, long-furrowed rube, the Earl of R. (pronounced "err"). But this is not the first instance that an "error" has occurred in the noble lord's predilections. If he is—as one would undoubtedly infer from his speeches—laboring under the delusion that there is anything Socialistic about this much discussed budget of the chancellor with the hyphenated name.

I have even seen neo-called Socialists exult over this budget business, and point with glee to the Socialistic tendencies of the present British cabinet. It would be laughable, if it were not so sad.

Who, in their sober senses, could for a moment imagine the bourgeoisie, the business element, which Lloyd-George

"A FLURRY IN THE WHEAT."

Under the above caption there is a brief editorial relative to the recent act of one Patten, in which the following sentence is used: "When money is made when nothing is produced, one man must lose what another man gains." To Socialist readers this sounds somewhat commonplace and is synonymous with such trite expressions as "Labor produces all wealth, therefore to labor it belongs," "When somebody gets a dollar which he has not earned then some other body has earned a dollar which he did not get."

In order that credit be given to whom it is due, I am compelled to state that this utterance is reproduced from "The Winnipeg Telegram" of October 4th. The puzzle to me and doubtless to many others, is why so many moulders of public opinion (sic) do perhaps in fits of abstraction corroborate the Marxian theory, at least, in petto, whilst discarding and deriding it in gross. Doubtless, however, the solution is found in economic determinism or in plain, unvarnished language, that, to write their own unadulterated opinion, would mean a curtailment of the wherewithal.

Recently some prominent individual made the declaration that if the editors of the American dailies were given absolute freedom in their writings for three days there would be revolution in the U. S., because, seeing as they do behind the scenes, its portrayal would arouse the public to a frenzy that might stop short of nothing less than a complete overthrow. Furthermore, that whilst many of the editors are Socialists, amongst the reporters are many anarchists.

"Revolution's a nos moustons." The question is, has the writer of the article alluded to come to his conclusions without any outside influence? If so, he should be congratulated and urged to follow out his line of reasoning to its logical termination and he will find that the Socialist position is irrefutable. If on the other hand, he realises its solidity, and the remark in question slipped away (so to speak) imperceptibly, then, like many others, he must feel himself a moral coward, compelled by circumstances to be a mere hack.

Moral cowardice is one of the greatest stumbling blocks to progress, yet there is a causation at the back of this, of which, if investigated, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the bread and butter question would be the answer; and whilst man cannot live by bread alone, he cannot live without it, and, in order to obtain it, often must sacrifice his mental liberty, or at least keep its manifestations under cover—as Lowell says in his

"Freedom,"
 "They are slaves who fear to speak
 For the fallen and the weak;
 They are slaves who will not choose
 Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
 Rather than in silence shrink
 From the truth they needs must think."
 —N.M. 1.

represents, advocating real Socialism, the pure unadulterated article which we "read" are after, the elimination of the "profit system," and the establishment of production for use. What would become of their businesses, which rest solely on the profit system, and that alone. Eliminate the profits, let wealth cease to function as capital, and you eliminate them as a class.

These hard-headed business Liberals—and John Bull prides himself on his hard-headed (and hard-hearted) business capabilities—are not quite so foolish as to tie a rope around their own necks, and knock the platform from beneath their feet. So don't let that spoil your beauty sleep.

Confining, by the free trade principles of his country, to certain definite channels from which taxes may be gathered, and having taxed the workers to the limit, which is nix, Lloyd-George is doing what anyone else in his position would require to do; and that is, get after the landed gentry.

Hence all this squealing from Rosebery, who is of that ilk. Even at this distance I can see the Liberal scales falling off the worthy earl, and the Conservative coat of many colors shining forth in all its glory. That's where he belongs, and where his interests lie, among the dukes and drakes.

Of course, Liberal and Conservative are really the right and left wings of that same wily old bird, capital; but, speaking broadly, Liberalism represents more the business interests, the bourgeoisie, while Conservatism is more the creed of the quality. That's how it has always appeared to Willie.

But to our mittens. There's about as much Socialism in Lloyd-George's noodle as there is common sense in the average sky-pilot, who tells you that God was the Father of Jesus Christ, and also was and is our Father—yet Jesus was divine, and we're not. Who ever heard of a divine mucker or coal digger? Perhaps "Mc" did, when he chased the scintillating black diamond.

Another Socialistic (?) scheme I have heard applauded to the skies by some dirty-faced miners who should know better, is that brilliant idea of Sir Christopher Furness's about sharing the PROFITS of his concern with the workers. Why, that scheme is as old as Noah's pet elephant. Imagine sharing PROFITS under Socialism!

Whenever you "reds" run across any more of these schemes that are supposed to show you how Socialism is going to do it, look for the label. You'll see it as large as life, sticking straight out in front, and stamped in every link PROFIT.

As for tariff reform helping the workers any, why, we have more than a nodding acquaintance with the animal here, and know that she is a shy-ster at every turn of the road.

But, "let 'em all come," local option and all. There is, always a new pair of bladders for the working-man, and he will never be naked so long as he has them on.
 GOUROCK.

THE LIFE OF LABOR.

We read in many authors great eulogiums on a life of labor, and of the superior blessings of peasants and hardworking men, whose temperate and abstemious lives not only make them enjoy an uninterrupted state of health, but throw a crimson on their cheeks, and give a vigor to their bodies, the sons of wealth and affluence, they tell us, may in vain sigh for. This sounds well, but I own I am doubtful of the fact.

If I compare the working part of mankind, who fare hard and work hard; with those who eat and drink of the "good things of the earth," I think I can discern better complexion, choicer animal spirits, and stronger bodies in the latter than in the former. Incessant labor and coarse and scanty food have certainly a tendency to weaken the bodies of mankind and wear them out before their time; and this we see is the case. What becomes then of the fine spun theories of visionary authors, who so greatly extol a laborer's life?—Why, they are destroyed, like other cobweb systems, that will not bear handling.—Candid Philosopher.

WILL CROOKS, M. P.

Just why the capitalist press devotes so much precious space (measured according to that allotted Socialist speakers) to idolizing Mr. Crooks, we are unable to offer any explanation, unless the situation can be summed up in the words of one of the Vancouver aldermen, who said: "Crooks makes a hit with the people; because he is so REASONABLE and does not aim to upset the present system of society."

Born and brought up in the City of London, with a full knowledge of the poverty and degradation of the majority of the residents of that great metropolis, and, since his election to the House of Commons, able to see for himself the hatred of the employing and land owning class for the members of the class to which he belongs, it is beyond the comprehension of the average thinker to understand why he is so reasonable in his demands.

That he has an international reputation as a staunch representative of the working class must be conceded, but we have been unable to understand how this reputation has been earned or maintained. That Crooks is absolutely honest and acts according to his light, we have not the slightest doubt, but the fact remains that he knows nothing of the advanced thought of representatives of the working class of this day and generation, and imagines that the best interests of the working class are being served by the enactment of the alleged "Socialist" budget, which is, at the last analysis, but a fight between the land owning capitalists and the employing class engaged in manufacture. No principle of interest to the working class is at stake, and the workers should leave questions affecting the capitalists to be fought out by the representatives of that class.

Judging by the expressions of ap-

proval, the Crooks meeting in the City Hall was a success, but it must be taken into consideration that a large part of the audience were from "home" and were carried away by a recital of many funny anecdotes of their home land, in a dialect with which they are familiar. Paradoxical as it may appear, the meeting can be said to have been both a success and a failure—a failure as far as delivering a message that would assist in breaking the chains of labor is concerned, but a phenomenal success in opening the eyes of students to the absolute impossibility of freeing the working class by the Labor Party vote. Mr. Crooks speaks highly of Grayson and other Comrades whom he has met, and it must also be said to his credit that he lays no claim to being a student of Karl Marx. Putting the situation briefly, it may be said that he understands the working class is heavily loaded, but he has no remedy to suggest whereby the load may be removed.

If the Labor Party has no other program than that suggested by Mr. Crooks, the sooner the working class of England discard it and look around for a Party with a definite policy to annihilate the better it will be for all concerned and probably when that time arrives—the candidates of the working class will not be deluged by telegrams conveying the best wishes of the leaders of the present capitalist government. Speed the day.
 A TRADES UNIONIST.

DESTRUCTIVE ELOQUENCE.

Tuesday's "World's" page scarcely reads like this: "John Oliver outlines Provincial Liberal Policy—Hundreds Dead in Great Cyclone."

MORE FUEL.

Professor Ferrer has been shot by the Spanish ruling class, after a mock trial. Alfonso, next, let us hope.

THE SUNNY SOUTHWEST

Don't grieve at the living conditions of the working class in Tacoma. Take your measure of misery and degradation and be content. If you have not yet acquired the art of being contented, just come and endure the struggle for one year and you will soon be contented with damn little. You folks don't know what "exploiting" stands for. The poor brutes who stand the lash of the C. F. & I, here can tell a story you would not believe.

In the next state north of here, Wyoming, they stand destitute wage-slaves on the block and auction them off as cattle to the highest bidder. That is an old trick in the slave states, but it comes as a surprise to me to hear of it so far north. Well, "gile" it on Mr. Capitalist, your rope is getting short.

But I don't know about that, I saw the reception given "Tuboguz" Taft in Pueblo last week and, 'tis no lie I am telling you, the slaves of that burg can safely be depended upon to do their masters' bidding for many a day to come, unless a force, so far unseen by us, comes to the front.

I was struck by the looks on the faces of the people on the streets, the miserable, shoddy rags that hid their bodies and they form a vivid contrast to the well-fed and fairly well dressed people I have been in the habit of meeting in the coast cities, and even the humble pick-and-shovel artist who takes his stroll on Pacific avenue or 'Goy' street, is a gentleman as compared to the employees of a Pueblo smelter or Bessemer Steel Mill.

I saw Pueblo in State Fair dress when 'K' is at its best. What a dismal hole it must be in ordinary times is hard to describe. In the hotel where I hung up for five days, were many men from various parts of Colorado. Of course I talked to them and they to me, and, as I was looking for "material," you can imagine the nature of the questions. Well, 'tis the most terrible tale you ever heard. Always in debt, 'never 'on nothing and steal the rest.' 'Never 'on dollar ahead. Lord deliver us, but he went, he cannot, and before many years have gone by the wage-slaves of British Columbia will be in the midst of just such narrowing con-

ditions as the Pueblo pug enjoys. It cannot last much longer and by the way, what's the matter with getting it over with quick? You know we cannot have the second chance when we have had the first, so let her come any old time she likes.

I longed for the tongue and logic of a Kingsley, or Hawthornthwaite, for the stuff it used to make "discontented" was much for me. An offer of a copy of the "Clarion" brought forth nothing but jeers. "Who would read that? Why here is the Denver 'Republican,' same being the rankest capitalist rag ever printed. I thought of Com Harrington among the 'Hinglish' loggers around Comox, and also prayed for an axe. So far as I could see there is nothing doing in Socialism in Pueblo, it might be found after the fair is gone, but though I made enquiries of the movement, could discover none. Can you believe it, I never heard the word mentioned unless I started it myself. Sickening? Well some.

I go to Denver soon and will be there for about ten days. They are fairly numerous in that town I am told, but alas, 'twas the same of Pueblo, and how is it one must be armed with a fine comb and a microscope the size of a Merry Widow hat to discern them? While in Denver 'tis my intention to hunt up a Comrad I should get posted by one of the 'talked fighters.'

The farmers of this country are really a hard driven lot if the sample I met in the Arkansas Valley can be taken as a sample of the whole. Especially so of the small farmer, his friend and neighbor who has the machine in working order is often an exploiter of the weaker brother, but all in all there are some warm and gaudy figures trying to beat the capitalist's game with a team of mules; his wife and family add a few acres of land. But after the 'hoods, hall, and hoppers have taken their toll and the farmer has surrendered the rest to his right-ful buyers, his chances of coming out ahead are as thin as he. Well, those later and keep at em.

Yours in hopes,
 JOHN PICKENSHOVEL

ROBBERY OF CONSUMERS

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN

In the issue of September 25th, 1909, the editor of the "Western Clarion" invites me to prove "right away quick" the following three propositions, which I offered to demonstrate to the readers of his paper: (1) That not only whole chapters, but the entire life work of Marx bears out my theory of exploitation in production and in consumption. (2) That Marx himself took this position and that a careful study of even the first volume of "Capital" alone leads inevitably to it. (3) That it accords with the actual facts of capitalist production and circulation.

I accept the editor's invitation gladly, not so much because I want to show that I am right, as because I want to stimulate my Comrades in British Columbia to a better study of the original works of Marx himself. It will do little good to the movement to have me prove that I am right, so long as the great majority of our Comrades are not in a position to see for themselves whether I am in agreement with Marx and with the facts.

In every debate, the cleverest debater can easily create the impression that he is right, even if the less clever debater has the right on his side. Only when the majority of the audience are well informed, can even a poor debater make his case against the clever trickster.

Now, I think that the editor of the "Western Clarion" is not so poor a reasoner as he tries to make out. And I have never taken myself for a "college trained mental athlete," such as the editor is trying to make me out. I got most of my education as a sailor before the mast, and what little college education I managed to get was secured at the sacrifice of health and strength. So I don't agree at all with the editor of the "Western Clarion," when he says that "a common coal digger" cannot make such fine distinctions as I have made on the strength of my college education. I know better. The distinctions which I have made, and which puzzle the editor a little, are not at all the fruit of college training. They are the fruit of independent proletarian reasoning, such as enabled me to become a Socialist in spite of the warped logic of the college professors. And I know that many coal diggers are quite as well equipped in this respect as I was as a common sailor. The editor is too modest. The reasoning power of an untrained working man is a match for the reasoning power of any college professor. And at any rate, this is not a debate between a college professor and a poor coal digger, but between a sailor and a coal digger. And if the sailor wins out, it will not be due to his college training, but to his training as a proletarian disciple of Marx, a training, which is as free and open to the editor of the "Western Clarion" as it has been to me.

In order to start a debate on a fair basis, each side should state its own theory fully. For this reason I asked the editor to state in a connected form his theory of Marxian economics, so that I might be able to see just where in we differed. I told him that I had furnished him with a basis for this debate in my work on "Marxian Economics" and in a certain article in the "International Socialist Review," mentioned in my former article in the "Western Clarion." But instead of starting the debate in this way, the editor contented himself, just as his predecessor used to do, with making disconnected comments on a few passages of my article. And these comments are made in such a way that they create a difficulty for the reader even before I have started to state my side of the case connectedly. If I wanted to remove these difficulties, which the editor thus raises right before the start of the debate, then I could never get around to making a connected statement of my case at all. The editor would keep me busy answering his difficulties. But I have neither the time nor the space to pay any attention to the editor's home-made difficulties. I am not talking primarily to him, but to the majority of the readers of the "Western Clarion," who, I think, have at least received my presentation of my case in my own words, instead of a garbled and distorted version of it from the pen of a difficulty-making editor. Under these circumstances, I shall simply go ahead and state my case connectedly. If such a statement does not remove any difficulties which the editor's mind may harbor, he can continue to make his side-remarks as he has heretofore, and I'll take up these remarks after I get through with my own statement.

1. The Line of Evidence in Historical Order.

The garbled view of the Marxian theory of value, which has been taught particularly by the remnants of the old DeLeonist faction of the Socialist movement in the United States, made a sort of mathematical example of the problem of wages and surplus-value. According to this garbled version, all commodities were always and everywhere sold at their actual labor value (necessary plus surplus-labor).

Under these circumstances, the question of exploitation reduced itself to a very simple problem: Place the total labor-value created by the labor of all wage workers in a certain society together in one pile, subtract the total wages, and what remains is the total surplus-value, which represents the amount of which the wage workers were robbed in production.

How can there be any exploitation in consumption under these circumstances? The wage workers have been exploited in the process of production. They have received only their wages, but not the surplus-value created by them. Now, if the commodities are sold at their value (necessary plus surplus-labor), then the laborer cannot be exploited a second time, when he buys commodities representing the same value as his wages. Of course it is admitted that every commodity contains necessary plus surplus-labor. And when the individual laborer buys a certain commodity, he pays for both the necessary and the surplus labor fit it. But he can buy only as much necessary plus surplus value as is represented by the necessary value of his wages. This amounts, in practice to saying that, as a class, the wage workers can buy only the commodities representing the necessary labor in the total (necessary-plus surplus) labor of their class.

This is the vulgarized theory of value, upon which the opponents of the idea of exploitation in production and consumption "base" their arguments. But it is not Marx's theory of value.

This vulgarized theory of value was generally accompanied by a reference to a certain statement of Marx, to the effect that a commodity is not produced until it has reached the consumer. It was assumed that the process of circulation of the commodity was included in the process of production, and that this in itself was an evidence of the impossibility of exploitation in consumption. This, again, was "a distortion of Marx's position. For the fact that a commodity is not produced until it has reached the consumer did not prevent Marx at all from making a very clear distinction between the process of production and the process of circulation. Neither did it prevent him from making a sharp distinction between productive consumption and individual consumption.

In all these vulgarized controversies I have not seen a single case in which it was clearly stated, whether this or that argument referred to the value produced by society as a whole, or whether it referred to individual wage workers, individual capitalists, individual commodities.

This is a natural result of the assumption that all commodities are at all times and under all circumstances sold at their actual labor value. In that case, it is immaterial whether a man speaks of an individual piece of or society as a whole. But if commodities are not always and everywhere sold at their actual labor value, it is of the contrary, commodities can be sold at their actual value only under certain very definite conditions, then it is impossible to say that they are sold at their actual value. (Continued on Page 4)

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16th, 1909.

LABOR POWER AND THE SHORT-YARD STICK.

Labor power is human physical energy. This, it might be as well to remark, includes "mental" energy; the mind being as physical as the body, muscular and nervous energy are compressed in one term, physical energy. In the expenditure of this physical energy muscular and nervous tissues are "waste" which must be replaced if the physical energy is to be renewed; to repair, this waste is one of the functions of the human body. The essentials for the performance of this function are food, sleep, shelter, clothing, recreation, etc. In direct proportion to the quantity and quality of these factors available, and to the efficiency of the body itself as a producer of tissue, will be the renewal of energy. The efficiency of the body, again, is dependent upon the conditions surrounding its birth and upbringing; that is upon previously expended food and clothing etc.

Without going further into kindergarten details, we may take it that the value of the worker's labor power is to be gauged by the value of the food, etc., which are involved in the production of that labor power. The value of these are determined by the quantity of socially necessary labor (not labor power) involved in their production. So that the value, i. e. exchange value of labor power is determined by the labor involved in its production.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the factors, which enter into the composition of labor power fall easily into two categories: on the one hand the labor involved in rearing from day to day the waifage of the tissues, on the other, that involved in the production of the tissue-building body itself. These for want of better names, we may call the constant and variable factors.

Further, taking the value of the sum-total of commodities consumed by the laborer during an average life-time and dividing (by) the number of days in his working life, we would arrive at the theoretical exchange value of one day's labor power.

Under "normal" conditions, then, the worker as a seller of labor power, should receive wages sufficient to buy commodities equal in exchange value to the above. Wages, however, being the price of a commodity, is, like other prices, subject to fluctuations in accordance to the conditions of supply and demand in the market. The supply of labor power being constantly in excess of the demand, wages have a constant downward tendency, and the worker on the average, receives less than the theoretical exchange value of his labor power. To a certain extent he is able to sell his labor power "below cost" with comparative ease, because its above-mentioned constant factor, while indispensable to the species, is not actually indispensable to the individual. Further, the variable factor also is, under stress of keen competition, reducible to the minimum necessary to mere subsistence. These reductions, however, result in a lowering of the standard of living, and a consequent reduction in the exchange value of labor power.

Between the worker, as a seller of labor power, and the employer, as a buyer, there is constant strife over wages, the price of labor power; the former seeking to depress wages, the latter seeking to raise them. Merely an elementary knowledge is sufficient to demonstrate that an arbitrary and general raise in wages must inevitably be followed and nullified by a consequent raise in the "cost of living"; but in certain quarters it is yet contended that a reduction of the hours of labor could not be thus nullified, and would result in the workers receiving a greater proportion of the product of their toil. The argument is that, as wages manifestly cannot be reduced below the irreducible minimum of subsistence

of the worker must receive at least that irreducible minimum for twenty-four hours' subsistence, whether he works ten, eight, or six. Thus if two hours social labor is necessary to produce this minimum, and the hours are reduced from ten to eight, the capitalist's share would be reduced from eight to six, while the worker's share, remaining constant would be relatively larger; in place of receiving one-fifth he would be receiving one-fourth of his product.

However, the fallacy of this can easily be shown. The logical reply of the capitalist to a reduction of hours would be a speeding up in production; the worker would be compelled to produce as many commodities in eight hours as he formerly produced in ten. Of course the value he produced would be no more than eight, no matter what his output in commodities, and, for the time being the capitalist's share would, we may allow, be diminished to three-fourths; but the appearance of these commodities on the market would turn the trick. As many commodities being now produced in eight hours socially necessary labor as formerly in ten, their individual exchange values would be diminished by one-fifth; this would include those commodities entering into the consumption of the laborer. Consequently the social labor necessary for the production of his minimum of subsistence would now no longer be two hours, but one and three-fifths, which is exactly one-fifth of his former product, that is two was of his former product, ten.

ADVANTAGES OF FREEDOM.

"Once upon a time," when, by the way, fables were told by old women, and not by politicians and pulpsters, and were believed by children and not by grown ups, all work was done by slaves. Slaves were owned bodily by their masters and were bought and sold with as little compunction as other merchandise; in fact, while we, with our superior morals inspired from divine sources, would loathe the very idea of this trafficking in human flesh, yet these slave owners, though their morals in many cases were inspired from those very same divine sources, could see no more wrong in selling slaves than we in swapping horses, provided, of course, nobody was cheated. The value of a slave that was intended to work was determined by his show of muscular power, his power to labor. A husky, energetic young slave was a most valuable animal, and consequently was almost as well taken care of as a prize poodle or a Persian cat.

The slaves plowed and sowed and reaped and mowed and spun and wove and ground corn at built houses; in fact, did everything that was required to be done. All the wealth they thus produced logically enough belonged to their masters who owned them, the land and the tools. Out of this wealth the slave's master saw to it that the slave got enough to eat and wear and a place to sleep, so that he would be in good shape to work some more. As no man would willingly do slave's work and give up the fruits of his toil to another, and as not quite all the earth had been fenced in, so that there was room for a man to get out and make a living for himself, it was absolutely necessary to enslave somebody and to pass laws making it criminal for slaves to escape.

Of course, it can be easily seen that in reality the masters were great benefactors to the slave in thus rearing him from his wild, shiftless, savage state and teaching him to be industrious and useful and seeing that he did not eat things that were bad for him. In fact, had it not been for the master, it is hard to see how the slaves would have got along. However, despite the advantages slavery conferred upon the slaves, it was, as we now all know, ethically wrong, and consequently was abolished as soon as our moral sense was sufficiently awakened to perceive that it was unprofitable; until nowadays, thanks to the redeeming effects of a few thousand years of religious teaching, and the plenitude of free workers, it would be quite impossible to induce any civilized individual to commit the infamy of buying a slave.

Today, the earth being pretty well fenced in, and production having become a co-operative process, unless one be the means of production, he must, in order to live, invoke the aid of those who do possess such. It being the wise dispensation of Providence that the majority are in just that fix, there is no difficulty in getting the world's work done without resorting to the purchase of slaves. That which was valuable in the slave, his power to labor, can now itself be bought from day to day. Once bought, the wealth produced is justly the property of the buyer, who has paid the worker the price agreed upon voluntarily by him. All of which goes to show that the

present owners of the means of production, the capitalists, are great benefactors of the human race, and more particularly of the workers, for have they not purged the earth of the foulest blot of slavery? It is true that, not owning the workers bodily and individually, they are not under any obligation as to their welfare, but it is also clearly to the workers' advantage, as, relieved of the too paternalistic care of the master, he has a strong incentive to develop traits of independence, frugality and thrift to such a degree that he may rise to be a capitalist himself some day. In fact, it is not stretching the imagination more than it will stand to assume that, with a few more generations of natural selection by the survival of the fittest along these lines, entire populations may consist of capitalists only.

HIS EXCELLENCY.

At Nelson Earl Grey made the usual "speech full of significance." One thing he strongly urged was "proportional representation." With one man one vote and representatives elected at large instead of from districts. A very beautiful scheme, but quite impracticable, as any Grit or Tory M. P. or P. P. knows who has spent much time and a lot of other people's money making himself sold in his riding. Why, what good would roads, ditches, wharves, telephones, etc., be any more?

From the same speech we learn with interest that:—"The bounty of providence, the enterprise of the C.P.R., and the security you enjoy as an integral part of the British empire under the protection of the British fleet, have together given you a richer inheritance than perhaps was ever before given to man."

This should surely silence the cavillers who insinuate that the enterprise of the C. P. R. has quite largely been devoted to taking this inheritance up to itself rather than giving it to anyone.

That our noble Earl is nothing if not class conscious can be seen from the following:—

"It is an obvious truism to say that you would be cherishing a vain hope if you expect to attract the best of the human race to your province, should it be impossible for them to obtain the labor and service required, to establish for themselves new homes in your fertile and beautiful valleys, and to keep their wives from being called upon to live the life of slaves."

It is also "obvious" that His Excellency, by "the best of the human race" does not mean those who put up the "labor and service."

What kind of life their wives shall lead deponent sayeth not. Seems that his utterances smack strangely reminiscent of "Gwen" of the "News-Advertiser."

In Manchester, at the annual conference of the Catholic Truth Society, (What's in a name?) Mr. Hilario Beloe, M.P., defined the stand of Catholicism against Socialism. He stated that "the principle of the moral right to ownership was unflinchingly maintained by the Church." Of course considering that the said Church is one of the world's greatest property-owners, this is by no means surprising, but the joke is that the Manchester Despatch's account of this epoch-making case of property-ownership in work and give up the fruits of his toil to another, and as not quite all the earth had been fenced in, so that there was room for a man to get out and make a living for himself, it was absolutely necessary to enslave somebody and to pass laws making it criminal for slaves to escape.

In MEMORIAM.
I have just received the Clarion of the week before last, and am grieved beyond expression to read the news of the death of Comrade John A. Welsh of Cobalt. I became acquainted with this Comrade during the week of the last provincial election and saw enough of him to know that the cause of the working class has sustained a severe loss by his death. Welsh was a revolutionist through and through; he had no patience with half-measures, wanted reforms, and had no delusion about the class struggle being anywhere but on the political field. He was a deep student, an earnest and courageous fighter, and an able speaker.

When, on the disappointment at not electing our candidate, some of the Comrades slackened their efforts, Welsh kept steadily pegging away, as "impossibilities" like him have a habit of doing. Though I have corresponded with him from time to time, I had no knowledge of his illness. The last time I heard from him was just before I started for the Maritime, when, hearing I was to go, he wrote me a letter of encouragement, full of hope and cheer with not a doubtful line in it. This was only four months before his death, and dying from a lingering disease like consumption, he must have known he had not long to live, but the brave comrade never uttered a word about his personal troubles. Comrade A. Welsh did not live in vain; the working class are a little nearer emancipation because of what he did.

It is men and women like Welsh who are doing the greatest part in the work of clearing the way for the better order that is to be, by tearing down the old one.

We could, at a pinch, do without all our eloquent and "well known" speakers, all our oratorical writers, all our "magnetic" organizers, but we couldn't do without our unknown, earnest, reliable Welsh, who are doing their best day in and day out to arouse and educate their fellow-slaves to their historic mission.

I write these few lines in order to do honor to the memory of a Comrade whose name is as worthy of being known as is that of any of the "well known," and worthier than most, and that it may be preserved in the files of the Clarion, so that in the time soon, I hope, and feel assured, to be, future readers will know the name of this brave Comrade who faithfully strove to hasten the good time he knew he would not live to see.

WILFRID GRIDDLE.

ISN'T O'BRIEN "WELL KNOWN"?

What's the matter with Toronto Local? I see the headquarters committee composed of Comrades who could know better, have recommended that a "well known" speaker from the United States should be secured, and a charge made for hearing him. I suppose it doesn't matter what dope he serves out as long as he is "well known" and will "attract the crowd" so as to get the shocks.

Got anyone in your mind, you fellows? Years ago, when I didn't know you better, I was party to an arrangement of that kind, but now I do know better, and am going to register my protest. Then we practically had to charge, as it cost \$35.00 a time for this speaker, which was Debs, but never again will fees of that magnitude be paid any man if I can do anything to prevent it. I have no objection to a speaker from the States as such, so long as he is sound in economics and clear on the class struggle, but I have every objection to it being specified in the resolution that he should be from the States.

Say, did you never hear of a man before the name of O'Brien? Isn't he good enough? Must the "well known" dope artist be NECESSARILY imported from across the border, and if so, who is it to be? Ben Hanford? You'll have to pay through the nose to get this double-barrelled class struggle trade unionist-cum-Socialist. Cowan? who talks of Socialism being based on "eternal justice. Mance? who talks of "labor's" strong right of economic power, and strong LEFT arm of political power. Ben Wilson? who hewed pretty closely to the line in Toronto, but sold sentimental literature outside of Toronto and is at last reports in England swelling about with the handle "Rev," which he did not use on this continent.

We have taken to much on chance hitherto, and gone by big names too much and been let down. I feel strongly on this, and express myself strongly. To hell (you'll find it in the dictionary) with big names! Let's make sure that whatever speaker we engage serves out the right dope; let's do THAT first, then if he is well known so much the better. Being from the States is no objection, if the speaker is such as Austin Lewis, or our blind Comrade, Osborne; but let's make blasted well sure.

But what about Charlie O'Brien? Seems to me he's the man that's wanted in Toronto just now, though I can quite understand that such as O'Brien are not wanted by some.

To the devil with charging for admission to hear a Socialist speaker! That is, or should be, out of date. Getting a speaker to educate (presumably) the workers to achieve their own emancipation, and then issue tickets at a price, probably keeping some away who are the most in need of it. Give a dance, hold a concert, get a burlesque show, if it's to be simply a money making affair, but when you get a speaker to educate the workers, don't do anything to keep the workers away.

WILFRID GRIDDLE.

LESTOR ROOMS
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Furnished and unfurnished rooms
Rates \$1.50 per week up.

MR. MINNS Manager

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A handsomely illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any technical journal. Published weekly, four months, \$1.50; 6 months, \$2.50; 12 months, \$4.50. Single copies, 10 cents. Sent by mail. New York: MUNN & Co., 311 Broadway, New York.

Socialist Directory

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. \$1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

ONTARIO PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

QUEBEC PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Monday at 8 o'clock, 224 Kensington St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 1, S. F. OF C. Meets every Sunday evening at 8 p.m. at the headquarters, 165 Hastings St. W. Secretary, J. A. Brown, Box 550.

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Directory of Western Federation of Miners in British Columbia

Executive Board Member: Wm. Davidson, Sandon
DISTRICT ASSOCIATION NO. 6
President: Jno. A. McKinnon, Rosland
Vice-President: Thos. J. McKay, Greenwood
Secretary-Treasurer: A. Shiland, Sandon

No.	Name	Meeting	Pres.	Sec'y.	Box	Addr.
123	Alain	Wed	C. Gairns			Discovery
124	Camborne	Wed	James Tobin		124	Camborne
125	Greenwood	Wed	Wm. Winslow		125	Greenwood
126	Greenwood	Wed	Charles Bircro		126	Greenwood
127	Hedley	Wed	C. Bennett		127	Hedley
128	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		128	Kimberly
129	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		129	Kimberly
130	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		130	Kimberly
131	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		131	Kimberly
132	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		132	Kimberly
133	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		133	Kimberly
134	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		134	Kimberly
135	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		135	Kimberly
136	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		136	Kimberly
137	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		137	Kimberly
138	Kimberly	Wed	W. A. Robertson		138	Kimberly

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This Page is Devoted to Reports of Executive Committees, Locals and General Party Matters—Address All Communications to D. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 886, Vancouver, B. C.

PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES.

Supplies will be furnished Local by Executive Committees at the following prices:	
Charter (with necessary supplies to start Local)	\$5.00
Membership Cards, each01
Dues Stamps, each10
Platform and application blank per 10025
Ditto in Finnish, per 10050
Ditto in Ukrainian, per 10050
Ditto in Italian, per 10050
Constitutions, each20
Ditto, Finnish, per dozen50

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

Meeting held October 4th in Headquarters. Present: Harrison, McDonald, Ritchie, Fohn (Chairman), Octoby, and A. H. Browning. Minutes of previous meeting adopted.

Correspondence dealt with from Red Deer (Finnish), Bellevue, Edmonton, Coleman, Innisfail, Meeting Creek. Committee approved the formation of a Ukrainian Branch of Edmonton Local.

Committee took up the question of speakers for province for coming winter.

Receipts.

Dues Stamps	\$36.50
Supplies	95
Assessment	8.00
Total	\$45.45

Expenses.

Dominion Executive	\$15.00
Organizer C. M. O'Brien	10.00
Total	\$25.00

A. H. BROWNING, Secretary, pro tem.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL

Meeting October the 4th. Present, Comrades Pennar, (chairman), Hoop, Steinhilsh, and Fisher. Comrade Sattaman appointed financial secretary.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved as read. Comrade Amer lately of Local No. 1 admitted as member at large.

Correspondence dealt with from Winnipeg English Local No. 1, Dominion Secretary and Comrade E. Fletcher, Brandon, Man. Also Comrade Susnar, a special delegate from Jewish Branch was heard.

After due consideration of the many charges laid against the Jewish Branch by Local No. 1, the Provincial Executive Committee finds no evidence in support of said charges and, desires that Local No. 1 reconsider the charges and submit evidence in accordance with the constitution of the S. P. of C.

Comrade Fletcher of Brandon, Man., appointed as Provincial Organizer, his organizing tour to be arranged as early as possible.

Receipts.

Winnipeg Ukrainian Local No. 2. Stamps	\$1.20
Com. Amer. Stamps50
Total	\$1.70

MYR. STECHISHIN.

RESOLUTION.

Dear Comrades,— At our regular business meeting of Brockville, Ont., Local No. 18, on Oct. 1st, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, there are certain members of the S. P. of C. who notwithstanding they have accepted and subscribed to the revolutionary aims and program of the Party as set forth in our Platform, are now expressing their dissatisfaction and urging that said Platform be revised and amended to add to incorporate a number of proposed reforms designed as "immediate demands";

Be it resolved, that the members of Local No. 18, S. P. of C., do hereby express their disapproval of any attempts at "revision," and reaffirm our acceptance of and allegiance to the revolutionary program of our Party as outlined in the Platform as it now stands. We cannot but believe in the introduction and advocacy of such "immediate demands" will mean much wasted effort, and becloud the main issue, viz.: The transformation as rapidly as possible of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

We further affirm our belief that the emancipation of the workers from economic slavery will be attained much sooner by keeping but the one "demand" of supreme importance before us. The capitalist class who are now in power meanwhile inaugurating all the so-called reforms of their own accord (which of course we will take as fast as given), in order to retain control of industry and power of government.

Therefore, we call upon all Locals to take immediate steps to ratify our present Platform and to express their approval of the stand taken by Dominion and Provincial Executives, organizers and Party papers against such proposals of "revision," and our Secretary is hereby instructed to forward copies of the above resolution to The Western Clarion and Cotton's Weekly for publication.

(Signed) B. WING, Chairman. L. S. GRUB, Secretary. Local Brantford, Ont., No. 18.

WE'RE HERE BECAUSE WE'RE HERE

About eight hundred able-bodied muckers and a crowd of parasites attended in force the first public meeting to be held in Prince Rupert by the Socialist Local. It took place in the new Empress Theatre on Sunday evening, Oct. 3rd. Your humble held the position of chairman. Comrade Curry, the tooth carpenter, was the principal speaker of the evening.

The meeting began by the chairman introducing to the wage slaves a fellow wage slave in the person of Pat Daly, a revolutionist, with both industrial and political ambitions. Daly told the audience he was Irish; they looked sympathetic. He also informed them he was a Socialist; they began to smile. Then he started in to give them a few ideas he had picked up in Ireland and developed in British Columbia, and before long he had them looking wise. He apologized to the working men for being over fifty years of age, and still a executive of their class; it looked bad, he said, but it could be explained; he had been actively engaged in the labor movement for over twenty years; that in itself explained his dilatory progress. He had never been personally acquainted with Dick McBride and he was greatly indebted to the Nelson Daily News for his ideas concerning Laurier.

He also went on to state he was present tonight representing Industrial Unionism. He knew that some of the wage slaves present had hazy ideas on that subject; some of them had hazy ideas on any subject—it was the nature of the brute. The philosophy he was going to explain tonight was the philosophy of the wage slave, but its appeal would be more direct to the capitalist instinct than it would be to the labor understanding. When you wanted to tickle the average blanket stiff you wanted to have a suit case full of quack medicine and a line of sleeky bull-conn; you wanted to inform them you would only charge them a minimum rate of one dollar a bottle and you would make them a present of a ten-cent package of cigarette papers with every purchase. You would also inform them you were giving your service gratis for the benefit of humanity. Then you would take a tour round

Yours for the revolution, JAS. ALLAN MCKECHINIE.

NANAIMO, B. C.

Dear Comrade,— If you can find space will you please insert the following in your next edition of W. C. At a special business meeting held on Sunday, Sept. 26th, the following charge was made by Comrade Cartwright against Comrade McLeod: "That Comrade McLeod had broken the Constitution of the S. P. of C. by joining the Local Option League of British Columbia, a league which pledges its members to support the local option or temperance candidate."

The following is the plank of the L. O. League around which the discussion centered: "Local leagues, plank 11. Before and at the time of voting it shall be the duty of every league to organize its forces to get out the vote and elect the local option or temperance candidate," and the following is an extract from the Platform of the S. P. of C.: "If admitted to membership, I hereby agree to maintain or enter into no relation with any other political party and pledge myself to support by all legitimate means the ticket and program of the S. P. of C. and its international affiliations only."

Comrade McLeod frankly admitted that he belonged to both parties, but maintained that the local option league was not a political party. There was considerable discussion, and it was pointed out to Comrade McLeod that acting as chairman at a local option meeting where Comrade Hawthornthwaite had been denied the privilege of expressing his views, and as chairman of that meeting ruling a question out of order that is of the most vital importance to all wage workers, attacking members of the Local to which he

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IF YOU HAVE UKRAINIAN neighbors, send for a bundle of "Robotny Narod"

the organ of the Ukrainian comrades in Canada. 50 cents a year 135 Stephen St. - Winnipeg, Man.

WATER NOTICE

NOTICE is hereby given that an application will be made to Part V. of the "Water Act, 1907," to obtain a license in the name of the Division of New Westminster District:

- (a) The name, address and occupation of the applicant, Alfred Russ, farmer.
- (b) The name of the lake, stream or source of water intended to be used, the Pains Creek.
- (c) The point of diversion is at the distance of 15 chains from the south boundary of the said south part 15.
- (d) The quantity of water applied for (in cubic feet per second): 1.4 of 1 cubic foot.
- (e) The character of the proposed work to be done, to irrigate.
- (f) The premises on which the water is to be used (describe same): On the property No. 2021, south part 15.
- (g) The purposes for which the water is to be used: For irrigation.
- (h) If for irrigation, describe the land intended to be irrigated, giving bearings.
- (i) This notice was posted on the 6th day of October, 1909, and application will be made to the Commissioner on the 8th day of November, 1909.
- (j) Give the names and addresses of any riparian proprietors or ripensees who will be affected by the proposed works, either above or below the proposed works: H. Steinbecker, J. Claxton, Gilbert's Landing.

GREAT BOOKS

BY GREAT MEN

Origin of Species, Darwin; Age of Reason, Paine; Ride of the Universe, Haecel, 25c, by mail - Merric England; Britain-for the British, Blatchford, 20c. each by mail. Send for Catalogue.

The People's Book Store 142 Cordova St. W.

blown, blow in some of the easy money you had collected from the muckers and you would be passed up for a good follow. Daly continued along this strain until he had worked the audience into a perfect state of misery and a state of perfect understanding regarding industrial unionism.

He was followed by Comrade S. B. King, the organizer of the Socialist Local. King stated he had no time to waste explaining why he was a Socialist; the only explanation that would be in order would be regarding the principles and doctrine of scientific Socialism. He could not but observe on looking over the audience, that the overall brigade was largely in evidence. They sported the latest fashions in smutty clothes and lousy underwear; in fact they had a cheap appearance from top to bottom. They were splendid illustrations of working plugs with the capitalistic mind. He saw also, he went on to state, another species present, the representatives of the non-producing and exploiting class. They were here with the patent leathers, the boiled shirts and the creased pants, over-dressed and high-toned parasites. He did not wish to hurt anyone's feelings, but if any individual living under the present system and satisfied with the same had any feelings left they were going to get hurt, and hurt badly, tonight. King wandered away from a discussion of personalities into a debate on scientific Socialism. Being a wage slave himself, he confined himself to the wage slave point of view; he did not discuss municipal ownership, government ownership, high tariff, low tariff, incentives, or any other intellectual insecticide. He blazed his trail on the fields of exploitation, and kept steadily before the audience the hellish system of wage slavery. He ground into the muckers his ideas of a producer with the average horse sense who would stand for a system that made it possible for another stiff to use him as a tool. Whether he made a good or bad impression didn't seem to worry King. Ho brought his speech to a close by threatening the audience with an introduction to the greatest crank of all at an early date—the genteel Kingsley.

Comrade Curry, the principal speaker, took the centre of the stage after the disappearance of Comrade King. Curry might be described as a scientific Socialist. He gave a splendid rendering of the gospel of Socialism that could be accepted as a balm to soothe the feelings of some of the high-toned wage slaves who showed a righteous indignation at some of the rude remarks made by Comrades Daly and King. He was eagerly listened to by everyone present throughout his speech, and at the close some of the audience raised enough nerve to ask a few simple questions.

Yours for the revolution, JAS. ALLAN MCKECHINIE.

NANAIMO, B. C.

Dear Comrade,— If you can find space will you please insert the following in your next edition of W. C. At a special business meeting held on Sunday, Sept. 26th, the following charge was made by Comrade Cartwright against Comrade McLeod: "That Comrade McLeod had broken the Constitution of the S. P. of C. by joining the Local Option League of British Columbia, a league which pledges its members to support the local option or temperance candidate."

The following is the plank of the L. O. League around which the discussion centered: "Local leagues, plank 11. Before and at the time of voting it shall be the duty of every league to organize its forces to get out the vote and elect the local option or temperance candidate," and the following is an extract from the Platform of the S. P. of C.: "If admitted to membership, I hereby agree to maintain or enter into no relation with any other political party and pledge myself to support by all legitimate means the ticket and program of the S. P. of C. and its international affiliations only."

Comrade McLeod frankly admitted that he belonged to both parties, but maintained that the local option league was not a political party. There was considerable discussion, and it was pointed out to Comrade McLeod that acting as chairman at a local option meeting where Comrade Hawthornthwaite had been denied the privilege of expressing his views, and as chairman of that meeting ruling a question out of order that is of the most vital importance to all wage workers, attacking members of the Local to which he

belonged through the capitalist press in making investigations against the Party general, was not the kind of conduct the Socialist Party expected from its members.

The following motion was made by Comrade Cartwright, seconded by Comrade Jackson: That Comrade McLeod be expelled from the Local; and the following amendment was made by Comrade Livingstone, seconded by Comrade Young: That the matter be laid over for two weeks. The amendment was carried.

The adjourned meeting was held today, and Comrade McLeod informed the Local that his position was exactly the same as it was at the previous meeting. Several Comrades clearly pointed out to Comrade McLeod the untenable position he was in and suggested that he take the only honorable action left to him, and resign from one of the parties, but as the Comrade would not act along this line, the following amendment was made: That Comrade McLeod be requested to re-pledge either the local option league constitution or the Platform of the Socialist Party of Canada. The amendment was defeated, and the following motion was put to a vote: That Comrade McLeod be expelled from the Party. The motion was carried, with one vote against it.

Comrade Shenton informed the Local that he belonged to the local option league, and tendered his resignation on the ground that his position was untenable in the face of the vote just taken. His resignation was accepted.

Yours in the scrap, JACK PLACE.

EDMONTON, ALTA.

Dear Comrade Editor: Edmonton has been going great guns lately. On September 29th Comrade W. D. Haywood of Colorado, handed out the real kind of dope in fine style, at the Dominion Theatre, to about 450 people.

Comrade Haywood was well received and judging by the very attentive attitude of the crowd, their applause, and the eagerness with which every word was received, we are hopeful of having good results. At the outset, Comrade Haywood expressed his pleasure to meet such an audience, as they were a part of that great working class movement the world over which had saved him and his Comrades from a felon's death.

Comrade Haywood next dealt with present day problems in modern society, of which the unemployed question was easily the most pressing, and one that could only be solved by the working class themselves, and that only in a way which would wreck the capitalist system. The Republican and Democratic bodies in the States, had no solution he said, as evidenced by Taft referring the starving workers to God, and Bryan choosing to approach the matter hesitatingly and deliberately. The Prohibitionists remedy was for the starving man to stop drinking. He agreed that "God knew" but if he did, he must have told the Socialists, for they knew too. The "God of Capitalism" he said was gold, "his trade mark is the dollar sign, their emblem is the black flag bearing the skull and crossbones, and their password is graft." "Of the unemployed he said: "You have no right to starve. Would a hungry mule walking down Jasper avenue, look at those triumphal arches composed of grain, walk by on the other side? No he would help himself. Then, is a man devoid of the sense of a mule? There are no man-made laws to prevent a mule from stealing, but there are to prevent the man who has produced these good things." "An unemployed man" he said "has the right to beg, borrow or steal, but he has not the right to starve, for starving himself would be suicide and that is against the laws of man and God. He quoted a precedent from the Scriptures, "I contend that any working man who is out of employment and has to go on the hike, has the right to steal enough vegetables to make himself a 'mulligan'."

He mentioned the political scandals and corruptions which are unearthed, from time to time in the States, but he assured his hearers that they need not look with horror to the United States, for if they would go to Montreal and look at the records of the recent scandal exposures there, they would find that they would be too busy holding their noses to exclude the rottenness of Canadian politics as it existed there to turn their attention to the Republic across the line.

After relating many interesting and pathetic instances from the history of the Western Federation of Miners, with a view of showing that the governing bodies of the United States, who were supposed to see that justice and fair play was done to the people of the country, rich as well as poor, were not doing their duty, Comrade Haywood closed a most interesting and instructive lecture of about an hour and a half duration with an adjournment to men of the city to organize, and not to be gulled into this spirit of militarism, which he warned was only to enable capital to have at its hands a ready tool with which to repress the working class.

Yours in the scrap, JACK PLACE.

Comrade Blisset, who did good work at the lecture by the sale of his book, held a copy of "Men and Mules" by the Hon. G. Cross, attorney-general, with the hope that he would read it thoroughly and profit by its contents.

On October 1st the Capitalists indulged in one of their senseless exhibitions of their wealth. The streets of the city being transformed, by the use of a copious display of bunting, grates, evergreens etc. The occasion was the laying of the corner stone of the new parliament buildings, which was laid by, to give him his full and awe-inspiring title: His Excellency, The Right Honourable Sir, Albert Henry Grey, Earl Grey, C. O. M. G. Governor General of Canada. The poor fools of this city, who are too intellectually lazy to study for their own interests, being content rather, to leave it to the keeping of those who have proved themselves capable of high finesse in the Art of Theft, together with the Political pimps, turned out to welcome the Earl after the manner of the ancient Athenians greeting a returned victor from the wars. Through it all was a most imposing array of force, composed of R. N. W. P. A. M. R., 101st Fusiliers and last the Boys Brigade, some of whom were scarcely as tall as the musket they carried, together with a torch-light procession.

The next day being the day of the ceremony, of course there must be a monster procession. The school children took part in this also, and some of the poor little mites were a mass of blisters as the result of marching so far; this is one of the ways in which the youth of the world is offered to the altar of Gold. I was very pleased to find, however, that the pimps stationed among the crowd whose duty it was to start the cheering had matters very much of their own way. For a crowd of over 20,000 people it was the most dismal attempt at a cheer that I ever heard. I could not help feeling pleased that possibly the Socialist Philosophy which "Our Charlie" not X but O'Brien, has been treating them to and the dope handed out by Comrade Haywood two days earlier, was in a measure responsible for this.

I believe that the seeds have been sown here in this Liberal stronghold, and although our meetings are sparsely attended, yet if we had a few good speakers, we could soon make a big sink, or at least remove the skins from the noses of the people so that they could perceive the political stink which permeates the atmosphere. We at Edmonton are doing our best to overcome this lack of speakers, by trying to encourage and bring out speakers from among our own ranks. We shall soon have the winter here now and plenty of time for study, and I hope that by next spring we shall have a bunch here ready and willing to go on the warpath against this most damnable system which now tyrannizes the world.

F. BLAKE BASKATON, ALTA.

Friday evening Comrade W. D. Haywood lectured in Lyric Theatre to an audience of a few hundred. The chair was occupied by Alex Chessor, president of the Trades and Labor Council, and a brief speech on Socialism was given by Miss Kuber, the latter lives in this city and will be heard of again.

Now for further propaganda, send me a bundle of twenty-five a week and I'll let you know as soon as I'm in need of some more.

Yours for Socialism, W. H. HERRMANN.

MOTHER HUBBARD.

Elbert Hubbard has favored Vancouver with a visit and a lecture. He is hailed with great enthusiasm by the Press and his wit and wisdom is lauded to the skies. Reading the reports of his spiel one finds his wisdom to consist in a number of platitudes and his wit in such venerable gags as: "The Irish rule every country but their own." "The Scotch keep the Sabbath and everything else they can get their hands on," and so forth.

And this is one of Commercialism's foremost literateurs and raconteurs. Well, the choice is apt.

WATER NOTICE

NOTICE is hereby given that an application will be made to Part V. of the "Water Act, 1907," to obtain a license in the name of the Division of New Westminster District:

- (a) The name, address and occupation of the applicant, Alfred Russ, farmer.
- (b) The name of the lake, stream or source of water intended to be used, the Pains Creek.
- (c) The point of diversion is at the distance of 15 chains from the south boundary of the said south part 15.
- (d) The quantity of water applied for (in cubic feet per second): 1.4 of 1 cubic foot.
- (e) The character of the proposed work to be done, to irrigate.
- (f) The premises on which the water is to be used (describe same): On the property No. 2021, south part 15.
- (g) The purposes for which the water is to be used: For irrigation.
- (h) If for irrigation, describe the land intended to be irrigated, giving bearings.
- (i) This notice was posted on the 6th day of October, 1909, and application will be made to the Commissioner on the 8th day of November, 1909.
- (j) Give the names and addresses of any riparian proprietors or ripensees who will be affected by the proposed works, either above or below the proposed works: H. Steinbecker, J. Claxton, Gilbert's Landing.

ALFRED RUS, Gibson's Landing.

Here and Now By "LEBDS"

Before ordering a bundle of the special campaign edition of the Clarion, Locals should consult the voters list of their district which will give them an idea of the number of copies required. Do not order any more than can be properly distributed, but enough to give every workingman voter a copy. When this is done, when the key to the solution of the labor problem shall be put in the hands of each and every voter in British Columbia, then once more the Socialist Party will have done its duty towards the working class in this Provincial election. It will then remain for the workers to decide whether they will use their political power (the power of numbers) to put themselves in possession of economic power or whether they will go again to the polls and once more rivet the chains of servitude upon themselves and their families. Meanwhile let every Local do its utmost to keep the worker from being fooled and flummoxed by the hirings of Capitalism.

Comrade F. W. Adhead sends in two renewals and Comrade Drury two new subs. from Toronto, Ont.

Several complaints have been received from Comrades living in South Vancouver of the non-receipt of their papers which are being sent to Hillcrest, B. C. Steps are being taken to rectify matters.

One renewal and one new sub. were sent in by Comrade Welling, Vancouver, B. C.

Comrade J. H. Robertson, Bellevue, Alta. owns a party button by sending in five yearlies.

Comrade Geo. Howell, who is shortly leaving for Bristol, Eng. wants his Clarion sent to his new address. He hopes to be able to do effective work with it over there where but few seem to know where they stand and where nearly everybody stands for every thing.

An order for a bundle of Clarions for three months for Comrade P. Daly, Prince Rupert, B. C. received per Comrade Dr. Curry.

Get a ticket in the drawing.

Comrade John Eilers, Sault Ste. B. C. rustles up two more yearlies for the Clarion with a promise of more soon.

Comrade T. W. Williams, editor of the Southern California Bulletin, expresses his appreciation of the clear cut revolutionary spirit of the Clarion. "It has the right ring" he says, "for Socialism without farbelows is the kind we must stand for." The address of the "Bulletin" is 319 Wright & Callender Building, Los Angeles, Ca.

Two renewals to hand from Comrade Will Blake, Victoria, B. C.

A bundle of five Clarions weekly for three months to Comrade C. H. Lake, Endbury, B. C. per order of Comrade H. C. D. Gildemeester, Vernon, B. C.

"Here I am with a few more" writes Comrade Jack Cottam, Nipissing, Ont. as he sends in a bunch of seven.

Comrade W. L. Luddington, formerly of New Glasgow, N. S., is now located at Bangor, Maine and orders his paper changed accordingly. Our Comrade's bad health necessitated the change. Let us hope he will soon be with us again.

The half-cent postage on newspapers published and delivered in the city has been abolished. Each copy of the Clarion delivered in Vancouver will now cost one cent instead of half a cent as heretofore. Hurrah for Liberalism, Progress and Prosperity.

A new sub from each of the following Comrades arrives this week: Geo. Hentherton, Greenwood, B. C.; H. Norman, Victoria, B. C.; F. Garly, Port Essington, B. C.; J. D. Cameron, Hamilton Ont. and C. M. O'Brien, M. P. P.

Don't forget your donation to the Campaign Fund. Anything worth having is worth paying for.

"Rumors of war" is good for trade but war is bad for trade. That is why we have rumors but no war.

Neither of the platforms of the Liberals or Conservatives make any mention of the working class. Is that because they think they will get the workman's vote anyway.

Taft pronounces the United States trade unions because of their non-Socialist character. That is enough to make every trade unionist become a Socialist Instantly.

ATTENTION

At its next meeting, October 19th, Local Vancouver will discuss matters relating to the coming Provincial Elections.

Demand Cigars Bearing this Label



White Hands for a Living Wage Vancouver Local 357.

GREAT BOOKS

BY GREAT MEN

Origin of Species, Darwin; Age of Reason, Paine; Ride of the Universe, Haecel, 25c, by mail - Merric England; Britain-for the British, Blatchford, 20c. each by mail. Send for Catalogue.

The People's Book Store 142 Cordova St. W.

EXPLOITATION OF CONSUMERS.

(Continued from page one)

ters a great deal, whether we mean individual cases or the whole society.

Now, the fundamental mistake of the vulgarizers of Marx's theory of value is that they attribute wrongly to the Marxian theory of value in general what is merely an assumption granted by Marx for certain definite cases, for instance for society as a whole, or for the total capital of a certain sphere of production, or for the capitalists with the same organic composition as the total capital of society, the so-called capitals of average composition.

This correct assumption of Marx is used by him as a basis for the demonstration, how it is that commodities are, generally, not sold at their labor values, but at certain prices, which fluctuate around a certain average. And this average is never a stable magnitude, but a shifting one, which can never be accurately ascertained, but can be estimated merely by comparing the prices of commodities over a long period and averaging them up. In other words, the actual prices paid for commodities are rarely equal to the labor values materialized in them. Commodities are sold mostly above or below their actual labor values. The commodity labor-power is often sold below its value.

In my "Marxian Economics," I have called special attention to the fact that Comrade Kautsky writes in his works on "The Economic Doctrines of Marx" that "Marx himself points out that there are certain commodities whose price is not only temporarily but permanently below their value. Gold and diamonds have probably never been paid at their full value. The commodity labor-power may be permanently below its value, under certain circumstances. More even, Marx has demonstrated that under the capitalist mode of production, under the influence of profit, the law of value is modified in such a way that the prices of most commodities not only may, but must be permanently above or below their value. Nevertheless the law of value remains in force, for such deviations of prices from values can be explained only by means of the law of value."

Marx himself says in the third volume of "Capital" that the average rate of profit is a fluctuating tendency, and that, "under capitalist production, the general law of value enforces itself merely as the prevailing tendency, in a very complicated and approximate manner, as a never ascertainable average of ceaseless fluctuations." (Page 190.)

Of course, this view of the Marxian theory of value is incompatible with the vulgarized conception of this theory, which makes a mathematical example of it. So it has come about that I have been even accused of garbling Marx's text, when I called attention to the garbled versions of the vulgarizers.

But Marx himself consistently held this view from the earliest days of his economic writings. Already in the "Poverty of Philosophy," this idea is expressed in various ways. Engels, in his preface, says: "But it is found, in this wicked world, that commodities are bought sometimes above, sometimes below their value, and besides there is a relation to the variations of competition." (P. VII.)

Again, on the same page, we read: "Ricardo's law of value, as Ricardo himself has already discovered, is in contradiction to the law of equality of the rate of profit. If the products of the two branches are sold at their value, the aggregates of profits cannot be equal; but if the rates of profit are equal, the products of the two branches are not sold at their value everywhere and always. We have, then, here, a contradiction, an antagonism between two economic laws."

And this contradiction is precisely the puzzle which Marx has solved in the third volume of "Capital." This contradiction cannot be solved by the vulgarized theory advocated by the misinterpreters of Marx, who claim to be the "true" Marxists, but who are really superficial vulgarizers.

In his text of "The Poverty of Philosophy" Marx himself points out that this difference between price and value had been a matter of controversy long before him between Ricardo and the mercantilists or their successors. In this connection he says: "The theory of value of Ricardo is the scientific interpretation of actual economic life; the theory of value of Mr. Proudhon is the utopian interpretation of the theory of Ricardo." (P. 21.) This is exactly the difference between Marx's theory of value and the interpretation given to it by its vulgarizers.

In this work Marx also pointed out the reasons which lead to a fluctuation of prices from values. Among other things he says: "The natural price of labor is nothing but the minimum wage. If the current price of wages rises above the natural price, it is precisely because the law of value, postulated in principle by Mr. Proudhon, finds itself counterbalanced by the consequences of the variations between supply and demand. But the minimum wage is, nevertheless, the center towards which the current price

of wages constantly gravitates." (P. 23.) Here we have already the understanding that commodities are generally not sold at their value, but at a price fluctuating around their value according to fluctuations of demand and supply.

Now, if commodities are not sold at their values, but at prices varying from them, then it is evident that the individual wage worker as well as his class as a whole can be exploited as consumers after they have been exploited as producers. In the process of production, they are robbed of their surplus-value. In the process of circulation, as buyers of commodities, they may more than the actual value of commodities for all commodities sold above their value. This amounts in practice to a reduction of wages, by reducing the purchasing power of wages, so that the capitalists as a class get not merely the surplus-value contained in the commodities, but also a part of the necessary value contained in the wages.

It is for this reason that Marx wrote in the "Communist Manifesto": "No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer so far at an end that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by other portions of the bourgeoisie, by the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc." And, incidentally, it should be understood that Marx here refers to these small business men as they were in the early stages of Capitalism such as he knew it, not to the small business men as they are today. The small business men mentioned in the "Communist Manifesto" belonged to the "bourgeoisie," that is, to the capitalist class. They represented the so-called middle class, owned their essential means of production and were themselves exploiters of labor. The modern small business men and small farmers do not belong to the capitalist class, but, according to Kautsky, to the proletariat. They are not the free owners of their essential means of production, but are either employees of capitalists, paid agents of capitalists, or are partly wage workers and partly business men and are objects of exploitation as much as the industrial proletariat. This is wholly overlooked by the impossibilists, who rave against the admission of the modern small farmer and business men into the Socialist Party on the alleged ground that they are "capitalists." Especially in the Western States of America and Canada, the small business men and small farmers lose far more through the exploitation by capitalists than they gain as sellers of commodities to the consumer.

In the pamphlet which follows next in the historical order, namely, "Wage Labor and Capital," Marx shows that the value of commodities is determined by labor, but their price by competition between buyers and sellers. There, likewise, he states that "The price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production," which means, in other words, that the price of a commodity is not identical with its value. At the same time, we find in this pamphlet a hint how Marx wishes to have his theory of value understood. He says that he differs from the "economists" in this: They attribute the fluctuations of the prices of commodities around their average price to chance, whereas he realizes that "It is precisely these fluctuations which in their course determine price by cost of production." And he comes to the following conclusion: "We gather, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production, in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below this cost, and conversely. Of course this does not hold good for one single particular product of industry, but only for that entire branch of industry. So, also, it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class."

Marx leaves no doubt in this pamphlet that he means by price of production the average value of commodities. For he says: "The determination of price by cost of production is the same thing as its determination by the duration of labor which is required for the manufacture of a commodity; for cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements that is, products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work, and which therefore represents a certain duration of labor; and (2) actual labor, which is measured by its duration." He also leaves no doubt that this same law applies to wages. "Now the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, wages." And then he goes on to show that wages rise and fall with the proportion between demand and supply of labor, and that the cost of production of a laborer amounts to the cost of the laborer's subsistence and propagation. This, again, Marx is careful to state, does not apply universally to the individual laborer, but to the working class. "Individual laborers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to subsist and propagate; but the wages of the whole

working class with all their fluctuations are nicely adjusted to this minimum."

Marx. Incidentally shows how a fall in the value of certain commodities may lead to a fall in the purchasing power of wages, even though the money price of labor-power may remain the same. He cites the effect of the discovery of gold and silver in America upon the value of these metals in Europe. "The laborers received for their labor the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labor remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller quantity of other commodities." In other words, the degree of exploitation in production remained the same, but the laborers were further exploited when they offered their wages for necessities of life. The same thing takes place, when certain commodities, such as rooms, clothing, etc., rise in price, while wages remain the same. Marx cites another instance where the value of corn, meat, bread, cheese, etc., rose because crops failed, so that the laborers received less of these goods for the same money.

This is an instance of the way in which an increase in the labor value of certain commodities may result in a decrease of the purchasing power of wages. But the same result will also be brought about, if the value of these commodities remains the same, while peculiar market conditions enable some capitalists to sell them above their value. In this way the laborers are continually exploited as producers and as consumers.

All this was stated by Marx as early as 1847. And in his later development, he did not abandon these views, but rather enlarged upon them as natural parts of his economic system. The next link in our evidence is the "Critique of Political Economy," published in 1859. Here Marx, for the first time, gave a systematic presentation of his theory of labor as an activity creating use-values and exchange-values. Of labor-power as a commodity he does not treat in this work. But in his discussion of exchange-value and use-value, which was later embodied in the first volume of "Capital," Marx points out the relative effect of changes of value in one commodity upon the value of others. He shows that the labor time required for the production of a certain commodity may remain constant, yet its exchange-value, expressed in terms of other commodities, may rise or fall with the increase or decrease of the labor time required for the production of other commodities. Applied to wages, this means that the same amount of wages will buy different quantities of necessities of life according to changes of value, or of price, of these commodities. This is true of individual wages as well as of the wages of the working class as a whole. Here again, it is seen that the possibility of exploiting the consumers by selling commodities other than their value, the same, or fall, or rise in the same proportion as these prices, is offered in all stages of the capitalist system, and this opportunity is clearly shown by the Marxian system, even in the incomplete form in which it is presented in the "Critique."

Especially significant in this respect are these chapters of the "Critique," in which Marx defends the view that in the expansion and contraction of the currency which takes place while the value of precious metals remains unchanged, it "always the effect but never the cause of price fluctuations." Lack of space forbids a detailed discussion of this point. But it may at least be suggested that financial disturbances, due in the last analysis to disturbances in the process of production, may in their turn become means of exploitation in the sphere of circulation. And this view does not affect at all the statement of Marx as to the fact that, as far as individual capitalists and laborers are concerned, Marx's view remains true for society as a whole.

The significance of a clear grasp of the various aspects of economic problems is brought out by Marx especially in the appendix to his "Critique," which was written in 1857, but which recently published (in 1903, by Karl Kautsky), "We must distinguish," says Marx, "between production in general, special branches of production and production as a whole." In these earliest works of Marx, then, we became acquainted with two great ways of exploiting the laborer as a consumer: (1) through an increase of the value of other products, which is not counterbalanced by an increase in the relative value of his wages; (2) by an increase in the PRICE of other products, which is not counterbalanced by an increase in the price of his wages. In the first case, commodities may be sold at their actual labor value, and yet the laborer's wages will not buy as much of the same commodities as before; in the second case, commodities may be sold above their actual labor value, and the laborer's wages are thus practically reduced, although their money value is the same as before.

The historical evidence previous to the first volume, "Capital," closes with Marx's pamphlet on "Value, Price and Profit," a pamphlet of which we have already seen a lecture by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on June 26, 1865. Here Marx proved the following propositions: That the proportion between the amount of national production and the amount of real wages is continually changing; that the capitalists will meet a forced raise of wages by a raise in the prices of their commodities whenever the market conditions permit it; that unless the capitalists consent to a rise in wages, if general, would mean a general fall in the rate of profit; that in such a case, the prices of commodities would not be permanently changed; that wages and the prices of other commodities do not necessarily rise and fall together in an inverse ratio; that the quantity of money in circulation is not directly affected by any partial changes in wages or in the prices of other commodities in the home markets of any one nation; that the value of a commodity is determined, not by the quantity of individual labor materialized in it, but by the quantity of average social labor necessary for its production; that the average market price of commodities is equal to their value, when demand and supply balance each other; that the general nature of profit must be explained by starting out from the proposition that profits are derived from selling commodities at their value, and that only after the explanation of profit from such an average condition of balance between demand and supply can the more complicated question be analyzed, how profits vary with the oscillations of prices around the values of commodities; that a wage worker does not sell his labor-power, but the value of this labor-power, like that of any other commodity, is determined by the average social labor required for its reproduction, and that this value is measured by time; that surplus-value is produced by the expenditure of labor beyond the time necessary for the reproduction of the value of labor-power; that normal, or average profits, are made by selling commodities at their value; that rent, interest and industrial profits are only different names for the total surplus-value fished from the working class; that a struggle for a rise in wages is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred due to previous changes in the general conditions of production; that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the struggle to raise wages is in fact merely an effort to maintain the former value of labor-power; that the general tendency of capitalist production is to lower wages, not to raise them.

In all these points, it is plainly apparent that the normal, or average stage of production and circulation, from which Marx starts in his analysis of capitalist production, is not the actual condition of capitalist economy, but merely a general tendency, in which the law of value is approximately reached by comparing long periods of fluctuations in values and prices. This becomes particularly evident where Marx speaks of the average profit and shows that capital is transferred from one sphere of production to another in obedience to the fluctuations of profit in the various spheres. In other words, the tendency towards a general social rate of profit works itself out through fluctuations in the average profit of the various spheres, and the average profit of the individual spheres comes about through fluctuations in the average profit of the individual capitals of each sphere.

Under these circumstances, it is quite evident that the fluctuations in the average value of products in the sphere of production and the fluctuations in their average prices in the sphere of circulation must necessarily leave thousands of openings for fluctuations in the purchasing power of wages, by which the entire exploitation of the laborer in production is intensified through his additional exploitation as a consumer.

A careful reader may have noticed that there seems to be a contradiction in some of these various statements of Marx. For instance, in one place Marx says that commodities are always sold either above or below their value; and in another place he works upon the assumption that commodities are sold at their value. But the contradiction is only a seeming one. For in one place Marx has in mind the individual commodities, in the other their average value in society as a whole. Only a superficial reader will cling to such apparent contradictions and consider them as difficulties, by which the entire theory of Marx is vitiated. In reality there is no contradiction.

All these things had long been stated by Marx before he published his first volume of "Capital." And considering that these early works were written on the basis of the same monographs which supplied Marx with the material for this first volume as well as for the other volumes of "Capital," it is clear that "Capital" cannot contradict the various positions taken by Marx publicly before the publication of his main work. This shall be demonstrated in the following two instalments of this discussion.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth, and to the producers it should belong. 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 their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

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

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

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the power of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme 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 the collective property of the working class.
 2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
 3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.
- The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.
- In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

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