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HERE have never been so many pacifists as at this moment, when people are slaying each other on all the great highways of our planet. Each epoch has not only its own technology and political forms, but also its own style of hypocrisy. Time was when the nations destroyed each other for the glory of Christ's teachings and the love of one's neighbor. Now, Christ is invoked only by backward governments. The advanced nations cut each other's throats under the banners of pacifism. Wilson plunged the United States into war in the name of a league of nations and a durable peace. Kerensky and Tseretelli shout for an offensive, in the name of an "early conclusion of peace."

There is no Juvenal for this epoch, to depict it with biting satire. Yet we are forced to admit that even the most powerful satire would appear weak and insignificant in the presence of blatant baseness and cringing stupidity, two of the elements which have been released by the present war.

Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy—these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded

## PACIFISM IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM

By Leon Trotsky

Reprinted from the "Class Struggle," Nov.-Dec., 1917

legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs. Naturally, its rationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nations—with the tongues of poesy, moral philosophy, and certified accounting—that they would profit more by the establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth, pacifism was afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy: its pointed criticisms addressed themselves to the surface of political phenomena, not daring to penetrate to their economic causes. At the hands of capitalist reality, the idea of eternal peace, on the basis of a "reasonable" agreement, has fared even more badly than the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. For capitalism, when it rationalized industrial conditions, did not rationalize the social organization of ownership, and thus pre-

pared instruments of destruction such as even the "barbarous" middle ages never dreamed of.

The constant embitterment of international relations and the ceaseless growth of militarism completely undermined the basis of reality under the feet of pacifism. Yet it was from these very things that pacifism took a new lease of life, a life which differed from its earlier phase as the blood and purple sunset differs from the rosy-fingered dawn.

The decades preceding the present war have been well designated as a period of armed peace. During this whole period campaigns were in uninterrupted progress and battles were being fought, but they were in the colonies.

Proceeding, as they did, in the territories of backward and powerless peoples, these wars led to a division of Africa, Polynesia and Asia and prepared the way for the present world war. As, however, there were no wars in Europe proper after 1871—in spite of a long series of sharp conflicts—the general opinion in petit bourgeois circles began gradually to behold in the growth of armies a guarantee of peace, which was destined ultimately to be established by international law with every institutional sanction. Capitalist governments and munitions kings naturally had no objections to this "pacifist" interpretation of militarism. But the causes of world conflicts were accumulating and the present cataclysm was getting under way.

Theoretically and politically, pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonism between the classes. And if we admit the possibility of a progressive blunting of the edge of the class struggle, it requires but a single further step to accept a gradual softening and regulating of international relations.

The source of the ideology of democracy, with all its traditions and illusions, is the petite bourgeoisie. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it suffered a complete internal transformation, but was by no means eliminated from political life. At the very moment that the development of capitalist technology was inexorably undermining its economic function, the general suffrage right and universal military service were still giving to the petite bourgeoisie, thanks to its numerical strength, an appearance of political importance. Big capital, in so far as it did not completely wipe out this class, subordinated it to its own ends by means of the applications of the credit system. All that remained for the political representatives of Big Capital to do was to subjugate the petite bourgeoisie, in the political arena, to their purposes, by opening a fictitious credit to the declared theories and prejudices of this class. It is for this reason that, in the decade preceding the war, we witnessed, side by side with the gigantic efforts of a reactionary-imperialistic policy, a deceptive flowering of bourgeois democracy with its accompanying reformism and pacifism. Capital was making use of the petite bourgeoisie for the prosecution of Capital's imperialistic purposes by exploiting the ideologic prejudices of the petite bourgeoisie.

Probably there is no other country in which this double process was so unmistakably accomplishing itself as in France. France is the classic land of financial capital,

which leans for its support on the petite bourgeoisie of the cities and towns, the most conservative class of the kind in the world, and numerically very strong. Thanks to foreign loans, to the colonies, to the alliance of France with Russia and England, the financial upper crust of the Third Republic found itself involved in all the interests and conflicts of world politics. And yet, the French petite bourgeois is an out and out provincial. He has always shown an instinctive aversion to geography and all his life has feared war as the very devil—if only for the reason that he has, in most cases, but one son, who is to inherit his business, together with his chattels. This petite bourgeois sends to Parliament a Radical who has promised him to preserve peace—on the one hand, by means of a league of nations and compulsory international arbitration, on the other hand, with the co-operation of Russian Cossacks, who are to hold the German Kaiser in check. This radical deputy, drawn from the provincial lawyer class, goes to Paris not only with the best intentions, but also without the slightest conception of the location of the Persian Gulf, and what is the use, and to whom, of the Bagdad Railway. The radical "pacifists" bloc of deputies gives birth to a radical ministry, which at once finds itself bound hand and foot by all the diplomatic and military obligations and financial interests of the French bourse in Russia, Africa and Asia. Never ceasing to pronounce the proper pacifistic sentences, the ministry and the parliament automatically continue to carry on a world-policy which involves France in war.

English and American pacifism, in spite of the differences in social and ideologic forms (or in the absence of such, as in America) is carrying on, at bottom, the same task; it offers to the petite and middle bourgeoisie an expression for their fears of world cataclysms in which they may lose their last remnants of independence; their pacifism chlor-

forms their consciences—by means of impotent ideas of disarmaments, international law and world courts—only to deliver them up body and soul, at the decisive moment, to imperialistic Capital, which now mobilizes everything for its own purposes: industry, the church, and bourgeois pacifism and patriotism.

"We have always been opposed to war; our representatives, our ministry have been opposed to war," says the French citizen, therefore the war must have been forced upon us, and in the name of our pacifist ideals we must fight it to a finish. And the leader of the French pacifists, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, indorses this pacifist philosophy of an imperialist war with a pompous *jusqu'au bout* ("to the end").

The English Stock Exchange, in its prosecution of the war, had no first of all of pacifists of the Asquith (Liberal) and Lloyd George (Radical demagogue) type. "If these people go in for war," say the English masses, "right must be on our side." Thus a responsible function is allotted to pacifism, in the economy of warfare by the side of suffocating gases and inflated government loans.

More evident still is the subordinate role played by the petite bourgeois pacifism with regard to imperialism in the United States. The actual policy is there more prominently dictated by banks and trusts than anywhere else. Even before the war the United States, owing to the gigantic development of its industry and its foreign commerce, was being systematically driven in the direction of world interests and world policies. The European war imparted to this imperialistic development a speed that was positively feverish. At a time when many well-meaning persons were hoping that the horrors of the European slaughter might inspire the American bourgeoisie with a hatred of militarism, the actual influence of European event was bearing on

American policy not in psychological channels, but in material ones, and was having precisely the opposite effect. The exports of the United States, which in 1913 amounted to 2,466 billions of dollars, rose in 1916 to 5,481 billions. Of course the lion's share of this export fell to the lot of the war industries. The sudden breaking off of exports to the allied nations after the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare meant not only the stoppage of a flow of monstrous profits, but threatened with an unprecedented crisis the whole of American industry, which had been organized on a war footing. Hence the following appeal by Capital to the Government: "Under the ensigns of neutrality and pacifism you have aided the development of our war industries; you now must guarantee the safety of our sales." If the government cannot at once promise the establishment of "freedom of the seas" it can create a new market, in America, for the war industries which are now choking with their own products. The act of aiding and abetting the European slaughter led inexorably to a catastrophic militarization of the United States at a single stroke.

It was impossible for this thing to go on without some resistance from the masses of the people. To overcome their unorganized satisfaction and to turn it into the channels of patriotic co-operation with the government was therefore the first task for the internal diplomacy of the United States during the first quarter of the present year. And it is the irony of history that the official "pacifism" of Wilson, as well as the "opposition pacifism" of Bryan, should be the chief instruments for the accomplishment of this task: the education of the masses to military ideals.

Bryan rashly and noisily expressed the natural aversion of the farmers and of the "small man" generally, to all such things as world-policy, military service and higher taxes. Yet, at the same time that he

was sending wagonloads of petitions, as well as deputations, to his pacifist colleagues at the head of the government, Bryan did everything in his power to break the revolutionary edge of the whole movement. "If war should come," Bryan telegraphed, on the occasion of an anti-war meeting in Chicago last February, "we will all support the government, of course; yet at this moment it is our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war." These few words contain the entire program of petit bourgeois pacifism: "to do everything in our power against the war" means to afford the voice of popular indignation an outlet in the form of a harmless demonstration, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition, in the case of war, from the pacifist faction.

Official pacifism could have desired nothing better. It could now give to warlike Capital a satisfactory assurance of imperialistic "preparedness." After Bryan's own declaration, only one thing was necessary, to dispose of his noisy opposition to war, and that was, simple, to declare war. And so Wilson did, and Bryan rolled right over into the government camp. And not only the petite bourgeoisie, but also the broad masses of the workers, said to themselves: "If our government, with such an outspoken pacifist as Wilson at the head, declares war, and if even Bryan supports the government in this war, this war must be an unavoidable and righteous war."

It is now evident why the sanctimonious, quakerlike pacifism of the bourgeois demagogues is in such high favor in financial and war-industry circles.

Our Menshevist and Social-Revolutionist pacifism, in spite of apparent differences, is, in reality, playing the same part as American pacifism. The resolution on war passed by the majority of the Pan-Russian Congress of Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants, condemns

the war not only from a pacifist standpoint, but also because of the imperialistic character of the war. The Congress declares the struggle for an early conclusion of the war to be "the most important task of revolutionary democracy." But all these premises are merely mobilized so that they may lead to the conclusion: "until such time as the war may be ended by the international forces of democracy, the Russian revolutionary democracy will be obliged in every possible way to cooperate in strengthening the fighting power of our army and rendering it efficient for both offensive and defensive action."

The revision of the old international treaties, the Congress, like the Provisional Government, would make dependent on a voluntary agreement of the allied diplomacy, which, in its very nature, neither desires, nor is it able, to relinquish the imperialistic aims of the war. The Congress, following its leaders makes the "international forces of democracy" depend on the will of the social-patriots, who are bound by iron chains to their imperialistic governments. Voluntarily restricting themselves in the question of "an early end of the war," to this charmed circle, the majority of the Congress naturally arrive at a very definite conclusion in the domain of practical politics: an offensive on the military fronts. This "pacifism," which solidifies and disciplines the petit bourgeois democracy and induces it to support an offensive, ought manifestly to be on the most friendly terms not only with the Russian imperialists, but also with those of the allied nations.

Milyukov says: "In the name of our fidelity to our allies, and to the old (diplomatic) treaties, we must have an offensive."

Kerensky and Tschetelli say: "Although the old diplomatic treaties have not yet been revised, we must have an offensive."

The arguments may differ; the policy is the same. Nor could it be otherwise, since Kerensky and Tschetelli

telli are indissolubly bound up in the government with the party of Milukov. As a matter of fact, the social-patriotic pacifism of the Dans, as the quaker pacifism of the Bryans, are both operating in the service of imperialism.

In view of this state of affairs, the chief task of Russian diplomacy is not to make allied diplomacy refrain from this act or that or to revise this thing or that, but to make allied diplomacy believe that the Russian revolution is safe and sound and solvent. The Russian Ambassador Bakmetieff, in his speech before the Congress of the United States, delivered on June 10, characterized the Provisional Government chiefly from this point of view.

"All these circumstances," said the Ambassador, "point to the fact that the power and significance of the Provisional Government are growing day by day; that with each passing moment the Provisional Government is becoming better able to cope with all those elements that mean disaster, whether they take the form of reactionary propaganda or that of an agitation by the members of the extreme left. At the present time the Provisional Government is determined to take the most drastic steps in this direction, resorting to force, if need be, in spite of its constant endeavors for a peaceful solution of all questions."

There is no doubt that the "national honor" of our "defenders" remains absolutely unruined while the Ambassador of "revolutionary democracy" fervently persuades the parliament of the American plutocracy of the readiness of the Russian government to pour out the blood of the Russian proletariat in the name of "order," the chief ingredient of which is a fidelity to allied capitalism.

And at the very moment when Bakmetieff stood hat in hand, a humiliating speech passing over his lips, in the presence of the representatives of capitalism, Tsartelli and Kerensky were explaining to the revolutionary democracy how

armed force in its fight with the "anarchy of the left," and threatening to disarm the workers of Petrograd and the regiment which made common cause with them. We know that these threats came just in the nick of time; they served as a strong argument in favor of the Russian Loan in Wall Street. "You see," Mr. Bakmetieff was in a position to say to Mr. Wilson, "our revolutionary pacifism differs in no respect from your own brand of pacifism, and if you put your faith in Bryan there is no reason why you should distrust Tsaretelli."

There remains to us only the necessity of putting one question: How much Russian flesh and Russian blood will it take—on the external front as well as in the interior, in order to secure the Russian Loan, which, in its turn, is to guarantee our continued fidelity to the Allies?

THE ELECTION

THE Dominion Election which recently became a mere matter of history, was unique in many ways. The nature of the alleged issue—conscription—was sufficient to place definitely in the category of reactionary those supposed revolutionaries who caught at the Laurier or Labor bait as a possible means of obtaining respite from the bonds of military servitude. For this, at least, we can be thankful.

However, the interest displayed presented a golden opportunity for presenting anew the Socialist position. We are assured that many wage slaves heard the message for the first time, and indications are not wanting that the seed fell on fruitful soil.

While members of the campaign committee, together with the candidates were compelled to chase the elusive meal ticket on days when meetings were arranged; while, in short, that thing known as organization or machine work was absent, nevertheless the crowds that flocked to hear capitalism analysed and capitalist political shysters exposed, together with the steady increase in

the ordinary Sunday evening's propaganda meeting audiences is alone sufficient warrant for our entrance into the fight.

The vast crowd which filled the Avenue Theatre in Vancouver on the occasion of the other candidates' acceptance of our challenge was in itself worth while. Our case lost nothing but gained everything by the comparisons made and the unrefuted charges upon the present system given by the Socialists.

That many were shaken up to the extent of realizing that here was a position which demanded the truth, that here was a body of thought which not only ruthlessly criticized but also unsuccessfully demanded criticism was clearly obvious.

That the respective cases—or lack of them—of both H. H. Stevens and W. W. B. McInnes were exploded easily by the Socialist candidate, while the challenge was reiterated that they could not and dared not steal our thunder or overthrow our position, these things went far to compelling many workers to come over to the propaganda meetings to find out if possible something more about the matter.

Considering the limited area—Vancouver Centre—in which, because of financial stringency, we were compelled to work, the vote (although the vote in itself is not what we desire) turned out very good.

Many hare-brained reformers whose only interest in the election was the defeat of Borden, corruption and conscription, have mourned woefully at the result, the women's vote, etc., etc., all of which was a foregone conclusion, when the War Times Election Act was understood to any person possessing sense.

The women's vote was a working women's vote for the most part and all the comfort we can draw from it is that our attitude again has been proven correct. That is: education only will ensure success. Then altogether, men and women! Spread the light. W. A. F.

THE ELECTION IN ALBERTA

THE ballots are cast and the master class government again returned to power. It is a paradox indeed that those who toil in mill, mine and field doing all the useful work in society should desire, and even fight, to remain in economic bondage, to be ruled and exploited when the opportunity is ever in their hands to break the galling chains of slavery. Many flocked, through fear, behind the camouflage of Liberalism thereby hoping to escape the latest demands of capitalism—"the conscription of slaves." They are untutored who expect any leniency from a capitalist government no matter of what shade or color the working class will have to drink the bitter cup to the dregs before they become conscious of their slave position.

In looking over the campaign just closed we can safely say, from the standpoint of propaganda, it has been the most successful one ever engaged in by the Socialist Party of Canada. Though the votes, so far, do not come up to what we anticipated, nevertheless it is well to know that those cast for the Socialist in this election can be well regarded as class conscious votes.

Red Deer

In the Red Deer riding a vigorous campaign was put up by Comrade Joseph R. Knight. His forceful method of delivery and clear analysis of the European conflict brought him large audiences at every meeting. He was accompanied by Mrs. Knight, who rendered valuable service throughout the whole campaign. Mention must also be made of Com. R. C. Owens, who, though 82 years of age, faced the storm and cold of an Albertan winter and succeeded in holding about twenty meetings.

Bow River

Bow River constituency was contested by Comrade John Reid, who made an extensive tour through the

whole riding. This was a four cornered fight, Conservative, Liberal, Non-Partizan and Socialist. The reformer's dope dished out by the Non-Partizan candidate coupled with a wave of fear had the tendency of leaving Jock the pure "rebel" vote. Much credit is due Comrade Reid in the manner he handled the campaign. A word of praise must be said of Com. F. L. Kelly, who assisted Comrades Reid and Paton by taking the road on a literature distributing campaign. He certainly performed a useful function.

Medicine Hat

In the Medicine Hat riding the candidate was Comrade George Paton, who made a successful propaganda tour extending to almost every point in the constituency. Owing to the blizzard that swept over Alberta during the last week of the campaign, a few meetings had to be abandoned. Good assistance was rendered by Comrade W. W. Lefaux, who travelled from Vancouver to enter the scrap in this district. Owing to the inability of Com. Paton to thoroughly cover the southern part of the riding Comrades Wiley Orr, B. E. Polinkas and A. Adams made a systematic distribution of leaflets in that part.

Briefly reviewing the whole campaign we are well satisfied with what has been accomplished. Meetings were held in districts hitherto untouched, much literature was distributed and large audiences listened attentively to our propagandists. We appreciate the earnest and active support given by every comrade in the three ridings in arranging meetings, conveying speakers and distributing leaflets. With continued efforts we may hope for better results in the future.

At the time of writing there has only been about 90 out of 190 polls heard from in each riding, showing a voting average of two to four votes to each poll.

The Alberta and Saskatchewan

Executive committee will have out in a few weeks a full report of last year's propaganda, which will be large owing to the activities in the Provincial election, anti-conscription campaign, and the Federal election, and will include a financial statement of funds received for Federal Election Campaign.

John F. Maguire.

WINNIPEG LOCAL No. 3, S. P. of C.

Copy of Resolution Passed at Meeting, December 12th, 1917

Moved by Alex. Paterson, seconded by Sam Shuttleworth.

That this Local places on record the sympathy of the members at the loss sustained by Comrade Jas. F. Christer, our Recording Secretary, and Librarian, in the death of his wife.

Further, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded for publication in the "Western Clarion."

Moved by J. R. Waters, seconded by W. Ashton.

Whereas the actions of John Gabriel Soltis, late S. P. of A. candidate for Congress in Minneapolis, now camouflaging in the Lib-Lab, interest in the City of Winnipeg as Editor of the "Labor News," which has for its motto "The Truth Shall Prevail," and as the curtain raiser at various meetings in the Laurier interests throughout this city, are in direct opposition to the Party platform.

It is hereby resolved by the unanimous vote of Local No. 3, Winnipeg, S. P. of C., that the aforesaid John Gabriel Soltis be expelled from this party.

So that the movement in general may be protected against the activities of such individuals and in order that "The Truth Shall Prevail" we hope the D. E. C. will give this matter the greatest possible publicity.

Yours for Socialism,

C. INMAN,

Secretary Local No. 3.

## The Western Clarion

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The prevailing idea seems to be that the "cost" of the war will be borne by succeeding generations. Huge loans have been floated in all belligerent countries and there is every likelihood of a continuance of the practice as long as the butchery lasts. According to the "Family Herald" for October 17th, 1917, the daily cost of the war is 117 millions of dollars. That is to say that commodities with a value equal to that vast sum are consumed every six hours—on the average.

It has become the custom to talk glibly of the cost of the war without stopping to think of what that cost is composed. Most people comprehend that the blood part of it is being paid for now, but the munitions, ships, foods, etc. are supposed to be paid for by future generations. The commodities that are consumed by the armies, etc., although different in physical characteristics to those usually consumed in peace times, have at least, this similarity; they exist only as a result of the expenditure of human energy—labor. A great part of them (foodstuffs,

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clothing, building material, etc.), differ very little from similar lines produced prior to 1914. Only an idiot would contend that all these goods are being produced by future generations it being obvious that the munition makers, the farmers and shipbuilders, are toiling today, not to produce that which was used yesterday, but on that which will be consumed tomorrow.

The actual, real payment for all those 117 millions dollars worth of war commodities is clearly determined by the nature of the real cost of those commodities. That real cost, without the expenditure of which they could not exist is labor—the only process by which Man has ever converted the natural resources of the earth to forms which he can use. The working class is making that payment from day to day. It produces the food and clothing for the soldiers and sailors, makes the vast engines of destruction and supplies, at an ever increasing rate, the shot and shell with which to feed them; in a word—does all the work incidental to war.

As far as the war's cost in blood and sweat goes, the working class is indeed paying for it as it goes on day by day. And what else counts for us workers? Since we, as a class are doing the fighting and toiling, the financial relations existing between different groups of those who really do own wealth, the capitalist class does not concern us. We get our corned beef and cabbage (except Tuesdays and Fridays) just as Dobbin gets his hay and oats and for the same reason, namely, that the brute cannot work without them.

The lesson for the workers is an easy one. Who are there amongst us who are so thick headed that they cannot see, how they are exploited? The 117 million dollars

worth of commodities, all produced by the working class and used up every day (with nothing to show for them but a bunch of shell holes and some human fragments) are by no means owned by that class. The only thing that the workers own is their wages, for which they have given an equivalent—their labor power. The commodities they produce belong to those who pay their wages—the capitalist class. But since all those things which workers buy with their wages—food, clothing and shelter—are a part of their total product, it is self evident that the enormous amount of commodities produced, but not owned, by them are, by that very fact, so much loot extracted from them—as honey from the bee—by the employing class. The facts stand out too clearly now for the workers to be any longer deluded into the belief that they are not exploited (I like the word robbed better myself). No longer can the old argument (!) that the workers can not get any more because they are lazy, good for nothing drunkards, be used with success, except to the feeble minded.

"We workers are being forced to realize the reality of our slavery, firstly because the exploitation is becoming so apparent and secondly because our masters have shown themselves to be a ruthless and hypocritical class. The time honored belief in British (French American as the case may be) Justice, Freedom and Fairplay, has been all shot to pieces. The treatment of the members of our class who have fought for their (the capitalists!) country has been equalled for callousness and trickery only by the treatment of the women left behind.

When will we realize our position, our interests and our strength!

Ambrose Tree.

## MODERN SCRIBBLERS

A little more than one hundred years ago the poet Byron wrote a satire in the form of a poem entitled "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," the object of which was to criticize the ignorance and hypocrisy of the popular writers, especially the bards of England and Scotland, at that time. In his preface to the poem Byron in answer to some of his friends who urged him not to publish it, says:

"But the unquestionable possession of considerable genius by several of the writers here censured renders their mental prostitution more to be regretted. Imbecility may be pitied, or, at worst, laughed at and forgotten: perverted powers demand the most decided reprehension."

If in the opinion of Byron such men as Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Thomas Moore, and William Wordsworth, were either mental prostitutes or imbeciles, what would be his opinion of the infernal hypocrites and imbeciles who disgrace the literary world in England and America today? We may ask the question but there is no answer. Alas! Byron is no more, nor have we a lordly poet of the type of Byron today to lash these modern scribblers with sarcastic wit, while anything a slave may say is lost amidst the clash of arms and the roar of the war gods, or war dogs, or whatever they are who roar.

Again in another satire, "The Vision of Judgment," Byron speaking of Southey and his frantic efforts to gain favor with the ruling class of that time, he says:

"Had turned his coat—and would have turned his skin."

Well Southey had nothing on some of our modern prophets and philosophers. It is not necessary to mention any names, their name is legion, anyone interested may count a dozen or two of his own selecting, and anyone that the hat fits may put it on.

Besides the writers who have always, under all circumstances, in every way consistently prostituted their intelligence in the interest of the parasite class, and those who at one time for reasons best known to themselves displayed a radical or socialist trade mark and are now bawling their patriotism from the housetops, there are some who were almost agnostics but under the magic spell of the war's influence, have found Jesus, others who never lost him but merely neglected him, have come back to the fold, while still others have become spiritualists, which cult as Grant Allen has shown, is a return to ghost worship, and is therefore religion in its dotage, and we may be excused for assuming that most of its adherents, young or old, are also in their dotage.

Whether this attempt to revive a dying superstition, and boost nationalism and imperialism, in order that the slaves may be kept mentally chloroformed and ignorant of their class interests, and thereby help to perpetuate the most contemptible form of slavery that has ever polluted the earth, will have the desired effect or not remains to be seen. There is no disputing the fact that it has helped to do so up to the present time, and may continue to do so for some time to come. But the capitalist system has become so old and decrepit that it is doubtful if any medicine can prolong its life much. The capitalist class and its hirelings however, act on the assumption that what has been good once must be good always and as this literary drivel has done good service in the past in keeping the slaves docile and obedient, therefore keep it up, and if it does not seem to take effect the way it used to, increase the dose. If a little is good more must be better.

But it is a well known fact, that any medicine or any diet, no matter how beneficial it may be when taken in moderation, becomes nauseating and injurious if taken too often and in too large doses. Consequently it

would seem that this continued propagation of ideas that are diametrically opposed to all scientific knowledge, natural laws, and even ordinary every day observation, must eventually defeat its own end, and react against the writers and the class in whose interest they write. As the old proverb has it: "Lies like chickens come home to roost."

It is true that these literary hirelings, hypocrites or imbeciles, as the case may be, are not freewill agents. They are creatures of their environment one of the vilest products of a slave system, for it is only under a slave system that neutral prostitution or any other kind of prostitution can exist.

In a free society the necessary qualifications for mental prostitution might exist potentially in some individuals, but they could never be developed. There could be no incentive and no necessity for such a thing as every person would be free to express his thoughts and write the truth as he saw it, and there would be nothing to gain by doing otherwise. At the present time, however, and always as long as slavery has been in existence, it is very often not safe, and never profitable to write the truth. On the other hand, it is always safe and nearly always profitable to write lies, if those lies are useful in keeping the slaves servile and obedient and maintaining the capitalist class in power. Take any person then, with the ability to scribble, an unscrupulous character, and the ambition to stand in good with the powers that be, place him in such an environment and you have a mental prostitute. He could not be anything else under the circumstances, but that is no reason why we should not criticize him.

It is not the fault of the rattlesnake that he is a loathsome and deadly reptile, but the fact that he is a creature of conditions and circumstances over which he has no control, is no reason why we should not protect ourselves against his deadly venom if we can, and when

we can, by drawing his fangs or bruising his head.

We cannot expect to draw the fangs of those human reptiles by criticism, although we might help some of them a little, but we can help counteract the influence of the poisonous lies they inject into society by doing what we can to educate our fellow slaves to understand their class position and thereby make it possible for them to analyze what they read, and winnow the wheat from the chaff.

F. J. McNeey.

#### OUR BOOKSHELF.

##### THE BACKWASH OF WAR

By Ellen N. La Motte. C. P. Putnam and Sons.

The book deals with "the human wreckage of the battlefield as witnessed by an American hospital nurse." Not a pleasant subject, and Miss La Motte does not attempt the worthless task of making it so. All the perfume of Arabia cannot drown the stench from the dung hill and the charnal house. Not being of those who having eyes see not and minds think not, her book is worth buying, reading, re-reading and remembering. It contains thirteen short incidents of life in the backwash of war. In her introduction she states that "a peace that shall endure" can only come "when clean little lives boil up in the backwash." I suspect sarcasm here, for Ellen has a subtle vein of satire. The dung hill will be sweet and pleasant when it sprouts in profusion only lilies and lilacs and roses. But when?

"Heroes" is the first story, and concerns a deserter who had attempted to blow his head off and failed. He was rushed to the hospital to be rescued for the firing squad. The surgeon took pains with the job.

"The night nurse" (perhaps the author) was given to reflection." She reflects on the heroes, Alexandre was brave, having been decorated, but in defiance of the Major Doctor's orders and the com-

fort of the other wounded, he had smoked, "defying them from behind his military medal." Felix was brave, but vain, all day he combed and twisted his moustache before a hand mirror, which he slept with in his hand." Alphonse was greedy he had eaten a dozen pears before the longing eyes of the other heroes who did not receive gifts from home, and then added to the already too foul atmosphere by vomiting. Hippolyte had a filthy mind and unburdened it loudly so all could hear. Wherein were these men superior to the deserter? The candle burned out. The night nurse lights another, and continues her reflection. These men had ideals. They fought for La Patrie. The other man deserted La Patrie.

Then suddenly the night nurse's reflecting mind discovers from without—that they were compulsory. That left to themselves, Felix and Hippolyte and Alexandre and Alphonse, would have no ideals. Somewhere higher up a handful of men had been able to impose upon Alphonse and Hippolyte and Felix and Alexandre and thousands more like them a state of mind which was not in them of themselves." They were harnessed to a car "upon which was enthroned Mamman, or the Goddess of Liberty, or Reason, as you like." A very pregnant mind had this night nurse.

Dawn appears and the sleepers wake. "Two of the patients rolled on their sides that they might talk to one another. In the silence of the early morning their voices rang clear.

"Dost thou know, friend, that when we captured that German battery a few days ago, we found the gunners chained to their guns?"

There endeth the first lesson. A very subtle satire. Mentally chained to the Goddess of Liberty or bodily chained to the guns.

The second lesson is entitled "La Patrie Reconnaissante." The hero had lain ten hours on the field wounded. When the stretcher bear-

ers came for him, he opened: "Dirty cowards! How long is it since I have been wounded? Ten hours!"

And then you come to them, me only when it is safe. Safe to risk your precious filthy skins, and quite a lot more to the effect, that they are fifteen years younger than he, and have influence which keeps them out of the trenches. "All in God's name, to have influence!"

When the surgeon tries to cut the button the blood-soaked trousers he screams with pain. "For the sake of God cut them Major!" they. Don't economize. They are worn out in the service of the country. They are torn and bloody, they can serve no one after me! All the little fake economies. Cut them, Major."

These are half cut, half torn, by blunt scissors.

Two American ambulances come up "ruddy, well fed, careless."

Our hero, Marius, has something to say to them. "Dirty strangers! What are you here for? To take me with my bowels running on the ground. Did you come for me ten hours ago, when I needed you? No! they come when it is safe. They want to write a book. Sigh! They want to boast of what they had seen. They take his job, driving a taxi. Marius is bitter. A pro-German doubtless. But the hero is dying, and in agony. The stench of his wounds filled the ward, his curses filled the ward. He has reason to fear no one. So Marius gave forth freely to the ward his philosophy of life, his hard, bare, ugly life, as he had lived it, and his comments on La Patrie as he understood it, and all the while the wound in his abdomen gave forth a terrible stench, filling the ward, for he had gas gangrene, the odour of which is abominable." The man with the facial fistula "smelled atrociously" but he kicked about Marius, so did the man shot through the bladder, whose wound filled the air with the

smell of wine." It was the smell of death that the others complained of, "for gangrene is death."

Then the General came to decorate some heroes. A little fellow who had been in the Battalion d'Afrique, to which he had been sentenced instead of gaol, lay opposite Marius. Being a criminal he could not get the Cross of War. Marius tells him so when the General was gone. And why was he in the Battalion d'Afrique? "Because, one night at a cafe, thou didst drink more wine than was good for thee—so much more than was good for thee, that when an old Boulevardier, with much money in his pocket, proposed to take thy girl away from thee, thou didst knock him down and gave him a black eye. . . . So thou goes to gaol then to the Battalion d'Afrique and the wine flows; and thy Mimi—where is she? Only never canst thou receive the Cross of War my friend—La Patrie Reconnaissante (The Grateful Fatherland) sees to that."

He sits up in bed. The orderly has instructions to keep him on his back, and attempts to force him down, Marius will not lie down, is too strong for the orderly, two others lend assistance and Marius resigns himself to his fate, shouting and calling to the orderlies—grocers, barbers, farmers, labor union agents—"Mobilized as nurses because you are a friend of a friend of a deputy! What! I who know no deputy am mobilized in the front line trenches! Dirty cowards! Dirty cowards! The Grateful Fatherland!"

He becomes delirious and nears his end, throws the covers off his bed, and tries to tear the bandages off his wounds. A nurse comes to cover him. He tries to seize her. She evades him, and gets the orderly to do the job. "Marius laughed in glee, a fiendish, feeble shrieking laugh. 'Have nothing to do with a woman who is diseased,' he shouted. 'Never! never! never!' Not much evidence of Christ's gentle

spirit here. In fact in the entire book, which records many deaths, no one seems to be aware that a God is supposed to be on tap. Only one victim mentioned his name voluntarily apart from a curse and he gets God on the telephone. He cannot even in his delirium sever the omnipotent mechanism of man. God on the telephone! But let us return to his window is a hero's funeral. The nurse glances at Marius, in a day or so all the pomp now passing would be displayed for him. "Then Marius gave a last sudden scream. "Long live France," he shouted. "Long live the dirty cowards; Hoch le Kaiser!" The ward awoke scandalized. "Long live the Grateful Fatherland!" he yelled. "Hoch le Kaiser!" Then he died." He must have been pro-German.

Miss La Motte saw things, smelled things, heard things, and she has the courage to set them down as her sense perceptions recorded them. Dirty cowards, the Kaiser and the Grateful Fatherland mingled in the dying blessing of a French hero. He was not chained to the Goddess of Liberty.

Space compels me to jump to "Women and Wives."

Fouquet, one of the orderlies who roused the ire of Marius, had succeeded in lighting a fire with the slaty wet coal, and in its slight warmth the patients by some psychologic compunction drew from sacks and boxes under the pillows, photos of wives and children. "Pathetic little pictures they were, of common working class women, some fat and work worn, some thin and work worn, some with stodgy little children grouped about them, some without, but all were practically the same. They were the wives of these men in the beds here, the working class wives of working class men—the soldiers of the trenches. Ah, yes, France is democratic. It is a nation's war and all the men of the nation, regardless of rank are serving. But some serve in better plac-

es than others. The trenches are working class, which is reasonable, as there are more of them." Well they all talk of their wives, and home. Wives are not allowed at the front, they could say things which the censor could not prevent, as he does with letters. Women are allowed but wives are not. Many women are there. "Better one for the officers, naturally just as the officers mess is of better quality than that of the common soldier." Miss La Motte sees something she cannot understand. "But Simon has a girl in the village to whom he goes every week. Only why does he talk so incessantly about his wife and show her pictures to me, to everyone about the place? Why should we all be bored with tales of Simons stupid wife, when that's all she means to him? Only perhaps she means more. I told you I did not understand. . . . And the old doctor—he is sixty-four and has grand-children—he goes down to one village for a girl of fourteen. He was decorated with the Legion of Honor the other day. It seems incongruous." Nothing incongruous about it, Miss La Motte. You are now looking upon the world as it is. Not as the frosty dames of Y. W. C. A. activity would have it be. And even they are waking up. 3,000 dance hall girls are to be provided for Uncle Sams boys at Camp Lewis, near Seattle, under the direct control of the Y. W. C. A., according to press reports, and Uncle Sam is to have direct control of a city in the South of France for his boys to holiday in, to preserve them from the evils attendant upon a carousel in gay Patee. Don't worry! If you choose to live on a dung hill, remember the smell is native to the premises.

She blames the women, and says: "Of course the professional prostitutes of Paris are not admitted to the war zone, but the Belgian girls made such fools of themselves the others were not needed."

(Continued on page 11)

# THE SLAVE OF THE FARM

BY A. BUDDEN

LETTER No. 5.

My dear E.—

In a former letter, you will remember, we spoke of the pillage of nature's hoards, and tried to show that the early stages of capitalist production always display a marked desire to destroy everything in sight, regardless of consequences, even to itself.

It was so with the first stages of industrialism in England, Europe and America. Asia is now feeling the devastating touch of this most ruthless of all methods, and you are no doubt aware that the Turkish and Chinese revolutions were caused directly by the power of capital.

We have mentioned that Canada could not escape this burden; nay, was carefully prepared to yield that "average rate of profit," which is the "Ultima Thule" of modern industry. So terrible has become the pillage of the West, so vicious the methods employed, that the Canadian Council of Agriculture (a joint committee of all farm organizations) found it necessary to warn the government a few months ago, that the country was being de-populated, it being quite impossible for many farm slaves to stay upon the land any longer.

This has produced throughout the West, a state of things almost unparalleled even in the shocking records of modern industrial development. Where five years ago, one was met at the door of a squalid hut or shack by a bachelor home-steader, or poorly dressed wife of a struggling farmer, today sweet silence reigns, and the proud stink-weeds, or yellow mustard, flaunt their heads over the ruins of this prairie "home."

This startling state of affairs has impressed itself upon some other interested parties, with the result that an investigation has been started—a Royal Commission to discover, if possible, how it came about that collections were so small and so expensive to gather in, also just why it was that investments in Canadian securities were not so brisk as formerly.

The result of their meditations, my dear E., threw a little light upon "farming the West," and incidentally proved the Socialist contention that LABOR, APPLIED TO NATURAL RESOURCES, IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH.

The methods of modern capital are the same in farming as in any other avenue of production. If in a given spot the productivity of the slaves falls to such an extent that the rate of interest is below the average, capital will be withdrawn, and invested elsewhere. There are two methods of investing money in farming, one is to establish (as was done in the prairie provinces) a large number of small farms, and to place slaves thereon under the guise of freeholders, or to go into the business directly, and on a gigantic scale, employing wage labor after

the manner of any other industrial concern.

The former method no doubt had its advantages; it created "that internal market," while fostering the idea of freedom amongst the farm slaves. There were not so many risks to capital, for no matter if crops failed, or slaves died, the mortgage covers his heirs and successors forever, and, a failure to deliver the surplus created with the masters' machinery, resulted in the slave's expulsion, the surrender of his title deeds, or the garnishing of his wages, should he desert the farm, and try to gain a living in other walks of life. Those safeguards are not wanting which that coy creature, capital, demands before she will come round and be friendly.

But alas for the masters, all things change, and the very methods by which they accumulate such enormous wealth, proves their undoing. You will remember that in a former letter, we spoke quite briefly of the tendency to reduce the cost of production, and explained the introduction of larger machinery and more scientific methods, showing that these factors were becoming more and more fatal to the small farmer, and in order to understand this, we must examine more closely the channels through which the investors of capital realize their returns, for we know full well that no person would surrender the proceeds of a year's work and permit himself to live in need, were there not some powerful goad behind him, least of all not the soil slave, for there is no bigger licker in existence. It is a thousand pities that his hoofs are not directed in the right direction.

The great mass of the farmers of the prairie provinces are engaged in raising grain. Wheat being King, we shall need to examine just what happened to the really enormous output of the West. We saw that wheat was a commodity, and that its value was measured by the amount of social labor necessary for its production, and we pointed out that this was a most vital thing—indeed, was the pivot upon which all the rest turned. Were it not for this, the exploitation of the Canadian farm slave could only be accomplished by the direct method of wage slavery. Indeed, did enough of the farm slaves understand the law of value, the capitalist system would be no more. Remember also, my dear E., we made a bold guess that the cost of producing wheat was somewhere near sixty cents per bushel, and now comes forward the Royal Commission on Grain Markets, Saskatchewan, 1913, and establishes the proof. Fifty-five cents per bushel on the farm is the price given by this body of investigators. Now in 1909, the cost of production was approximately forty-eight cents per bushel, and the average return eighty-one and one-fifth cents per bushel, but in 1913, fifty-five cents is the cost of production, and sixty-six and one-eighth the average return. This means that the cost of production has risen 12.15 per cent., while the price received has fallen nearly 45 per cent. Small wonder under these conditions that the

country is being de-populated.

There has been a superstition abroad until quite lately, that somehow Canadian wheat would never fall in price, because of its peculiar nature. Cold-blooded figures, however, tell a different tale, and the Commission puts the quietus on this foolishness with the blunt statement: "There is no best wheat."

All varieties then come into the market in competition with each other. The farm slave of Western Canada finds himself engaged in cut-throat competition with all other producers, from his next door neighbor to the remotest pioneer on the new prairies of Siberia. Competition has been the slogan of capitalism for many years. It is this competition that is such a powerful lever for exploitation, without it, the masters would not so easily secure the prize.

The value of wheat, then, will not be measured by the amount of labor placed upon a given acre, but by the average total world production. Into this enters Siberia, Australia, Russia, British India, Argentine, United States of America, Assyria and other minor countries, with their various climatic differences and prices of labor, as for instance, if over ten years in Western farming, six crops of twenty bushels per acre are secured, this means in reality that the same amount of labor has been expended in the production of this one hundred and twenty bushels, as should have produced two hundred bushels. Therefore, it will be readily seen, that given climatic conditions better than those prevailing in this country, such as prevail in British India, the cost of producing the same quantity of wheat is that much less. The effect of these competitors is to be seen in the continued decline in price of Canadian wheat, which the following figures show all too clearly:

1909	..... 81	1-5th cents per bushel
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The effect of supply and demand must also be kept in mind. Every farm journal, every experimental station, every would-be expert urges this poor slave to increase his output. The whole trend of modern industry is directed to this end, for last year, the enormous amount of four billion bushels were poured into the world's market, and even today sags it down, while this year's crop is rapidly coming forward.

Added to this is the remarkable fact that the continuous introduction of great machinery to other branches of industry, curtails the number of workers employed, and hence the number of purchasers of farm products, so that chronic overproduction of grain gives prices another downward kick.

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seldom gets on the shelves, and is snapped up as fast as it comes in. The subject matter is new, and the treatment is excellent. The dramatic effects rest upon the material, and are not outraged by the author. It is not a Socialist book, but as a dampener of war lust it is a hit. A palpable hit.

J. H.

## MANITOBA MISCELLANEA

## By "Pat."

The following clipping from the "Tribune" of December 14th, 1917, gives a good idea of how a grateful nation looks after the dependents of those who have given their lives in the national cause:

"Dear Santa Clause,—

Please send my mamma some nice mitts and shoes and anything else nice, as it will mak her not to cry so hard cause the Germans shot my Daddy, and please mak me big soon so's I can go over and fit too.—Charlie." No address was given.

Is it any wonder that the "deer peepul" voted "Union Government" when they read how Union propagators love to hand them a lemon.

A correspondent of mine tells me that there have been about ten Union Governments in France since war started. This information will be startling to those who think that Union Government means the end of political strife amongst our masters.

It is interesting to note that the recent Farmers' Convention held at Yorkton made a few changes in their platform. A few years ago the farmer in the west was a struggling plug, and as a consequence we saw him trying to get tariffs and freight rates reduced and taxes put on incomes as the first two seemed to hit him worst and the third would not worry him.

Now we find he does not mention the tariff because he knows the in-

come tax would be put in its place and this tax he finds in his present prosperous state would affect him quite a lot. Now what is the main plank in his new platform. Not the new fangled planks of Conscription of Wealth, or even of men for war purposes, but "The Conscription of Labor for Farms."

Well good luck to you, Mr. Saskatchewan Farmer, I believe the slaves of Canada are docile enough to stand even that—"there is a sucker born every minute" and in the evolution of the Western farmer from the sucker class even in a temporary way I hasten to advise them to squeeze the last vestige of tallow from the hides of the Patriotic, God-fearing, Flag-waving slaves who swarm in such willing droves to vote for his master each election day.

One day we read in our papers here "Russia Starving" and the next our wandering eyes see headlines as follows:—"Germany buying foodstuffs, including fats, from Russia." Again, yea verily I say unto thee, the ways of this wonderful people are inscrutable, they are like unto the ways of our Loving Heavenly Father, "past finding out."

Marx tells us in speaking of the social revolution that "It cannot start upon its work before it has stricken off all superstitions concerning the past," and in studying that, one wonders if the greatest superstition of the Trade Unionists of Canada as represented by their leaders is not the love of forming Labor Parties. During the nine years I have been in Winnipeg I have heard of the formation and death of I think, nine Labor Parties, and, according to the following clipping I will have to suffer it once more.

## Labor Council to Form New Party

"A new labor party for political purposes is to be formed. This was decided at a meeting of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council Thursday evening. It was the outcome of a discussion on the defeat of

Labor candidates at the Dominion elections, the small number of votes secured by the candidates being looked upon as a challenge to labor.—Tribune, December 21st, 1917.

"The King is dead, long live the King," used to be a famous cry.

Our labor men have changed it and now we hear "The Labor Party is busted lets form a new one."

Glory be, I do hope this one lasts to the end of this year, as I really cannot stand the speed.

Armstrong has had to leave for the south on doctor's orders, and the wishes of all Winnipeg Reds are that he may be back with us soon again. George has sure done his bit for his class in the 'Peg, and even if we did not agree sometimes re tactics we all love a willing worker, believe me they are none too many in our movement.

## USES OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge is power!

In the world of industry the workers have the knowledge that gives to the ruling class their power.

The knowledge possessed by the ruling class does not of itself carry any power but its application to the working class by methods of education produces wonderful results for those who rule and rob.

The education of the workers is entirely in the hands of the rulers. There are many things the workers are not permitted to know.

The most vital of these is how to determine value.

What does the average worker know of the make up of the \$10 he has to pay for a pair of shoes. Who gets it? He doesn't know. If he did he certainly would be peeved. But he does not know so he does not worry.

The worker has been taught that his lot in life is to work, and may be get a reward in the hereafter.

He is led to believe that he has a great interest in the country that he happens to be born in, that

he should do so he is told by those placed in authority over him. Obedience and submission are ground in to him from infancy.

His daily ideas are formed for him; he never thinks any thoughts only those permitted by his master.

He goes to his masters schools and churches, he reads his masters books and newspaper. His mind is entirely moulded by those who rule and rob him and he is content. He is religious, superstitious, patriotic, hard working and mighty poor all the time.

W. S.

## BALANCE SHEET OF ALBERTA AND SASK. P. E. C.

## RECEIPTS

Balance March 1st, 1917	\$45.83
Alhambra Local for due stamps	6.00
Calgary Local	33.55
Ekville Local	8.40
Edmonton Local	32.50
Equity Local	2.00
Kindersley Local (Sask.)	6.09
Medicine Hat Local	3.00
Silver Leaf Local	5.00
Stettler Local	12.00
Sundial Local	16.00
Vulcan Local	15.00
Membership at large dues	65.75
Party Buttons Sold	7.85
Donations	5.00
Erskine Local Dues and Supplies	14.29
<b>Total receipts</b>	<b>\$278.08</b>

## EXPENSES

Due Stamps from D. E. C.	\$100.00
Supplies from D. E. C.	10.80
Directory in "Western Clarion"	20.00
Postage Stamps	15.00
Mrs. S. I. Johnson Knight, for services rendered	34.00
Miscellaneous	32.50
Mimeograph Supplies	8.55
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>\$220.65</b>
<b>Balance on hand</b>	<b>\$ 57.23</b>

## ASSETS

Roller Top Desk	\$11.00
Typewriter	50.00
Mimeograph	25.00
Card Cabinet	10.00
Office Supplies	40.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$136.00</b>

## ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN FUND, ALTA. P. E. C.

## RECEIPTS

Balance of Alberta Provincial Election Fund already acknowledged	\$299.15
Loan paid by Edmonton Local No. 1, Prov. Election	82.55
Per N. Nicolaeff, Morningside	20.50
Comradé Berg, Edmonton	7.00
H. P. Leusegraf, Chinook, Alta.	5.00
Comradé Forbes, Edmonton	.50
Per Geo. Beagrie, Swallow, Alta.	11.25
Per Alf. Bonar, Moose Jaw, Sask.	5.00
Gus Nordwall, Alhambra, Alta.	1.00
Local No. 58, Ekville, Alta.	1.75
M. Lamb, Winnipeg	5.00
Per E. Gardener, Eagle Hill	15.00
Per Gunder Hotel, Bromhead	15.00
Jon. Nelson, Alhambra	1.00
Per A. E. Faulkner, Conjuring Creek	6.00
A. W. J. Allen, Pine Lake	.50
Per F. Wood, New Lindsay	14.00
Per P. O. Peterson, Alhambra	13.00
Tom Evans, Edmonton	5.00
M. Kostantynuk	.50
G. E. Scharf, Millet	2.00
Herman Arnold, Millet	1.00
Per A. A. McNeill, Erskine	8.60
Harry F. Smith, North Battleford	2.00
Per John Beckman, Meeting Creek	3.00
Per Malcolm McNeill	30.50
Harry Lynn	1.00
Epoch Erickson	1.00
Per H. C. Morgan, Calgary	59.10
Collection Edmonton Local No. 1	7.50
Per Winnipeg Local	5.00
Mrs. Hiscox, Edmonton	2.00
Per H. Vindeg, Sunkist, Sask.	13.00
Edmonton Local No. 1, collection	4.40
Chas. Crooke, Fiske	6.00
Per H. Vindeg, Sunkist	7.00
C. Cummings, Edmonton	1.00
Per C. Jordan, Jennings	19.00
John Urquhart, Calgary	1.00
Per Nick Myers, Peers	7.00
Joe Nelson, Everts	1.25
Hillcrest Miners Union, per F. Lote	10.00
Per C. Steen	4.50
Per E. Stewart, Richdale	4.00
Per W. A. Brown, Travers	10.00
Per C. M. Christiansen, Wilduan	9.35
Ed. Willet	2.00
Per R. J. Kalm, Medicine Hat	20.00
Per J. W. Dargie, Empress	10.00
Per Steve Drakos, Saskatoon	16.00
Harry F. Smith, North Battleford	1.00
Joseph Prehlt, Fielding	1.00
Geo. Paton, Delburne	5.00
L. Langville	1.00
Arthur Arnold, Oxville	1.00
Alex. Beaton, Glenbrea	2.00

John Loitz, Sunkist	5.00
Silver Leaf Local per B. Johnson	22.50
Per Ed. Haugen, Baraca	20.00
R. Ramish, McLeod Valley	1.00
Per Mrs. J. R. McDonald, Flowerdale Rural Refereendum League	5.00
H. N. Ziglar, Pollockville	1.00
Edmonton Local	30.60
Per Chas. Crook, Fiske	6.00

Balance \$ 52.00

## EXPENSES

Sundries	\$ 4.70
Loaned to Edmonton Local for Provincial Election	82.55
Postage Stamps from June 15th to October 2nd, 1917	68.00
Repairing Mimeograph	3.75
Expenses of J. Maguire and J. Knight to Vegerville on June 26	11.00
Rent of Theatre, Vegerville, Per J. Boychuk	5.00
Edmonton Printing Co.	42.00
Roller Top Desk	11.00
2000 Envelopes	4.75
Provincial Election Expenses (J. Knight, Stettler riding)	40.00
100 "Clarions" for J. Knight Provincial Election	3.00
Mimeograph ink and accessories	4.05
Provincial Secretary Salary for June	75.00
Expenses of J. Knight to Stettler and vicinity	20.00
Expenses of J. Knight to Edison	
Anti-Conscription Tour	20.00
Two Fibre Boxes for card system	2.50
1000 Cards	2.50
Mimeograph accessories	5.25
Three receipt files	1.00
Expenses of J. Knight to Eagle Hill and Red Deer Convention	5.00
Half payment of Comradé Mark's Defence	41.50
Provincial Secretary's Salary for July	75.00
Expenses of J. Knight to Stettler for auto	7.00
Edmonton Printing Co.	12.00
Advance to J. Knight for Federal Election Campaign	25.00
Provincial Secretary Salary for Aug.	75.00
Rent of P. E. C. office (Room 8, Bellamy Block)	15.00
Mimeograph Ink	2.50
Provincial Secretary's Salary for September	75.00
Long Distance phone calls	5.45
Postage Stamps (Oct. 27)	6.00
Provincial Secretary's salary for Oct.	75.00
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>\$826.40</b>

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Convened in the office of the Secretary on Sunday, 2nd December, 1917, at two p.m.

Present: J. G. Morgan, W. A. Pritchard, J. Kavanagh and the Secretary, Chairman, J. G. Morgan.

Correspondence—The B. C. Federationist; O. Evanson, Anyox;

Harry Noakes, Notch Hill; S. Clements, Union Bay; A. Goodwin, Trail; Wm. T. Greaves, Hedley; A. R. Sinclair, James Island; Wm. Brass, Cumberland; Local Cumberland; Local Victoria; Jas. T. Stott, Victoria, B. C.; Alberta P. E. C. (3); Local Calgary (2); A. A. Cronk, Craigmyle; Tollef Robley, Cadogan; E. Moberg, Calmar; John Pollock, Victor; John Klein, Raven, Alberta; D. Macpherson, Wimborne, Alberta;

Fred Kiasak, Sovereign, Sask.; W. Searle, Russborough; J. H. Greaves, N. Batford; P. J. Hunt, Fiske, Sask.; Thos. Foulston, Eyebrow, Sask.; Leo Schoor, Winnipeg; Local Winnipeg (2); Alex. Paterson (3), Winnipeg, Man.; The Marxian Study Club, St. Catharines, Ont.; Local St. Catharines; S. P. of N. A., Toronto; S. Major, Toronto; John Lyons, Ottawa; J. G. Foley, C. C. C. C., Ottawa; Local Ottawa; W. J. Sparks, St. John, N. B.; G. A. Field, Montreal, P. Q.; O. F. Chevillot, Detroit, Mich.; Verne Paterson, Minneapolis, Minn.; Jas. Bone, Emmett, Idaho; Kenneth Paterson, Burke, Idaho; Moses Baritz (4), Portland, Ore.; Walter Menzies, Okanga, New Zealand.

M. and S. ((Kavanagh-Pritchard)—That we inform "Pat" that we are willing to accept any of Dannenberg's critical writings in the same way as other contributors to the "Clarion," seeing no reason for giving any further publicity to his writings.—Carried.

Financial Report  
Western Clarion

Receipts—

Subs. \$36.20  
Bundles and Directory... 6.25  
C. M. F. 2.00  
\$44.45

Expenditure—

Printing No. 799 in full...\$63.00

Dominion Executive Committee

Receipts—

Literature \$ 5.50  
Stamps 22.50  
\$28.00

Expenditures—

Wages \$17.00  
Sundries .85  
\$17.85

Dominion Election Fund \$48.50  
Advance orders on "Slave of the Farm" to date \$34.95  
Adjournment.

Convened in the office of the secretary, 16th December, 1917, at 2 p.m.

Present: J. G. Morgan, J. M. Jenkins, J. Harrington, J. Shephard, J. Kavanagh and the Secretary, Chairman, J. M. Jenkins.

Correspondence—Local Victoria; F. Harmon; S. H. Cooke, Vancouver; Local Crawford Bay; H. Burditt, Van Anda; J. Pilkinton, Vernon; Hugh Russell, Cumberland; A. P. McCabe, Copper Mountain, B. C.; Alberta P. E. C.; Local Edmonton; Local Sundial; J. F. Knorr, Eekville; J. C. Budge, Czar; Tom Hughes, Frank; J. Reid, Calgary; A. Arnold, Oxville, Alberta; W. K. Bryce, Riverhurst; C. Stephenson, Swift Current, Sask.; Paterson, Winnipeg; Wm. McQuoid, Strathair, Man.; S. P. of N., Toronto; Local St. Catharines; Local Ottawa; S. Major, Toronto; McConnell and Ferguson, London; H. Schwartz, Elmira, Ontario; Local Montreal; S. Arrowsmith, St. John, N. B.; A. B. Stewart, South Lochaber, N. S.; R. Gooding, Carcross, Y. T.; W. Lafontaine, Forty Mile, Y. T.; L. M. B. Bardale, Detroit, Mich.; VV. L. Kain, Great Falls, Mont. A. E. House, Spokane, Wash.; Moses Baritz, San Francisco, Cal.; George Robson, Nelson.

Financial Report  
Western Clarion

Receipts—

Subs. \$42.50  
Bundles and Directory 18.82  
C. M. F. 39.16  
\$101.47

Expenditures—

Wages \$15.00  
Miscellaneous 5.90  
\$20.90

Dominion Executive Committee

Receipts—

Literature \$11.00  
Stamps 6.00  
\$17.00

Expenditures—

Wages \$2.00

HERE AND NOW.

"Joek" Reid 13 1 0  
Local No. 1 Vancouver 7 1 0  
J. F. Maguire 7 4 0  
R. C. McCutcheon 6 0 0  
W. W. Lefeaux 5 2 0  
J. Pollock 5 0 0  
Ed. Haugen 3 2 0  
A. P. McCabe 0 6 0  
W. McCall 3 0 0  
A. Harris 2 1 0  
D. Watt 2 0 0  
C. S. Martin 2 0 0  
J. R. Lawson 2 0 0  
H. J. B. Harper 2 0 0  
J. Pilkington 2 0 0  
G. Ahley 2 0 0  
A. Arnold 2 0 0  
J. Peacock 2 0 0  
"Pat" 1 1 0

M. & S.—That Cumberland Local be notified of their lapse under section 5, article 2, and Section 8, by-laws, of the Constitution.—Carried.

Considerable discussion ensued on the letter from the S. P. of N. A., and the secretary was instructed to reply to same and prepare a statement in the form of a circular for the benefit of the membership of the party.

Financial Report  
Western Clarion

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W. McCall 3 0 0  
A. Harris 2 1 0  
D. Watt 2 0 0  
C. S. Martin 2 0 0  
J. R. Lawson 2 0 0  
H. J. B. Harper 2 0 0  
J. Pilkington 2 0 0  
G. Ahley 2 0 0  
A. Arnold 2 0 0  
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"Pat" 1 1 0

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**Socialist Party Directory**

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Sunday, 2 p.m., Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy, Vancouver, B. C.—W. B. Mitchell, Secretary.

**BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.**

**ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**—Secretary, John F. Maguire, Box 785, Edmonton, Phone 4803.

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

**LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—Business meeting every Tuesday, 8 p.m. Economic class Thursday and Sunday at 8 p.m. Headquarters, 220—8th Ave. E. Secretary, H. Clifford Morgan, Suite 49, Thomas Block.

**LOCAL CLARION, No. 83 (B.C.) S. P. of C.**—John T. Dempster, Secretary, Clayton, B. C.

**LOCAL CRAWFORD BAY, No. 72 (B.C.), S. P. of C.**—J. E. McGregor, Secretary Crawford Bay, B. C.

**LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C., No. 70**—Business meetings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m., Economic classes every Monday and Friday, at 7 p.m., in the Socialist Hall opposite P. O. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity, J. McMillan, Box 315, corresponding and financial secretary.

**LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 58 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

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

**LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 82 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—A. A. McNeill, Secretary, Erskine, Alta.

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

**LOCAL ROSSLAND, No. 25, S. P. of C.**—Meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 125, Secretary.

**LOCAL FERGUSON PLATS, No. 85 (Alta.)**—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Plats, Alta.

**LOCAL KINDERLEY, No. 10 (Bask.)** S. P. of C.—H. Vindeg, Secretary, Sunkist, Sask.

**MEDICINE HAT (Lethbridge) Local S. P. of C.** Meets first Sunday in the month at 528 C Princess Ave, J. R. Kain, Secretary.

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

**LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.**—Address all enquiries to P. O. Box 250, Station B, Montreal, P. Q.

**LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—Mrs. J. H. Macdonald, Secretary, Michdale, Alta.

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

**LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.)** S. P. of C.—E. Haugen, Secretary, Harana, P. O., Alta.

**LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.)** S. P. of C.—D. Thompson, Secretary, 34 William Street

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

**LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 50 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—W. O. Brown, Secretary, Travers, P. O., Alta.

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.**—Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 401 Pender St. E. Propaganda meeting at the Rex Theatre every Sunday, 8 p.m. Secretary, J. Kavanagh.

**VANCOUVER LETTISH LOCAL No. 58, S. P. of C.**—Business meeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 11 a.m. Open to everybody, at Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy. Secretary, R. Amat, Box 667.

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 45, Finlay.** Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Ovia Lind, Secretary.

**LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.**—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, J. Stevenson, 1424 Government St.

**LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.**—Headquarters, 323 Smith St., Room 4. Business meeting, Wednesday, 8 p.m. Propaganda meeting Sunday, 8 p.m. Economic class Monday 8 p.m. Open Forum Tuesday 8 p.m. Lending Library 50c per year.—Walter Ashton, Organizer, Cecil Jaman, Secretary, 472 Glasgow Ave. Ft. Rouge.

**LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.**—Secretary, A. G. McCallum, Westboro P. O., Ottawa, Ont

**STOP PRESS NEWS**

Word has just arrived from Alberta of the death of D. G. McKenzie, late editor of the "Clarion." He died at 8 a.m. January 11th, after failing to recover from an operation. His death was totally unexpected.

The State History Society  
of Wisconsin (Library)  
MADISON, WIS.

# PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support, the principles and program of the revolutionary working class. Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave.

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

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

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

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the 'Class' Struggle.

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

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

VANCOUVER LOCAL NO. 1

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## Socialist Party of Canada

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## Propaganda Meeting

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

Boost the  
Western  
Clarion