

"THE EXECUTIVE OF THE MODERN... IS BUT A COMMITTEE OR MANAGING THE AFFAIRS OF THE BOURGEOISE."

WESTERN CLARION

"THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE THE WORK OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF."—KARL MARX.

The mission of the Socialist Party of Canada is not to further the efforts of the commodity labor-power to obtain better prices for itself, but to realize the aspirations of enslaved Labor to break the galling chains of wage servitude, and to establish a free society.

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WAR—ITS CAUSE AND OUTCOME

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FABRIC OF MODERN SOCIETY IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT EUROPEAN WAR

By J. Harrington

THE RISE OF THE MURDER BUG.

(Article IV.)

THE ADVENT OF PRUSSIA.

While these events were shaping the destiny of England, there was born to the King of Prussia a son, who became famous later on—Frederic the Great.

When Charles of Spain died, and Europe was devastated to find a successor, Prussia was a duchy of about as much consequence in Europe as Luxembourg is now. Frederic's grandfather, a Margrave, was invested with the title of King. His father sought to make good the Kingly title, and amassed an army of giants, drilled and disciplined them until they were the finest fighting machine in Europe. It was reserved for the iron-willed and energetic Frederic to set these warriors into action. In less than a year after he had ascended to the throne, he plunged Europe into another war.

Charles, emperor of Austria, died without male issue. His daughter, Maria Theresa, was allowed to occupy the throne by what is known as "The Pragmatic Sanction." The Powers agreed to see that her territory was held intact. Frederic seized Silesia in 1741, and the music began. The scramble for Austria was on. England—honorable England—induced Austria to buy Frederic by granting Silesia. England, Prussia and Austria thereupon fell upon the French and other pirates, utterly routing them. The treachery of this period was of the rankiest, and England stood by Frederic almost to the last. Crush France, by fair means if possible, but crush her was the policy.

The central states of Europe were still under the domination of feudal forms. Prussia was not well adapted to creating great wealth from her land; for the most part forest and marsh. In Silesia fertile stretches of land promised rich harvests to its rulers.

PLUNDER AND WAR.

For England, the absolute overthrow of France meant the success of her own colonies in India and America. Honor was expensive baggage to pack around those days when continents were to be had as the prizes of war.

The Gentlemen Adventurers of France and England were then engaged in a struggle for the furs of Canada and the treasurers of India. Pitt declared "he would conquer America in Germany." With the death of that minister and British supremacy established in the far East and West, British honor again sacrificed itself to the demands of money, and Frederic was deserted in his hour of need. Notwithstanding this desertion, Prussia retained Silesia after twenty-two years of almost constant warfare, accompanied by the grossest treachery. A new power had arisen in Europe. France, though crushed, was far from broken. She still held large possessions in America. But the final disposition of this was made without British interference. 1763 saw the end of the Austrian wars.

THE REVOLT OF BRITISH COLONIES.

Britain at peace, the chartered companies exploiting her colonies, commenced to seek for greater profits. Within a few years the American colonies revolted: 1771 saw North Carolina in arms.

NATIONALISM

IN the Arabian Nights, or the Pilgrim's Progress, or the Bible, I forget which, there is a facetious prince who invites some friends to a banquet. The dishes come and go in profusion; the prince's host expatiates upon the excellence of the fare, and the perfection of the cooking. The guests, however, see nothing but empty dishes. Nor can the charm of their host's discourse deceive them.

It is at such a farce banquet the slave of modern industry sits, when he is invited to partake of a feed of nationalism. He is told what a great honor it is to be born a Briton, or a German, etc.; what glorious achievements his nation has accomplished; how sagacious have been her statesmen; how just her kings; how sturdy her yeomen; how great her wealth; how tremendous her resources; how splendid her victories. And the poor dupe swells up like a Zeppelin in action imagining there are "swell eats" on his plate.

"Sweet and glorious it is to die for one's country" is an ancient Roman saying. But what country has the modern wage-slave? Imagine the Serviles of Rome taking that kind of guff, or the Helots of Sparta! Imagine the Jews enslaved in Babylon singing praises to their captors, instead of hanging up their harps upon the trees and cursing their masters, or calling blessings upon the heads of anyone who would dash out the brains of the baby Babylonians.

Sidney Low in the Edinburgh Review said, just before war broke out: "It may be doubted whether the enslaved laborer in a Roman Provincial municipality was in all respects less favorably situated than the free worker, crushed under the iron wheels of modern industrialism and living in a precarious penury in the slums of a modern town." So the comparison I have drawn is not far fetched.

Nationalism happily is a disease which Capitalism is rapidly eliminating from the slave's make-up. The slave is now driven from his "country" for a chance to live. Capitalism has banished the nation, but the national spirit was too powerful a factor for its continued rule to be allowed to die.

This spirit, however, was not conjured up in the minds of designing knaves to enslave fools. It was born of necessity; pre-capitalist society, barring a few mercenaries living within certain geographical limits, banded together for mutual help. Rarely going beyond these limits to settle, and enjoying a large measure of comfort and happiness there, a love for that particular place would be natural and expected. We can well believe a man would willingly give his life in defense of a place the loss of which would entail upon him untold misery. But why a man should die for a country within whose boundaries he could not obtain sufficient food to sustain life is not so clear. It can be charged to the fostering of a spirit the material reason for which has vanished.

The European powers have created nations and absorbed them as the requirements of international policy dictated. It was not NATIONALISM which induced Europe to recognize Belgium as an independent state. Her low-lying land, without lakes or large rivers, is flat almost absolutely, save where in the Province of Liege there is a range of mountains about two thousand feet altitude. The task of defending such a country and the experience of past history gave to the Fleming and Waltrons who inhabit Belgium a country to love and defend.

It was INTERNATIONALISM which sanctioned the partition of Poland and the seizure of Finland. Internationalism sanctioned the butchery of the Paris Communards and the Armenian atrocities. Internationalism created the new kingdom of Albania and made an everlasting hell for its people because Servia must not have a sea-port.

Thus internationalism is born of our masters' need. No stigma brands its advocates; its propagandists do not become the enforced guests of the State. Karl Liebknecht of Germany and Gustave Herve of France both suffered imprisonment for attempting to destroy nationalism; for preaching internationalism. Herve went mad and now fights for his "country"; Liebknecht stood by his convictions and represents the new spirit. Love of country is the curse of enslaved humanity. It is the vermiform appendix of mentality. A slave has no national interests; he has only class interests and although Hillquit says "the worker had a country before he had a class," he must not forget he had a tail and pointed ears long before he had a country, but that would hardly excuse him for climbing a tree and shaking a limb when he wanted to express himself. The national spirit must be rooted out, the class spirit must be fostered. Marxian philosophy will do both jobs effectively. Industrial development will assist considerably.

To Liebknecht, the first to turn aside from the phantom feast of nationalism, the international proletarian owes much, how much we shall learn in future years.

The Two Grand Old "Wo" men of British Socialism

By MOSES BARITZ

Article in No. 763 on the "English Yellow Book," has occasioned a little resentment among my friends. Objection is taken at my antagonistic attitude towards H. M. Hyndman and Belfort Scott. My opinions are usually sound or unsound; in this case, the opinions of the latter will stand my attack on these two men. It is not a resentment born of contempt; by an utter revulsion they persist in calling themselves "Socialists." As may be seen, they are using their efforts to confuse the issue, for they are not Socialists. For years now the S. P. G. B. have exposed the political rascality. The back numbers of the "Socialist Standard" are full of incidents, relegating both to their political status. It is not a single incident in either of their careers that is com-

parable to the better to know the truth; a perusal of the "Socialist Standard" will both shock and astound most of the "Western Socialist" leaders, more particularly those who obtain their inspiration from the S. D. F. and "Justice."

The present situation has done much to clear up many points in the "Socialist" movement. It has certainly revealed the shallowness and superficiality of the English, French, German and Belgian Socialist Parties. Much more can be said of all the "Socialist" leaders in each of the above countries. For the time being an examination of the English "revolutionaries" is in order.

Austin Harrison is editor of the "English Review," a periodical that has quite in the forefront of monthly magazines. It has been in existence less months than most of its well-known contemporaries have years. Austin Harrison has had a good sound German education and is well equipped to write upon matters Teutonic.

He pointed out, in an article in the November issue, that German Socialism had collapsed, and of course he was referring to the German S. D. P.

Messrs. Hyndman and Bax replied to him in the December issue, wherein the Marxian theory was "remolded" to suit the Jingoistic spirit of both these gentlemen. Apart from the deliberate lying of these men the whole thing is a farce. A comparison with real Marxism makes one sick. But to proceed.

Austin Harrison now returns to the attack in this (Jan., 1915) issue and writes an even more interesting article on "Marx and Materialism."

He says that his object in writing of the collapse of German Socialism (you notice that he distinguishes the words German and Socialism) was to show:

1. That the rigid doctrinaire theory of Marx, with its laws of class warfare and automatic necessity, had, in Germany, etiololed into a mere Parliamentary Party of opposition and opportunism characterized by the very national and imperialist tendencies that Marx sought to destroy in his philosophy of revolution which was to bring about the Collectivist State.

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The Gentlemen Adventurers of France and England were then engaged in a struggle for the furs of Canada and the treasurers of India. Pitt declared "he would conquer America in Germany." With the death of that minister and British supremacy established in the far East and West, British honor again sacrificed itself to the demands of money, and Frederic was deserted in his hour of need. Notwithstanding this desertion, Prussia retained Silesia after twenty-two years of almost constant warfare, accompanied by the grossest treachery. A new power had arisen in Europe, France, though crushed, was far from broken. She still held large possessions in America. But the final disposition of these was made without British interference. 1763 saw the end of the Austrian wars.

THE REVOLT OF BRITISH COLONIES.

Britain at peace, the chartered companies exploiting her colonies, commenced to seek for greater profits. Within a few years the American colonies revolted; 1771 saw North Carolina in arms. Under the guise of intense patriotism and love of freedom, the old game of double-crossing went on. The small coast towns and the country desired complete severance from Britain. The large seaports merely desired certain trading privileges and freedom. To influence the large towns Paine, in one of his pamphlets, says, "Your dependence upon the Crown is no advantage, but rather an injustice to the people of Britain, as it increases the power and influence of the king. The people are benefited only by your trade, and this they may have after you are independent of the Crown." The people of Britain also realized this and the revolution had possibly as many adherents in Britain as in America, and possibly as many opponents in America as friends.

That France should miss the opportunity to swell her chivalrous soul was too much to expect. She was at peace with England. But it was pointed out that France could so aid the Americans that at the cost of a few millions they could injure England to the extent of several hundred millions. Accordingly an agent in the person of M. Beaumachais who "having little property and but a slender standing in society might, if needful, be disavowed, imprisoned and punished for presuming to use the king's name on such an occasion," was appointed. Repayment of aid was to be in commercial treaties and in tobacco. In the secret dealings somebody got a little fortune which caused quite a scandal. But such paltry graft is evident in all history; the pikers are everywhere at hand to pick up the small change in the name of patriotism. The point I wish to emphasize is that an act which France now glories in, was undertaken in secret to injure another (a friendly) nation's trade, and not to set America free.

The War of Independence was scarcely over when the great French Revolution swept Europe clear of feudal lumber. With the close of the Napoleonic wars England became mistress of the sea. The destruction of property and the disorganization which continental nations suffered during these wars, gave England, safe from these horrors, a tremendous advantage. Manufacture had been developed in England by water-power. Just prior to the French Revolution, Watt invented his steam engine. England became the manufacturing country of the world. She banished agriculture to the continent, established large industrial towns, seaports, and a gigantic merchant marine.

Following the battle of Waterloo, France was bankrupt and most of the other nations were very little better off. Prussia, however, was perhaps next to France. The great need of food stuffs in Britain gave a new impetus to agriculture; but in Prussia about 1816 few roads existed, and land was cultivated upon the feudal basis. While Prussian peasants were not so well paid as English artisans, nevertheless they could never be utterly destitute while possessing land enough to supply almost all of their actual wants. The market for the products of the farm afforded by England's industrial life gave Prussia the incentive and supplied her with the money to build roads and clear and drain lands.

STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE AND TRADE.

The locomotive steam engine in 1825 brought a great industrial (Continued on Page Four)

...defending such a country and the experience of past history gave to the Fleming and Wallrons who inhabit Belgium a country to love and defend.

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From Herve the international proletariat may learn what a powerful factor nationalism is in making men mad. Once a psychologic "keep off the grass" sign has been ignored no one can tell what will happen. This war is destroying quite a lot of that junk. Nationalism, the creed which binds men to a country they have no interest in; to which they owe nothing but their birth happening, will not be the least harmful mental affliction to go. **LET PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM FLOURISH.**

J. H.

"Forces of Production"

A correspondent isolated in the country quotes from memory a quotation and asks for an explanation of it.

The quotation is taken out of Marx's preface to his "Critique of Political Economy."

In this preface Marx laid down the principles of a science of history known as historical materialism, by which we are enabled to understand the movements and structural changes within past and present forms of society.

The wording of the passage by the sender is different from the original (See correspondence column).

What Marx said was: "that no social order ever disappears, before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions for their existence have matured in the womb of the old society."

The correspondent follows his quotation up by asking: "What are all the productive forces?" and "have they all appeared?"

Before answering we would recommend "Value, Price and Profit" (Marx) price 10c, as an aid in the study of economics; and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (Engels) price 15c, for the dialectics of the capitalist mode of production.

The latter pamphlet will explain the quotation and answer the questions more fully and satisfactorily than we can do here.

Marx states in the preface to the work referred to that: "I was led, by my studies of law, history and philosophy, to the conclusion that legal relations, as well as forms of state, could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind; but that they were rooted in the material conditions of life. . . . the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy."

Further on he says: "In social production which men carry on, they en-

ter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production."

To explain this last paragraph let us assume a primitive stage of production: the people living by tilling the soil and raising flocks and herds.

They would also combine with this occupation, the spinning and weaving of wool into cloth; make their own tools and build their own shelters.

But as their productive powers increased a subdivision of labor appeared: the agriculturist followed that occupation alone, while cloth-making, hide-tanning, the working of iron, wood or stone, became the occupation of other classes of men. Yet all these classes were still bound together by necessity; dependent upon each other, not alone for finished products, but for the raw materials to work upon; e.g. the farmer and the miner produced the raw materials in the shape of food, hides, wool, or iron for the artisans to work up into the tools, clothing and shelter required by all. Thus men were bound together by the need for an exchange of products.

These are the relations of production Marx refers to.

"The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.

"At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the

existing relations of production; or, what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before."

For instance, how, in capitalist society are the products distributed or shared out; by what means does one man get a large and another a small quantity; and this unequal division remain justified by all the bourgeois laws and moral and ethical codes?

It is by means of property relation. The land, natural resources, machinery of production and their products, in short, the means of existence are the property of the capitalist class.

The only thing possessed by the workers is their power to labor.

Thus an exchange of labor power and means of existence must take place in order that the productive forces operate and society exist, but the capitalist holds the superior position in this exchange as the workers' need is an ever present and pressing necessity.

Labor power exchanged on the competitive market, subject to fluctuations of supply and demand, like all other commodities, over a period of time, sells or exchanges at its value. I.e., the laborer receives in wages sufficient to buy his food, clothing and shelter necessary for his maintenance, and though with newer methods of production his productivity increases a thousand fold, the value of his labor power remains the same, i.e., sufficient of those things necessary for his maintenance. The result of this increased productivity goes to the capitalists and thus their wealth accumulates.

And so "the relations of production" at the basis of capitalist society are—the capitalist ownership of the means of life—and wage labor.

We have now to show how, as Marx says, "the material forces of production come in conflict with the existing relations of production."

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2. "That the moment Social Democracy had so broken away Socialism as the implacable antagonist of bourgeois civilization in whatever form—military, capitalist, Liberal, commercial, or monarchial,—forfeited its inherent truth and purpose, the sole concern of which lay in the freedom of the wage-earning classes." (Emphasis mine.)

He then expresses quite a refreshing sentence. He refers to what he did write and says Mr. Hyndman did not answer it. This is the quotation:

"The words I wrote were: 'German Socialism has drifted away from Marx into the slough of German Imperialism, as far from the ideal it had set itself to win as Ecclesiasticism has drifted from Christianity.'"

Following that comes as fine a castigation from a non-socialist as anything I remember. I ask all those who read this to preserve it for it is a masterpiece. Were Hyndman and Bax real men they would sink into oblivion and rest content with their thrashing. But no, they may come for more. Cut out this next paragraph for future reference. Says Austin Harrison:

"The position seems to be that I, who am not a Socialist, though in profound human sympathy with the wage-earning classes, am defending Karl Marx against the regime (empty or barren) and so-called 'rational' socialism (defended by Mr. Hyndman) which, under Bernstein and his disintegrating intellectuals, diluted the extremism of Marx and Liebknecht into a BASTARD opportunism. This party, composed of most of the original, independent and fighting minds in modern Germany, came to accept a 'mild' form of militarism, a mild form of colonization, a mild form of economic warfare, in short, a mild form of evolution as opposed to revolution—the quintessence of the Marxian dogma. In Mr. Hyndman's attitude I cannot discover more than an apologia for the failure of Revisionism to exercise any detestable influence upon the Kaiser's war intention. He says the Socialists did what they could; which may be. The fact is that their effort was absolutely impotent, and that being only too palpably the case, I think I am fully justified in writing of the 'collapse' of Social Democracy."

There is quite an amount of information in that. I earnestly recommend it to certain 'friends' in the East and also on the Prairie. Perhaps Pat will bring it to the notice of Messrs. Beech, Tipping & Co. As time goes on the above will have to be quoted to show the difference between the S. D. P. of C. and the revolutionary position. Perhaps A. W. Manee, Esq., Editor of "Cotton's Weekly" will take note. It is necessary now, more than ever, to point out the real position.

Austin Harrison still goes on, giving cards and spades to Messrs. Hyndman and Bax, and an even greater trouncing to the reformers. He says:

Continued on page two

THE WESTERN CLARION

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Avenue Theatre, Main St., Vancouver, B. C.

A Philosophy of Revolt.

SCIENCE tells us that nothing is so constant as change. "Nothing is, everything is becoming," as Hegel says.

The old static school held that life moves in cycles; that "history repeats itself." But the modern dynamic view of progress declares that history never repeats itself; that, as Heraclitus, a Greek philosopher puts it: "You can never step into the same waters twice."

But science goes further. It tells us that progress is not only change, but ordered change. Happenings will always happen; change will ever be constant; but whatever happens will happen according to certain laws. Nature knows no accidents. Nothing happens from chance; but everything from a cause. The law of causation is universal.

Henri Bergson, the French philosopher, has elaborated Darwin's thesis; proving evolution to be purposive and creative.

Now from man just descended from his arboreal habitat to Andrew Carnegie there has been constant, purposive change; a process of evolution from the lower and simpler to the higher and more complex. Communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism—these are the stepping-stones in man's onward, upward march.

Now discontent has been, still is, and ever will be, the mother of progress.

Those men and women who sail uncharted seas; who upset conventions; who found a better way of doing something—they are the Blazers of the Trail; the Pioneers of Progress.

They have thrown tradition to the four winds, but they have, in so doing, made progress possible.

Today our "great" political leaders are the slaves of precedent and tradition. That is why no progress is made.

Precedent is something to be broken, not to be preserved. It is yesterday's high-water mark; it is the best record of a past age; it is the sanest conclusion of a former day.

Yes! But what the sanest conclusion of the sanest day. Far from it. If precedent had guided our fathers we would still be hairy apes, swinging from a tree limb, ignorant of fire, subsisting on herbs, and roots and raw meat. Nature would still be red in tooth and claw.

But our fathers ignored tradition and broke precedent. Good! Precedent is the enemy of progress; tradition is the fetter upon advance and the shackle upon civilization.

Rebellion is a fundamental law of life; an essential condition of progress.

But that rebellion against the present must be governed by a coherent body of thought and by definite purposes and ideals. Discontent which is aimless is fruitless in so far as it is destructive.

But discontent with what exists whilst having in mind an orderly conception of what the future shall be—that is the essential condition of ordered progress.

Life, in its constant changes, ever seeks, in Tennyson's fine phrase, "for more life and fuller." But this object necessitates, on the one hand, discontent with what is, and, on the other hand, purposive action as to what shall be.

This is the abiding law in politics.

Today we face a welter of aimless and harassed lives; a wild scramble for a crust of bread. Unemployment, and prostitution,

to point out is the fact that the full dinner pail could be used, and used successfully, as an emblem of prosperity, to gather in the votes of the workers in any given city or country. For we are well aware that, in the cases herein mentioned, the full dinner pail was the selected slogan, professing to indicate prosperity, and introduced its sponsors as such, for the purpose of appealing to the intelligence (or lack of it) of the working class. It is the votes of the workers which elect all parties to office, hence the full dinner pail; for the assumption, apparently, is that the F.D.P. represents the wage slaves' highest conception of prosperity, and the results, in all cases, have proven the assumption correct.

And is it any wonder that such is the case? Is there a wage slave anywhere, who has ever had the pleasure of sitting on a pile of mud, by the edge of a sewer, during noon hour, at the same time sampling the contents of this dinner pail, who would question the right of the full dinner pail to serve as the highest emblem of prosperity?

If such there be, go, mark him well, for he is indeed an ungrateful wretch. How can we ever forget the sandwiches and the sausages, not to overlook the doughnut, and, perhaps, if times were good, a piece of raisin pie? But why rehearse the pleasures of those happy days gone by, alas, we think, never to return. Enough to know that the full dinner pail does represent the highest ambition, the aim and end, of all working class endeavor.

There are those who assert that the full dinner pail, held aloft as an emblem of prosperity, for the purpose of catching the workers' votes, is an insult to an intelligent working man, but such are not respectable people. Let us pay no attention to their vain zeras or their extravagant tastes; the good old F.D.P. is sufficient for the patriotic Anglo-Saxon slave.

The day will come, for come it must, when the workers of the world will have a higher conception of prosperity, higher aims and higher aspirations, and when that day comes the part played by the humble F.D.P. in our much-vaunted, widely heralded, civilization of the twentieth century, will be remembered merely as a tale that is told.

F. J. McN.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

An election has been suddenly sprung upon B. C. and will probably take place on the tenth of next month, April. Our men will be nominated in as many districts as we can afford to stand for, and a most vigorous campaign will be prosecuted. In Cumberland, where the chances are particularly bright for carrying the seat, the miners, upon whom we must depend for the organization of the constituency, are broke, as a result of the strike that has been recently called off. The B. C. Prov. Ex. Com. has decided to help them to the fullest extent financially. Anyone desiring to send in donations kindly rush them at once to this office, Avenue Theatre Building, Main St., Vancouver, B. C.

Another bombshell. Wilfrid Gible has joined the ranks of the Benedicta by asking Miss Mary E. Currie of St. John, N. B., (a thorough RED) to share his joys, sorrows, bank account, and a few other incidentals with him. The stream of evolution ever floweth.

Local Calgary, owing to a disagreement with the Dom. Ex. Committee regarding the *modus operandi* to be pursued with a party member who is merely under certain vague and indefinite suspicions, decided, by a vote of 11 to 2, at a special meeting held on the afternoon of Feb. 21st, to withdraw affiliation. They are not now, therefore a Local of the S. P. of C.

Also a letter from Budden, tendering his resignation, on the same grounds, has reached this office, too late for publication in this issue. He requests that same be inserted in *Clarion*. This will be done in the next issue.

The next issue will be greatly changed.

arty has yet to be put to the proof. Those of us who desire to stop wars will do well to consider this aspect of Marx.

"Granting a real fighting Socialist movement outside the Reichstag, and it may be questioned whether the Kaiser's armies would have been able to move."

"No Intellectual creed was ever more opposed to militarism and all forms of governmental tradition than that formulated by Marx."

"And so when the Kaiser gave the word to transplant German Culture into other people's lands the Socialists to a man were ready, whether against proletarian Belgium that they so often befriended, or autocratic Russia, whom they had so consistently reviled. Thus, perversely, in precisely the opposite way conceived by Marx, Socialism in Germany has made for war, as a warlike, disciplined—and I must fain admit—brutalising influence."

These extracts are valuable for the reason that they come from an anti-Socialist. Likewise they are instructive in giving an accurate description of the German S. D. P.

It must not be supposed, however, that those who now oppose the war in Germany are in any way immune from Austin Harrison's criticism. Take as a sample, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, both of whom are opposed to war, but not because they are Marxians. Both have spent many years in an ANTI-MILITARY campaign. Both have suffered imprisonment for it. But to be merely an anti-militarist is as illogical as to be a Jingo. The best that can be said about Liebknecht and "Red" Rosa is that they have been consistent in their attack upon the Revisionist section of the German Social Democratic Party. Both have advocated the general strike as a means of stopping wars. Both still give lip-service to the usual stock of reforms, even though they are supposed to be opposed to them. It is rare that one ever hears of any member of the German S. D. P. taking up the S. P. of C. attitude.

SOME INTERESTING FIGURES AND-FACTS

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1899-99. \$2,696; average price, 1913, \$1,568 (decrease).

Many more instances could be taken from the report; but these are sufficient to prove my point that the rise in cost of living is not due to the trusts but in spite of them.

ED. FULCHER.

B. C. Provincial Elections

Candidates Nominated To Date Are As Follows

FERNIE - T. Connor
Send donations to O. Erickson, Box 505, Fernie.

FORT GEORGE - John McInnes
Send donations to A. G. Allen, Drawer 24, Prince George.

COMOX - John A. McDonald
Send donations to Wm. T. Grieves, Box 84, Cumberland.

VANCOUVER CITY
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under Auspices of Local Winnipeg, S. P. of C.
Com. H. Mayo Bartholemeu, of Oakburn, Man., will speak

Further particulars from A. Paterson, C. H. Waters, or any other Local member.

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MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

hairy apes, swinging from a tree limb, ignorant of fire, ignorant on herbs, and roots and raw meat. Nature would still be red in tooth and claw.

But our fathers ignored tradition and broke precedent. Good! Precedent is the enemy of progress: tradition is the fetter upon advance and the shackle upon civilization.

Rebellion is a fundamental law of life; an essential condition of progress.

But that rebellion against the present must be governed by a coherent body of thought and by definite purposes and ideals. Discontent which is aimless is fruitless in so far as it is destructive.

But discontent with what exists whilst having in mind an orderly conception of what the future shall be—that is the essential condition of ordered progress.

Life, in its constant changes, ever seeks in Tennyson's fine phrase, "for more life and fuller." But this object necessitates, on the one hand, discontent with what is, and, on the other hand, purposive action as to what shall be.

This is the abiding law in politics.

Today we face a welter of aimless and harassed lives; a wild scramble for a crust of bread. Unemployment, and prostitution, and starvation, and war, and corruption, and disease—that is modern "civilization."

The Socialist, face to face with this social chaos, preaches a gospel of revolt. He comes as a revolutionist, possessing the definite revolutionary purpose of sweeping away the existing social order. He comes preaching to capitalism's slaves a message of discontent. He comes, above all, with a clear vision of an orderly conception of what organized human effort can make of human life.

The world has accoled him with jeer and sneer, and jibe. Wherefore his path is one of care and anxiety.

But he presses on, convinced that progress is the product of revolt; that if anything be divine, then discontent is "that gracious somewhat."

The paths of progress are red with the blood of the Argonauts, the seekers of the priceless fleece—the Truth. They have died in their thousands at the stake and scaffold; and they have died because they have dared to revolt against tradition.

And so, like Oliver Twist, we ask for more: we refuse to be satisfied; we ever rise in revolt. We transgress to progress; fight to gain life.

Who will help us?

H. M. B.

The Full Dinner Pail.

SOME few years ago, in the enterprising Republic to the south of us, generally described as "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," a certain political party, during a presidential election, took as their slogan the caption under which this article is written.

This, the full dinner pail, existed only as a picture, and, painted in gaudy colors on banners, was voted through the streets of the principal cities, from one end of the country to the other, followed by howling thousands of that most remarkable of all animals, "the two-legged apes," described, during election times, as the honest workman.

This fact, in itself, must be proof, to the person of ordinary thinking ability, of the success of the scheme, for no political party would dangle a dinner pail, much less a picture of one, for the purpose of attracting the attention of anything other than the working animal. A dog might follow a real dinner pail, especially if it was full, but only the *genus homo* would follow the picture of one.

The bait worked like a charm, the suckers bit, and the politicians who craftily originated the idea, were carried into power by a large majority, and the full dinner pail slogan, having served its purpose, was temporarily forgotten.

It has been said that history repeats itself, and it would appear that the statement contains a little truth, for in the recent Vancouver mayoralty election, the full dinner pail was again used with just as successful results as on its first appearance.

We are in noway concerned about the result of this mayoralty election, for mayors and would-be mayors, look very much alike to us, and represent the interest of the master class. What we wish

to share his joys, sorrows, and bank account, and a few other incidentals with him. The stream of evolution ever floweth.

Local Calgary, owing to a disagreement with the Dom. Ex. Committee regarding the *modus operandi* to be pursued with a party member who is merely under certain vague and indefinite suspicions, decided, by a vote of 11 to 2, at a special meeting held on the afternoon of Feb. 21st, to withdraw affiliation. They are not now, therefore a Local of the S. P. of C.

Also a letter from Budden, tendering his resignation, on the same grounds, has reached this office, too late for publication in this issue. He requests that same be inserted in *Clarion*. This will be done in the next issue.

The next issue will be greatly changed both as regards style and form. A great improvement. Look out for it.

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ALBERTA ORGANIZATION SCHEDULE

SCHEDULE "B."		
Provincial Tour (Central Alberta), John Reid, 1915.		
Direction Alberta Secretary, S. P. of C.		
Date.	Place.	Arranged by.
February		
22.	Wetaskewin	C. P. Gross, Mgr. Lumber Yard.
24.	Ponoka	Mrs. Nickeloff, M'rgside; Jno. Beal.
25.	Eckville	J. E. Lundberg; J. F. Knorr.
March		
4.	Eckville	J. E. Lundberg; J. F. Knorr.
5.	Evarts	Mrs. Schunerman, E. A. Isaacson, Eck.
6.	Markerville	S. E. Baldwin, Sec. Loc. Markerville.
8.	Dickson	C. M. Christiansen, Markerville.
9.	White Creek, S. H.	S. W. Welch, Red Lodge.
11.	Crooked Creek, S. H.	S. B. Lee, Dickson; O. L. Benson, Raven
12.	Red Raven	S. B. Lee, Dickson; O. L. Benson, Raven
14.	Caroline	Roy Devore, Haven.
15.	Lobley	Wm. Ross, Mound.
16.	Mound or Rockwood, S. H.	Wm. Ross, Mound.
17.	Eagle Hill	C. F. Johnson.
18.	Olids	H. E. Branscombe.
21.	Calgary	N. H. Tallentire, Box 647.
Thereafter in accordance with Schedule "C."		

The Two Grand Old (wo)men of British Socialism

(Continued from Page One.)
 "When I said that Socialism had collapsed, I did not mean that Marx had, therefore, been proved wrong, but that the true Socialism of Marx had not been tested, for the Socialism of modern Germany, with Bebel himself advocating a defensive militia (there, five months after the war, we have not got as far as that), had relatively little resemblance to the revolutionary creed of the Communist Manifesto.

"It will even go so far as to say that the failure of opportunistic Socialism—the thin end of the wedge between class-warfare and Liberalism, i. e., compromise—seems rather to justify Marx, negatively at any rate. It thus finds myself supporting Marx, not blaming him. Had Social Democracy in Germany persisted and developed on the rigid class lines laid down by Marx and Engels this war might never have come about. But after 1907, German Social Democracy became merely a patia-

SOME INTERESTING FIGURES AND—FACTS

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President Henders, in his opening speech, unloaded this hardy annual—"We believe the tariff is a prolific producer of trusts, combines, and mergers by which the cost of living has been greatly increased."

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President Henders, with his lack of detail, reminds one of the boy who ignores the dots in a problem involving decimals and so arrived at a highly impossible solution.

If President Henders would talk less and study more, he would see that it's non-trust products that have risen in price. Trust products have risen either practically stationary or have declined in price. It would be more nearly the truth to say that trusts have prevented the cost of living from rising higher than it would have done were there no trusts.

The following are not trust products, and the prices quoted are actual prices paid in Brandon in December. They are not statistics but actual figures.

	1900	1905	1913
Dairy butter, lb.	.20	.27 1/2	.35
Cheese, lb.	.13	.15	.22 1/2
Eggs, dozen	.25	.28	.50
Potatoes, bush	.40	.50	.65
Sirloin steak, lb.	.15	.20	.25

The following are trust products for the same dates:
 Gran. sugar, lb. .06 .06 .06 1/2
 Coal oil, gallon .35 .35 .30
 It does not take a very large brain capacity to see that trusts have very little to do with the increases represented in the foregoing table. Eggs show the greatest increase and there is hardly a hen trust in Manitoba.

To get at the statistics the Dominion government publishes each year a report on "wholesale prices," and if trusts were responsible for any increase in prices these reports would show it. In the 1913 report, published February, 1914, the following tables of non-trust products are to be found. The average price for the ten years, 1890-1899, are given, and the average for the year 1913.

Fresh eggs at Montreal, average price, 1890-99, \$15.93; average price, 1913, \$35.113.
Butter, dairy prints, Toronto, average price, 1890-99, \$16.213; average price, 1913, \$23.525.
Turkeys, at Montreal, average price, 1890-99, \$9.443; average price, 1913, \$19.95.
Potatoes, at Toronto, average price, 1890-99, \$56.44; average price, 1913, \$87.268.

Trust Products	
Sugar, at Toronto, average price, 1890-99, \$19.61; average price, 1913, \$4.596 (a decrease).	
Yellow sugar, average price, 1890-99, \$4.189; average price, 1913, \$4.179 (decrease).	
Coal oil (American), at Toronto, average price, 1890-99, \$22.39; average price, 1913, \$16.333 (decrease).	
Cement, at Toronto, average price,	

PROSSER, Naturalist.

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 Com. H. Mayo Bartholemew, of Oakburn, Man., will speak

Further particulars from A. Paterson, C. H. Waters, or any other Local member.

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PLATFORM

Of the 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-awakening 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 interest between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins 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 collectivist or 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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ing, "Should not a man who has refused himself as a recruit and been refused, be furnished on refusal, with a certificate recording that he has offered himself, and so done his best to serve?"

Then again, the latest is an appeal to "Patriotic Employers." They at least should be very patriotic, they own the working class, and can afford to give a few away. The following is the advertisement:

AN APPEAL TO PATRIOTIC EMPLOYERS

As an employer, have you seen that every fit man under your control that can possibly be spared has been given every opportunity of enlisting?

Will you call your Employees together Today, and explain to them that in order to end the war quickly we must have more men?

Many more men would enlist if you explained to them what you are prepared to do for them whilst they are fighting for the Empire.

They will listen to you—use your influence and help to end the war.

Call your men together—Today.

Your Country will appreciate the help you give.

GOD SAVE THE KING.
—Manchester Evening News, Jan. 28th, 1915.

Isn't that voluntary enlistment? But that is what amuses me. What gets me sore is the other side of the case. What are the inducements for joining? What will the workers get? As I am a proletarian, it is best to call into counsel one of the members of the master class, and also a parasite of that class. On January 7 last, Sir Frederick Miller, wrote a letter to the "Times," and in that letter he gave the idea of what the workers who fight, are thinking of when the fighting is over. He had been devoting his time visiting "our wounded heroes." It brought home to him the awful suffering etc., that they had gone through. He says: "Some of these poor fellows, alas! will be crippled for life. I have seen several cases where the sight of both eyes is lost. What has caused more pain than anything is the mental suffering these poor fellows endure. They do not know what is to become of them. I endeavoured to assure them that they need not worry, that a grateful country would see to it that they did not want, but they said they had been told that so often only to be deceived, and I found it impossible to reassure them."

Isn't that enough to get one sore? Here these plugs know that they are going to get it in the neck, and still they do the work of their masters. But perhaps something may be done. But let us see what has been done already in the "Times" of Feb. 2nd there is a letter written by the Revd. F. Holey. He tells of a "T. M." (not Tommy Mellan) in the Reserve of the R.A.M.C. he

ports meetings would not be possible, and the organizer could not accomplish anything.

In the Red Willow district Comrades Christians and Robbins are making splendid headway, and although they find it difficult to keep a local together yet they are all the time on the job making Socialists. They have undertaken to give the organizers three or four meetings in that district and their untiring efforts can be relied on to secure a good attendance. Comrade Christians realizing the necessity of the farmer studying, has invested \$100 in books on Socialism which he intends to circulate among his neighbors. I enjoyed my stay with the Red Willow "Reds" and hope our joint efforts will bear fruit.

Comrade Cochrane of Stettler rendered valuable assistance in obtaining a well attended meeting for me and has signified his intention to arrange a meeting for the next organizer at the Finnish settlement, ten miles south of Stettler. Our mutual efforts resulted in the formation of a local, the charter application for which is in the hands of Com. Cochrane, who will forward it in a few days. Go to it, comrades, for an "all red" Stettler.

At Botha, Carl Effenberger and Com. Marehaut arranged a meeting which proved very successful. Both these comrades are dyed in the wool "reds" and the work they have done has produced sufficient Socialists to form a good local which I expect to organize on my next trip through here, which will be very soon. "Fight the good fight," boys; you are fighting in the grandest movement since history began; a movement that has for its end the freedom and happiness of the whole human race.

Yours for Socialism.
J. R. Knight.

ed by him. "Shorter hours for labour," "municipal ownership of public utilities" and "nationalization of land, railroads, etc."

During question time he was hard put to it to reconcile his statements with the facts, but his policy of "when in doubt lead trump," was a very satisfactory substitute for "economic knowledge." His trump answer to any question that threatened to reveal his lack of knowledge was "I do not believe in buying for the moon, but in forcing the surplus from the Capitalist as we go along."

But perhaps the most remarkable answer was that in reply to a question respecting the attitude of Socialists to organized religion. Deploping the fact that many who termed themselves Socialists were atheists, he told how being a socialist he was an atheist but his knowledge of Socialism had pointed out to him how atheists ridiculed the miracles of God and accepted the miracles of scientists which he, Harry Wilson, had proved to be a fall. He gave scientists were liars and were simply duping the public. "Take a diamond," says he. "The scientists tell you that it is moving, that it is composed of molecules that are in a state of constant motion, which is all nonsense, for you know that a diamond is not in motion, but is simply a very hard, smooth substance that looks like glass." Then followed a denunciation of "such men as Haeckel, Spencer, etc.," that so impressed the audience that no further questions were asked. Nuff sed; Modern science is a huge fake. Harry Wilson has spoken.

J. R. Knight.

PORTLAND, ORE.

Editor Clarion—

Only a few lines to let you know that I am still alive. I arrived here from the south four days ago, and already have held four meetings on the streets of Portland. I expect to stay here till some time next week, and will then move northward, stopping a few days in Vancouver, Wash., Chehalis, Centralia, and then on to Tacoma and Seattle. I will reach Vancouver some time before very long, but just when I don't quite know.

The movement on this side is sure some joke. If every there existed a tribe of silly, sloppy, sentimentalists, they are certainly here. In "Prisco," I went to hear the great Stitt Wilson on two occasions. He gave us to clearly understand that he was a Socialist, a Christian, a Single Taxer, a Prohibitionist, and first of all an American. Very simple indeed are the opinions of those S.P. of C. members who claim that a Socialist can't be a Christian. Why here is a living example of how a Socialist not only can be a follower of and a believer in the Christian faith, but can still be pretty nearly everything else on the calendar besides.

Another worthy in Oakland is Wal-

AN ENQUIRY

I came across a quotation from Marx (I quote from memory): "No form of society ever breaks down until all the productive forces have been developed for which it affords room." I haven't a copy of Marx and live in a state of solitude, in the country (God's) and am too poor to buy one.

It occurred to me that maybe you would, through the medium of the Clarion, with that as a text, give us to a discourse on it. What are all the productive forces? Have they all appeared? Trusting this will find favor with you, and being eager for education,

Yours fraternally,
T. C. Makepeace.

MR. DOOLEY ON THE WAR.

"The other night as I was sittin' smokin' me pipe and readin' the noos-paper, in come Hennessy.

"And phvats the illest, whar noos?" says he. "Oh, there ain't nothin' special," says I, "cept that th' All-Jes' has won three years durin' the past wack, but the Keizer ain't scared much; but just the same he's prayin' like hell for he don't seem to know as the Mexican general said that God ain't with the weakest." "Is that all the noos?" says he and then he says, "Wait till the

CLASS STRUGGLE, as you see by the following, there has been a typographical error that is liable to arouse a great misunderstanding.

"Within a class society there must always be friction, as the ruling class interest is wrapped up in the fact that this system in which they are ruling. Although there is a period when the ruling class are in harmony with the mass progress, the process of birth, growth and decay, demands that they shall ultimately die. In capitalist society the negative portion are the control of the state, maintain their propertyless class. The capitalist class, through their political power or ownership of the means of life.

"The correct reading is:

"In capitalist society the negative portion are the propertyless class. The capitalist class through their control of the State or political power maintain their ownership of the means of life.

I would suggest to those who are interested in this discussion that they take note and correct this mistake.

T. Connor.

THE "FORCES OF PRODUCTION"

Continued from page 1

Under capitalism all things are produced for sale.

Periodically, for many years, there has appeared a condition of the market known as over production, during which goods cannot be sold and so production has had to be curtailed. This condition used to be relieved by finding new markets, or by investing surplus products in the opening up of undeveloped countries; but the world is limited, new markets are getting scarce and the productivity of mankind grows apace, requiring less and less labor power to operate the machinery of production.

The fact that the workers are only able to buy back a fraction of the value they create, and the increasing army of the unemployed aggravates the situation.

Labor power and the machinery of production are largely idle. The markets are full to overflowing with all that is necessary to the comfort and sustenance of man, and yet the people freeze and starve within sight of it. Why? Because they have been too productive; because the "material forces of production" reaching a certain stage of development have "come in conflict with the existing relations of production," the exploitation of wage labor by the capitalist class is a society based upon a system of production for sale.

This conflict manifests itself in so-called chronic over-production, unemployment, and bloody wars between nations for markets.

"From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters."

Thus we see today labor power and the machinery of production idle, can not be used though the people starve

because no profit can be made by their operation.

Then comes the period of social reaction. With the change of the productive forces, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

Then further on in the preface is an "upgraded" quotation: "No social order disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed."

I think tried to show that the productive forces are even now arising at the present social order, for the capitalist system appears to be on the verge of collapse.

The productive forces, or means of production, are very severely overdeveloped, and have become a social act. Therefore all the forces of production are present that are needed to carry us into a new social order.

But a revolution in thought must come first, and that is the work of the scientific Socialist.

an examined working class will accomplish the economic revolution. Speed the process!

C.S.

The European war raises the question as to whether the bar who carries the chip on his shoulder or the one who knocks it off starts the fight.

She—we are giving a hail for the unemployed.

He (scientifically)—Will any of the unemployed be there?

She (miffing it entirely)—Oh, hush, no! Nothing but sentiment of course.

First, he bought a hair of cotton, to help out the starving fishermen of the South.

Then he bought a hair of gold, to help out the starving poet.

Finally, he bought a hair of securities, to help out the starving bankers of Wall street.

That ended it, however.

"I know when I've got enough!" he exclaimed, with a balding hair—life.

LOCAL VASCOUVER B.C. No. 24
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PLATFORM
Socialist Party of Canada

AS IT WILL APPEAR IF AMENDED.

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

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

As the capitalist class remains in possession of the means of production all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend the property rights in the means of wealth production and its product of the laborer.

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

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

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for the possession of the means of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure a 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 conducting the class struggle, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, machinery, tools, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

The organization and management of industry by the working class.

The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

Delayed Two Weeks--Lack of Funds

WAR—ITS CAUSE AND OUTCOME

(Continued from page one.)

revival, and a host of speculative enterprises. The eyes of the continental ruling class could not remain blind to the vast wealth flowing into England. Prussia commenced manufacturing for herself; 1835 saw her first railroad built; mines were discovered and opened up; industries established.

But the independence of the many small states surrounding Prussia was not an ideal condition for the budding capitalist system. Bismarck and his policy of "blood and iron" wiped it out. The German Empire became an actual fact after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. The indemnity exacted from France at that time gave to Germany an immense amount of capital; a flood of capitalist enterprises followed and for the first time Germany experienced what England had been enduring every ten years for some time—a financial panic.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIAN COMMERCE.

Germany, thoroughly capitalized, came upon the trading world heavily handicapped. England having the trade of the world, and being in control of the trade routes, made it imperative for Germany to exert herself to the uttermost to gain any ground. She succeeded, peddling her goods even in industrial England to such an extent that the capitalists in alarm, demanded that German goods be marked "Made in Germany." To overcome the natural prejudice thus incited, German goods were forced to be of superior quality to the native product. As a consequence, the term became a trade mark of excellence, and German goods held the day.

From a confederation of petty agricultural states in 1850 to a great industrial empire in 1880 is rapid progress; but arising from the lowest place among industrial nations in 1880 to fourth place in 1900, and occupying second place in 1914 is progress sufficiently alarming to account for the fact that during the last fifteen years Britain's rulers have steadily tried to instill into us a bitter hatred of Germany and all things German, and called upon us to note that France has always stood for "liberty and equality." France again and again crushed by coalaced German and British forces, suddenly becomes our greatest friend when German commerce and industry assumes such proportions as to threaten our commercial welfare.

Dating from her advent as an industrial nation, Germany has seized whatever territory she could, which would assist her in obtaining trade routes. The brief and successful wars waged with Denmark, Austria and France, gave her splendid territory in Europe, but her colonies abroad have been selected from the leavings of all other colonizing powers. That she would seize anything lying around loose was a foregone conclusion. Treitsche's declaration might be more eloquently expressed but rule or be ruined is what it means; and if Germany is the first to formally embody that policy into expressive language, she was the last nation to carry the precept into actual practice.

The narrow seas between England and Europe have seen but few changes in naval disposition in the past four hundred years. Portsmouth, Chatham and Dover are known to all as naval stations. During the past ten years new naval stations have appeared. From the Straits of Dover to the Faroe Flow, these naval bases extend. Such outlandish and unknown places as Scapa Flow and Lerwick, Cromarty and Stornoway appear, while at Rosyth, directly opposite the Baltic, a large naval station is almost completed. That these preparations were aimed at Germany no one will deny. That commercial expansion and international peace could continue for long only those who have surrendered their reason to a wave of hysteria would attempt to maintain. We will close this series of articles by proving this last statement, and pointing out the possible outcome of the present War.

DISCUSSION ON CLASS STRUGGLE

(Contributors are advised that personalities will not be tolerated) In place among the master class.

were preceded by the fact, meaning, of course, natural forms of matter. But a class society, slavery, class struggles, are the result of man's handiwork; they belong to the artificial. Which came first, the European war or its concept? The Vancouver Island strike or its concept? We have only to remember that every effect has many causes, and that every effect itself becomes a cause of something else. As everything is both cause and effect, it follows that to be a cause of something, concepts must precede something; they must precede their effects.

How well I remember the question as it was put to me: Which came first, the struggle or the consciousness? The argument had lasted for months; I was relating to my opponent an incident that occurred to me one night in a saloon. Standing at the bar drinking beer and talking with a number of other miners, some I knew, some I knew not. Football matches had been played and goals scored. Quite a few shots had been fired in the mines and cars loaded by the score, etc., when one of the group began to usher in the co-operative commonwealth. I began to feel more at home and joined in the discussion. One of my friends apparently became anxious that I should be known to the crowd, and interrupted by saying: "Let's see, you've never met this lad before, have you? This is so and so." A form sprang immediately into the air, at the same time landing me such a smack in the job, and exclaiming: "So this is the —, is it?"

Thus, the story was related. My friend began to laugh until the tears rolled down his cheeks, and he began to exclaim: "You don't know what I'm laughing at, you don't know what I'm laughing at!" When he finally recovered himself he said: "I have a question to ask you, which in your opinion came first, the struggle or the consciousness of it?" Our long argument was settled in his favor. He may as well have asked, which came first, the flat or the stars? the blow or the pain? the blood or the tears? for to me all came at the same time. And had you seen my face next morning you would have known that it was no blood corpuscle that delivered the blow either. What preceded the concept of the struggle was not the struggle, but an antagonism that had arisen out of certain conditions.

All changes brought about by human society, whether that change be the work of an individual, or by society as a whole, must of necessity pass through the human mind, i. e., they must be preceded by their concepts. To say that a thing can be preceded by its concept, is as foolish as to say that the concept of a thing can not remain once its cause has disappeared.

What was the cause or the condition that brought the class struggle into being? First, it was necessary that man could produce more than what was necessary for his own subsistence. But could that condition alone without conscious beings bring classes into being? Or could the consciousness arising from that condition alone do it? Not at all. It was neither one nor the other, but both. The material condition referred itself on the

CUMBERLAND, B. C.

As to the Class Struggle

Editor Clarion: Having accepted the Materialistic Conception of History, I have seen how man has evolved through all the changes which were necessary for him to come through to attain a 20th century civilization.

First, man was purely an individualist, and had to use his cunning to keep out of reach of stronger and quicker animals, and when he found the terrible struggle becoming more acute he saw that it was a case of absolute necessity to join hands with his fellowmen to help him and his species from becoming extinct. His natural instinct showed him a natural law that the fittest survives, and therefore, men began to live in groups and by this change from an individualist to a collectivist form of living, he became, in time, the king of animals; hunting instead of being hunted.

How long he lived in this stage, no one knows but we do know that other changes have taken place since then, and we also know that since this time one set of men have ruled and dominated over a portion of the world, and have used their fellowmen as slaves, and we also know that as soon as this state of affairs began men found that they had another struggle—a struggle between master and slaves: (The Class Struggle.)

Now as time has progressed there has also occurred changes in the modes of this struggle from chattel slavery, which lasted for thousands of years to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism. Capitalism has been in existence since the 15th century, and is an offspring of feudalism, and instead of men working three days on their master's estate for their masters, and three days for themselves, the present form of slavery, wage slavery, obtains, and by the introduction of wage slavery the class struggle has taken on different aspects. The slaves have been compelled to keep up a continual defensive struggle to try and stop or retard the encroachment and tyranny of the master class.

At first, they were forced to meet in secret, to devise ways and means whereby they could defend themselves from the cruelty of their masters, and by reading the first volume of Capital, by Marx, I find that they fought for five hundred years before they wrested from their masters the right to meet openly and form their craft unions, where they could meet and discuss their working conditions, and by the collectivity of their craft, devise ways and means to improve their own material interest, and since this time the workers have been forced to periodically test their strength against that of their masters sometimes through strikes and sometimes through lockouts, and to quote Marx again, "the victory going sometimes to one and sometimes to the other." As time goes by these struggles gradually become greater both

REFLECTIONS ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE

"The class relation between the capitalist and the wage laborer is therefore established from the moment that they meet in the act M-L, which signifies L-M from the standpoint of the laborer. It is indeed a sale and purchase, a money relation, but it is a sale and a purchase in which the buyer is a capitalist and the seller a wage laborer. And this relation arises out of the fact that the conditions required for the materialization of labor, viz: means of subsistence and means of production, are separated from the owner of labor power and are the property of another." (Capital, Vol. 2,

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Such outlandish and unworkable places as Scapa Flow and Lerwick, Cromarty and Stormoway appear, while at Rosyth, directly opposite the Baltic, a large naval station is almost completed. That these preparations were aimed at Germany no one will deny. That commercial expansion and international peace could continue for long only those who have surrendered their reason to a wave of hysteria would attempt to maintain. We will close this series of articles by proving this last statement, and pointing out the possible outcome of the present War.

DISCUSSION ON CLASS STRUGGLE

(Contributors are advised that personalities will not be tolerated)

Editor Clarion,—
In your issue of Dec. 5th, 1914, No. 760, appeared an article, "As to the Class Struggle." In the following issue some comment on this article was made. In my opinion nothing definite has yet been attained.

To us who have studied past history it is made very clear there is more than the struggle. Marx tells us that all history is a history of class struggles. Plural, not singular.

A struggle is an effect of some cause or causes. For instance, a man discovers his flour-barrel is empty (involving cause and effect). An effect (and a fact) is evidenced, then a struggle commences. A fact (or effect) must be made evident before we become conscious of either.

A struggle takes place to fill the flour barrel; when full the fact (effect) is removed.

As to the class struggle, Marx says: "All previous historical movements are movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities; the proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority."

How did the proletariat become self-conscious? Was it not by the discovery of a fact? What fact? Let Marx tell us. In substance he says: "We find that all the preceding classes which obtained the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their own conditions of APPROPRIATION."

When the proletariat discovers this will they declare a strike, or wrangle among themselves? No! They will proceed to do what the man did in the case of the flour barrel—institute at once a struggle to remove a fact (effect). That is legal appropriation.

They will strike with all their might at that power which enables the master-class to impose this condition upon them—at the political machine. As Marx says, "Every class struggle is a political struggle."

Now to the commodity struggle. We know that the laborer has nothing to sell but his labor-power, which is a commodity, and that he is compelled to sell in a competitive market. Is this struggle with the master class? No! It is a struggle of the class with its own class. An inter-class struggle.

To cite Marx again, we find the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively upon competition between the laborers—a resting place not to be evaded.

Also a commodity struggle takes

place among the master class.

This is written with the sole purpose of gaining knowledge, which is power.

Fraternally,

A. McINTOSH.

"From these two remarks, and indeed from the whole trend of the article, we are led to believe that the class struggle came into existence after or at the same time that we became conscious of it. In other words, that our consciousness determines that there is such a thing as the class struggle." But if we examine the proposition a little closer we find that we cannot become conscious of a thing that does not exist, and therefore that the class struggle must have had an existence prior to our knowledge of it."

The above is from an article that appeared in W. C. No. 763, under the head of "The Class Struggle." It is plain that the author differs with some one as to which came first, the class struggle or its consciousness. This raises the old argument: Which came first, the idea or the fact? But before this question can be discussed intelligently it is necessary that the fact under discussion should be stated. All facts, everything that exists, is matter.

For the sake of understanding we distinguish between matter, or I should say forms of matter that exist independent of man, and forms of matter that exist because of man; the former we call natural, the latter artificial. If by the fact we mean anything natural, it is obvious that the fact precedes the idea. All ideas are the result of the connection of objects outside of us with the senses which are in turn connected with the brain. Without these outside objects there would be nothing to see, hear, taste, feel, or smell, hence no idea would be possible. The brain alone could not produce any; for to produce anything at all, the brain, like the body, needs raw material; it needs sense perception. Even such concepts as gods, devils, angels, mermaids, ghosts, etc., are not born of the brain alone, but by the brain aided by the senses and outside objects. The ghost is a man cremated. The devil, half man and half animal, with horns, tail, and cloven hoof. Angels are half human, half bird. The mermaid is half human, half fish. There is nothing, neither in heaven nor hell, but what had its origin on earth. All these things, although they only exist in men's minds,

through the human mind, i. e., they must be preceded by their concepts. To say that a thing can not be preceded by its concept, is as foolish as to say that the concept of a thing can not remain once its cause has disappeared.

What was the cause of the condition that brought the class struggle into being? First, it was necessary that man could produce more than what was necessary for his own subsistence. But could that condition alone without conscious beings bring classes into being? Or could the consciousness arising from that condition alone do it? Not at all. It was neither one nor the other, but both. The material condition mirrored itself on the mind of man, in which turned created the desire to conquer and enslave his fellow man and the concept of the class struggle, slavery; the struggle followed sooner or later according to circumstances. For two groups of men to meet in combat, and one to conquer and enslave the other without either being conscious of the struggle and their relations to each other, is difficult to conceive. Which will come first, the co-operative commonwealth, or its concept? "The social revolution can not achieve its object, unless it first becomes a vivid fact in the minds of the workers themselves by virtue of the clear perception of their class-interests and of the strength which their union will give them."—E. Ferri, "Socialism and Modern Science," page 143.

The above may be dubbed as Idealism, but is not Idealism embraced by Materialism. Modern materialism does not teach us that the economic conditions are the sole factor in human progress; nor that the ideology is the sole factor; but that it is both—the economic factor of course is the dominant one, but the idea plays its part also.

If I don't take up too much space, Mr. Editor, I would like to borrow the illustration of the blood corpuscle and show that the analogy does not apply. In the first place, blood corpuscles are unconscious things! And even though they were conscious, there are no material interests at stake, as we understand the term. As a rule, the organism in whose interior a struggle of blood corpuscles take place, never becomes conscious of the fact. All he knows is that there is something wrong. He consults a third party, one who has made a study of such conditions and the elements that compose them and their nature—a physician. The physician may tell him that a typhoid germ has entered his blood and has locked horns with a white corpuscle; still he is no more conscious of the battle than he was before; he is no more conscious of the real struggle than the Christian is conscious of a real god; they have just been told, that's all. In the case of the blood corpuscles the consciousness has to be sought in a third party, but in the struggle which it is compared with, the class struggle, there is no place for the third party.

But let the conflict of the corpuscles be compared to the basic conflict in human society, which is also between unconscious things, and like the cor-

"The class relation between the capitalist and the wage laborer is therefore established from the moment that they meet in the act M-L, which signifies L-M from the standpoint of the laborer. It is indeed a sale and purchase, a money relation, but it is a sale and a purchase in which the buyer is a capitalist and the seller a wage laborer. And this relation arises out of the fact that the conditions required for the materialization of labor, viz: means of subsistence and means of production, are separated from the owner of labor power and are the property of another." (Capital, Vol. 2, Ch. 1, p. 38).

A struggle between classes is a class struggle: the sellers of labor power are proletarians; the buyers are capitalists; violent struggles take place over the sale and purchase of labor power; therefore, these struggles are class struggles. Adverse legislation and adverse interpretation of laws by the judiciary (Taff Vale decision, Danbury Hatters' case, Buck Stone Company case, compulsory arbitration, etc.) have forced the workers to take political action in their fight with the capitalists; therefore that phase of the class struggle in which the workers are resisting capitalist aggression and endeavoring to obtain a larger part of the wealth they produce, is political as well as industrial. Socialist legislators, those of Canada included, are prevented by the limitations of the period from introducing revolutionary measures, but their efforts are largely confined to better the worker in his struggle for better conditions such as the protection of life, limb, wages, organization, etc.

The immaturity of the proletariat forces class conscious socialists to engage in such activities in order to protect their civil, legal and political rights, their standard of living, etc., and that they may carry on their propaganda, pending the revolution. Freedom of contract can exist only between parties on an economic equality. Capitalists and proletarians are not on an economic equality. Therefore the attempt to divest the industrial struggle of its class nature; to deny it political form; to place it outside of socialist activities and to make it a bargain between free agents is unscientific and not in accordance with the facts. It is also un-Marxian. The industrial struggle demands political rights. Political strength will, until the collapse of the system, be largely used for the purpose of aiding the workers in resisting capitalist aggression.

ARTHUR MASTERS.

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of Capital, by Marx, I find that they fought for five hundred years before they wrested from their masters the right to meet openly and form their craft-unions, where they could meet and discuss their working conditions, and by the collectivity of their craft, devise ways and means to improve their own material interest, and since this time the workers have been forced to periodically test their strength against that of their masters sometimes through lockouts, and to quote Marx again, "the victory going sometimes to one and sometimes to the other." As time goes by these struggles gradually become greater both in number and in severity, and as the modes of production become efficient the chances of victory for the workers are becoming less.

Through the great improvement in machinery the unemployed army is daily growing and this army is detrimental to the other workers in times of strikes and lockouts. These conditions are gradually forcing the workers to see that their organizations are not keeping pace with the ever-changing mode of production, and thereby making it necessary for their unions to step from craft to industrial unions so as to be better able to combat centralized capital which is yearly becoming stronger and stronger, the smaller industries are being pushed out of business by the greater and more productive concerns.

These conditions are beginning to open the eyes of the workers to a more up-to-date method of fighting. Through their experiences of the tactics used by their masters during strikes and lockouts, they have found that from this unemployed army can be found and used a certain portion of the members of their own class, some through hunger, but mostly through ignorance, to act as scabs and special police and even "tomies," and also the judges, who are supposed to be men placed in a position to deliver out justice, which no doubt they do—master-class justice—the class that they are members of. Now these actions and conditions are beginning to show the workers that they have still further to advance from striking against the encroachments of the master class, and to wage a war against the ownership of the means of life, also to control the lawcourts, police, armies and navies as long as they are necessary, which won't be long when controlled in the interests of all instead of a few. We as Socialists should do all in our power to educate our fellow workers to the nature of this struggle, and sever miss an opportunity to put our principles before the people, both male and female, and work for the overthrow of the present damnable system.

I remain,

Yours in revolt,

JOS. NAYLOR.

Bernard Shaw undoubtedly is saying many sensible things about the war, but at this time it is very foolish to talk sensibly.—Chicago News.

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