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WHAT THE WORD CAPITAL REALLY MEANS

Misunderstanding of the Term Leads to Confusion
---Every Socialist Should Understand It Clearly.

According to an old adage, "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Like other proverbs, however, this one is not always true. It is only true when the possessor of that little knowledge is not aware that it is little. As a matter of fact, no man that lives, or ever lived, knows or knew much when the sum total of knowledge is taken into consideration. Profundity is comparative, and the most profound are only so when compared with those who are less so. It often happens that individuals who have absorbed an immense amount of knowledge, making them, in the comparative sense mentioned, marvels of profundity, are not clear in understanding, having merely absorbed and not digested.

In the writer's opinion, clarity is more important than profundity. It is better to know a little well, than to be the repository of an immense amount of ill-digested facts. There are quite a number who think it sufficient to read largely and memorize well what "great" writers have written, without, in any degree, thinking over what they have read. All such can do is to, parrot-like, repeat from memory; they are economic phonographs; they drink in what they have read like sand drinks in water, and give it off like sand gives off vapor and with about as much intelligence.

The purpose of the writer is to deal with the lack of clarity shown by so many in their understanding of the word "capital," in Socialist economics. Every science has its own terminology. The terminology used by Marx is that adopted in the study of the science of Socialism. In this science the terms used have a certain definite meaning, the term "Capital" among them and above and before all other terms it is necessary to have a perfectly clear understanding of this term, for without it a clear understanding of Socialism is impossible. In short, a knowledge of Socialism must be built upon a foundation of a clear conception of what is meant by "Capital."

How exasperatingly often one hears such statements as "we don't want to do away with capital, but with capitalism." Some time ago the writer—who makes no pretensions to profundity—was conducting an economic class, endeavoring to impart to the students the little knowledge he had in order to make it easier for them to learn more, when a freakish female of the giggling, ill-behaved and ignorant type, who had spent a few months among well-posted Socialists and picked up a number of economic terms without understanding them, turned up at the class one evening and undertook to set the writer right (?) in his understanding of the term Capital, stating that he "didn't ought to tell the people we wanted to do away with Capital, but with Capitalism." On endeavoring to put this lady (?) right as to what was meant by "Capital," she threw down the copy of "Value, Price and Profit," she held and said: "Oh, you only want to hear yourself talk." Now, it is not for such opinionated individuals as this person that this is written, but for those who really wish to clearly understand and are prepared to be corrected if they have understood wrongly.

Now, what is Capital? Capital is a certain definite form of ownership. Capital is an abstract condition, not a concrete thing. Capital is that form of ownership which prevails at present, under which all the instruments of production and raw materials—the passive factor in production—are owned by one class and used by them as a weapon to force the other class to sell their property, labor-power—the active factor in production—to the owners of the material means of production at a price called wages.

While, for brevity's sake, we speak of the railways as Capital, of the mines as Capital, and so on all along the line, it must be distinctly understood that these things are not in themselves Capital.

The writer does not intend to go into the various qualifications of this condition such as "constant capital" and "variable capital," that is beyond the scope of this article, but to confine

himself to endeavoring to simplify the one point—the meaning of Capital. There will probably be some readers of this article who will still insist that "we don't want to do away with Capital," etc. I would ask such if they ever saw a piece of Capital, if they ever felt a piece of Capital, if they can produce a small quantity of Capital and will oblige the writer by forwarding it to him? No, it will be no use to send on a piece of iron. Iron is Iron and not Capital.

It won't do to ship along a railway engine.

A railway engine is a railway engine and not Capital.

Truly, these and all other things under the form of ownership previously mentioned, function as Capital, but it is the function that is Capital, not the material thing. Capital is a form of ownership.

Capitalism is a system of society based upon Capital. So long as the foundation remains the system remains. The only way to abolish Capitalism is to destroy Capital.

What stands in the way? Behind the property rights of the Capitalist class stand the powers of government; the Capitalists will use those powers in any way they find necessary to defend their property-rights, yes, in any way. If they found it necessary, and had the power, they would slaughter half the working class to keep the other half down. If they found it necessary, and had the power to do so they would dump all the Socialist ballots in the waste paper basket. In short, they will take any measure they find necessary to conserve their interests as capitalists, without ruth or scruple, and small blame to them. We, on our side, must be equally unscrupulous.

Knowing the direct and irreconcilable conflict of interests between our class and the ruling class, the question we have to ask is, "How can we most effectively attack capitalist interests?" and the answer is "Educate the Working Class," for behind all the powers of government in the control of the Capitalists is the only real strength of the ruling class—the ignorance of the working class.

When we have enough of the workers who know what is really the matter, their knowledge will impel them to use any means they find necessary to wrench the club of government from the hands of the master class, that club that has always been swung above the heads of the working class since classes came into existence and has often descended upon their heads.

In possession of that club, the working class will use it in whatever way necessary to put the last ruling class down and out and then—fling the club away, no longer necessary.

With the beginning of classes, government began; with the end of classes government will end and be replaced by collective administration of industry.

Government cannot exist without a governing class and a class to be governed.

Classes cannot exist except as masters and slaves, owners and dispossessed.

With all members of society having equal rights to the use of the means of production, classes and government are impossible, unthinkable.

When Capital is destroyed the means of life will remain and they will be ours collectively owned, co-operatively used and the results individually enjoyed. It is not our part now to draw up details of that future state of society. When it comes we (let us hope it will be "we") shall know more and see clearer than now. It is for us to stir up and educate the working class to take the world and all that it contains, knowing full well that when they have the intelligence to do that, they will certainly have the intelligence to manage and enjoy their own property and we will share in the enjoyment.

Comrades, speed the day in the only way it can be speeded by educating yourselves in order to educate your class.

WILFRID GRIBBLE.

ROBBERY IS ROBBERY.

The Socialist omelette cannot be made unless you break the capitalist egg.

"If I have to take money from you does it matter whether I take it from your right or your left pocket?"—J. Chamberlain.

As the workers must be robbed by the capitalist class, does it matter to the former whether the latter call themselves Canadians, Britishers or Americans?

The apologists of the capitalist system declare that the "common people" rule in this democratic age. The following quotation will be handy when a Socialist runs up against such con artists:

Says the "Fortunes made in Business." (Harmsworth, England): "The house of Rothschild is one of the greatest powers in the world today. Its members exercise more direct influence on human affairs than perhaps any king. Its agents, mostly unknown, are at work in a hundred lands. It creates new nations. At the bidding of its members kings stay their campaigns. . . . The total of their wealth can only be imagined. In the great capitals of Europe they hold their court, the money lords of the Eastern World. Their nod could produce, if they wished, the greatest financial panic the world has ever seen, sending hundreds of thousands to ruin almost in a day." The Rothschilds are Jews. Shall the people rule?

You betcher!
Ask Uncle J. P. Morgan!

W. D.

THE CIVIL WAR, LIKE ALL OTHER WARS, FOUGHT LARGELY BY BOYS.

A clerk in the war department at Washington has furnished some interesting data on the civil war. He finds that this war was fought largely by boys. Of the 2, 278,588 enlisted in that war on the union side all but 118,000 were less than 21 years old! If Confederate statistics were available they would likely reveal similar conditions in that army. The list is as follows:

- 25 boys—10 years of age.
- 38 boys—11 years of age.
- 225 boys—12 years of age.
- 300 boys—13 years of age.
- 105,000 boys—14 and 15 years of age.
- 126,000 boys—16 years of age.
- 613,000 boys—17 years of age.
- 307,000 boys—18 years of age.
- 1,001,000 boys—18 to 21 years of age.

There never has been an occasion when the appeal was more strongly one of patriotism and love and freedom than this. Yet even in this case it will be seen that the old and experienced did not enlist to fight. The wars of the world have been fought by youths, who, because of inexperience, did not and could not understand the significance of war. The masters could not maintain themselves a year if they appealed to those who understood the game. It is only by deceiving the hot-headed, unsophisticated youth that they are able to maintain the barbarism of war to this day.

But even the young are awakening to the meaning of war. They are refusing to enlist even in the army or navy. Something of the corrupting nature of army life is shown by the official statement that one-fourth of the soldiers and sailors are treated for venereal diseases. It is not only those who are killed in battle; war kills the souls of the young even when living.

You have heard of the Boy Scouts movement? Well, "There's a reason."—Political Action.

"BANKERS' HOURS" IN THE TOMBS.

There have been many comments lately because some bankers who are at present occupying quarters in the Tombs prison enjoy too many privileges. J. G. Robin, it appears, has had desk room in the warden's office, while W. J. Cummins finds the ordinary quarters too small and has been permitted to use the private rooms of the warden. Why not have the Tombs overhauled so as to provide proper facilities for such guests? There should be stock tickers, telephones connecting with exchanges, and, above all, private consulting rooms.—New York Herald.

MAIL.

Will E. Boxall please call at Clarion office for some mail.

A NOBLE INCENTIVE.

I have just read in an English paper an advertising scheme of the competition variety, which seems to be so popular amongst the slaves of that country. After all their prattling of never being slaves they have perhaps been more fooled, more ruled and more robbed than the slave class of any other country.

That the masters are of the opinion that the slave's minds are still far from the point where they cease to think just as they dictate, through their various organs and institutions, is shown by this competition to which I refer. For behold, as a prize to the winner they offer, not a paltry sum of money, not a free university course, not a trip around the world or a time of leisure, but that which is to the slave mind the greatest of all boons and most sacred of all things, a steady job and a permanent master. Oh, you self-styled freemen of a subject class who never cease to talk of "your country," which you do not own, who talk of "your rights" which do not and never did exist, when will you ever wake up to the fact that your mind is in a greater state of apathy and subjection than that of any slave class that ever existed?

No need to bind you to your slavery by force, no need to club you to subjection. You are always and at all times ready to obey and applaud your masters; you take thin words as truth and to revolt against them who fool you in order that they may perpetuate their rule and robbery, has never entered your mind. It is difficult to think of you as members of a class which will overthrow this last form of slavery, but so it is determined by the economic forces which cannot be controlled.

Conditions will compel you sooner or later to become an active factor in this class struggle, whether you like it or not.

Be it the activity of your brain or the hunger pangs of your stomach, you must come our way.

I hope it will be soon.

THE UNPATRIOTIC IRISHMAN.

SMALL CHANCE TO BE DECENT

The choice between stealing and prostitution that faces so many women today who desire to live independent lives was vividly brought out yesterday in Jefferson Market Police Court, when Miss Dorothy G. Palmer, of 69 Hamilton avenue, Yonkers, was charged with buying clothes and ornaments and having them charged to her wealthy neighbor, Mrs. John K. Lovell.

Miss Palmer is 19 years of age, and is a refined-looking and pretty girl. She was arrested in a Fifth avenue department store. She made the following statement in court:—

"A girl must be up-to-date to get work. Even the most ordinary employer wants the young woman who works for him to wear silks and satins, pretty hats and silk stockings. I could not manage it on \$5.00 a week and keep my self-respect. That is why I stole.

"I am not the sort to cry over spilled milk," she said. "My crying days are over. I have no tears left. I may smile, but there is an ache under the smile. I have lived ten years during the past two. I am only 19 years old, but I feel like a woman of 30, and I know what a woman of 30 knows."—Ex.

HAVE YOU EVER?

Studied your position in society? Connected the ballot you cast last election with the policeman's club, that came in contact with your skull when you dared to strike for more grub?

Wondered why you have nothing left of your wages at the end of the month?

Been up against it and wondered why?

Heard the Liberal or Conservative ask you to study their methods of government?

Thought that there must be some reason for feeling scared about your job?

If so, you will be surprised how easy these questions answer themselves after studying a little Socialist literature. Some of them are answered in every issue of the Western Clarion. Send in your sub. and get wise.

S. L.

VANCOUVER FACES THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM

Streets Filled With Homeless Workers Seeking Jobs
---Situation Is Worst in Years---Will Be Hard Winter.

"Maybe if want one hundred laborer, maybe get it chance for job," said a "foreigner" in front of the Civic Employment Bureau, where he and a crowd of his fellows stood waiting in a forlorn hope that a chance would offer to "get on."

It was comparatively quiet when I visited the Bureau this (Tuesday) morning, but one hundred jobs would by no means have taken away all the eager job-seekers who vainly scanned the bare bulletin boards or kept the clerks monotonously busy telling them there were no jobs. Not a single job did the Bureau have to offer, and mighty few has it had since it started.

In front of a wicket some forty or fifty struggled and fought for a chance to register so as to be in line for the next job. A little to one side, a group of men stood discussing the situation. I joined them.

"It's hell," said a young fellow, "and it's going to get worse. I know a fellow that slept in a shed last night, nearly froze to death. If something doesn't turn up soon, I'm going to go to the police station."

"You won't get in," chimed in a fellow-unfortunate, "there are no accommodations. Eighty men were turned away last night."

"Hundreds of men," remarked a discursive Englishman, "have been brought here on the promise of good times, now there's nothing for them to do, or eat either. Yet there was a damned fool here yesterday who said he was loyal and true to his king. This C. P. R.'s the god and king of this country." "Even if you do get a job," spoke up another, "it don't last. Three months at a time is a 'steady job' out here."

My visit had lasted quite long enough to let me know that Vancouver faces another unemployed problem more severe than the last. And this is Vancouver, not London or New York. This is the Sunset City where prosperity reigns and single tax gives everybody a chance to be independent!

Just how many men are out of work at present it is difficult to say, but that it reaches the thousands is certain. Aside from the employment agencies, free and otherwise, one sees everywhere little knots of men talking dejectedly of how "tight" things are. It is impossible to get through the district around Carrall, Cordova and Powell streets without being "touched" several times for the price of a meal or a bed. By healthy, honest-looking young fellows, too.

A good many foolish people think they are doing some good by trying to bring "employer and employe together." As if it were possible to create jobs by eliminating the employment agent's fee. The fact is, there is no work to be had. And there is no food or shelter to be had either, for a large number. The jails are full of men who have no place else to sleep.

Here are some examples of the "want ads." appearing daily in the "World":

WANTED—Strong man must have work, supporting parents, low wages, anything. Apply Box Q-20. World.

WANTED—Respectable young man is willing to do any kind of work for small wages, or room and board; what can you do for me. Box P-36, World.

WANTED—Work by young man; will work for small wages; also sign contract for six months. Box P-5, World.

WANTED—By carpenter, job as improver, finisher; would take \$3; reliable. Box N-5, World.

WANTED—By young man, steady, served part time at baking trade, wishes employment of any kind. Small wages. Apply H. Hartley, 772 Hamilton street.

"Give us work of any kind at any wages," is the tone that runs through them all. There is one thing about it: a very large proportion of these men are beginning to realize what they are up against. It is very hard to tell them that it is all due to their evil qualities, or their unbelief, disloyalty or other such stuff. They know better.

You can't scare them when they talk Socialism by telling them that Socialism will take away their homes, or reduce them all to a dead level. They would tell you that there are rubbing elbows there, Englishmen, Italians, Swedes, Americans, Canadians, Protestants, Catholics, Agnostics, Atheists, bright men, stupid men, clerks, carpenters, engineers, philosophers, men with educations they can't sell and laborers; all without homes, all levelled to the one condition, all actuated by one thought, all in terror of the same fate, and all filled with one common, compelling emotion—the desire for a job, of any kind.

But they will listen eagerly if you come to them with the message of truth. If you tell them that they are the unresponsive victims of the capitalist system. That the wealth they have produced in the past has gone to idlers. That they are slaves because the tools of production that workers use, belong to capitalists and that those tools may some day belong to the workers who will no longer have to beg hungrily for jobs.

That is the Socialist mission, to carry such a message, and to stir up the revolt lying dormant in the minds of these social outcasts. Let us look to our duty.

PROWLER.

THE CRIME OF IGNORANCE.

The ignorance of the working class is the power of the capitalist class.

The Cross Mountain mine explosion is another result of the ignorance of the working class. A press report says the average wage of the Cross Mountain miner is \$35 a month. Some of the miners have families of eight and ten. They contemplated protesting against conditions for some time, but feared to face starvation if they went on strike. An attempt to organize a union was made, but it would not hold together.

The miners as a whole are the most class-conscious body of men today, and it is only the ignorance of the other portions of the working class that forces them to work in unsafe mines. Most mine disasters have been forecasted by workers in the mines, but what can they do? If they refuse to go in the mine they lose the job. If they report they lose the job, and so it is that the miner has to take his chance with the rest of labor, against conditions which can, but will not be remedied by the owners because of the expense.

It is time that every man who says that the present system is all right, who condemns the Socialist for trying to cause discontent amongst the workers, it is time, I say, that he was charged with the murder of these miners and other victims of disasters; and it should be the duty of every class-conscious worker to charge them, because it is through them that our conditions are so deplorable; that our lives are in danger; that children are forced into the factories and mines; that women are forced to sell their bodies. We cannot charge it to the capitalist class because it is not to their interest to remedy conditions which are all right for them, although they call themselves Christians. It is the interest of the working class to better conditions, therefore such disasters as Cherry Mine, Naomi, Triangle fire and all disasters which can be averted; also strikes, lockouts and unemployment can only be charged to that portion of the working class who are satisfied with the present system.

W. WATTS.

LOCAL VANCOUVER
Propaganda MEETING
Every Sunday Evening
Empress Theatre

THE WESTERN CLARION

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EMBALMING INTELLECTS.

No class of people of which history gives any record has ever equalled the present ruling class in the wily cunning by which they entice slaves to abrogate all the rights which belong to free men. The ancient priests who, to better delude and overawe their credulous dupes crawled inside the material images of immortal gods, manipulated the huge heads, and thundered forth messages of direful portent, were exceedingly coarse in their methods when compared with the controllers of modern education.

We refer more particularly to a publication entitled "The School Magazine," published by the B. C. Department of Education and edited by Clive Phillips-Wolley. It is distributed monthly to the children in the various schools.

Apart from its particular political purpose, which is to boost the Conservative Party by reaching the parents through the children, this magazine has a far-reaching and sinister object. If we are to judge from the first number, that object is to fill the children with a superstitious reverence for royalty, and an idea that the British Empire is of divine origin and that therefore, its political institutions are stable and everlasting. Along with these untruths are their usual companion—as an apotheosis of slaughter and a glorification of work. The following passage is an example of the soporific buncombe with which the work is filled:

"The world admits this, but it is still worth while to consider exactly what a nation is. The great authorities upon such matters tell us that any large body of men and women who are sprung from the same race, who have (roughly) the same religion, the same language, the same geographical position, the same manners, history, and laws, constitutes a nation, and that when such a body produces a recognizable type, or standard man and woman, of its kind, and is guided by a common or general thought, such a nation becomes perfect.

"It seems to me that it would be very difficult to find any considerable body of men and women who would quite satisfy these conditions, or, as we should say out here, who would quite fill this bill; but I think Canada comes nearer to doing so as most of the existing nations. All her people worship the same God: all her people serve the same King: all her people are governed by practically the same laws; all her people share alike in the same magnificent heritage of land: all her people have much the same manners: most of them speak the same language: all of them share in the history of the last three hundred years."

It is true the author of this may make a distinction between the terms "people" and "slaves," confining the former to the class by whom labor is regarded with proper abhorrence, and the latter to the working class. But the intended readers of his misleading statements can make no such distinction and neither shall we. In this connection we shall regard "people" as meaning all the population.

The people of Canada worship a multiplicity of gods, and a great proportion no god at all. They all serve the same king, it is true, because at present they have to. That king is not George V., however, but Capital. George is merely a sort of sandwich man who parades around, advertising the glory and might of our real rulers, the Princes of Commerce and Industry. But the statement we are more particularly concerned with is that "all her people share alike in the same magnificent heritage of land."

This is addressed to schools full of children, ninety or more percent of whom will never know what it is to own a foot of Canadian territory, foredoomed by the social system into which they are born and by which they are trained to lives of toil and insecurity in the service of an impersonal and inhuman master—Capital. Such teaching is baneful and pernicious in the extreme for it leaves the children with an utterly false conception of the world into which they are to enter. The land of Canada belongs largely to people who have never seen it. It is bought, sold and traded in without the slightest regard to the well-being of the millions who will in future come to its shores, or the coming generations, by whose labor its value will be raised. Nor should we expect it to be otherwise as long as profit remains the sole incentive for human activity. The business of educationalists is to teach ideas that will in no way endanger the property or profits of the "upper classes," and to avoid the truth at all hazards.

There is one bright ray cutting its way through this somewhat pessimistic outlook, and that is that by the time the present occupants of the schools are ready to wrestle with the problem of securing a livelihood, the capitalist system will have demonstrated its own weakness to such an extent that the new generation will grasp its intricacies much more readily than the old and thus give it its final quietus. Our task at present is to vigorously inculcate the Truth wherever possible, as an antidote to the narcotic injected by such human hypodermic syringes as Clive Phillips-Wolley.

ASSASSINATION AND SOCIALISM.

The statement that crimes such as those of which the McNamaras were guilty, are the result of Socialist teaching, or of agnosticism, is extremely ludicrous in the light of the facts. The McNamaras are both Roman Catholics, and neither of them are Socialists. The remarks of Daniel DeLeon in connection with Roman Catholicism and assassination are brought forcibly to mind by this incident. He says in "Anarchism versus Socialism":

"It is no accident, for instance, that Balthasar Gerard, the assassin of William the Silent, a leader in the Protestant Revolution; that Jacques Clement, the assassin of Henry III. of France; that Ravallac, the assassin of Henry IV., also of France; and, coming down to the history of our own days, that Kullman, the would-be assassin of Bismarck; Santos, the assassin of President Carnot of France; Bresel, the assassin of King Humbert of Italy; Luechini, the assassin of the Empress of Austria; Algoncillo, the assassin of the Spanish Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo;—it is no accident that all of these, down to Czolgosz (assassin of McKinley) are Catholics.

"It is no accident that these were all brought up by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy during the tender years which that same Hierarchy recognizes as the most important in shaping the future man's mind. I say it is no accident. Not, indeed, that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy makes it a practice of preaching assassination; not that. But that, unable, as it would seem, to free itself from its patriarchal and subsequent feudal habits, and becoming in our days the handmaid of the capitalist system of despotism, it instils into its pupils, not the today true and elevating principle that government is a reflex of social conditions, but the today false and degrading theory that social conditions are a reflex of government: a theory that by exaggerating the value of the individual act, by thus inflating the individual self-love, needs but to fall upon favorable soil to inevitably breed the assassin."

Many an individual, bitterly resenting the indignities and sufferings daily imposed upon the working class in the pursuit of its livelihood, and unable to reason clearly because of the distorted teaching which comprises standard education, turns blindly to assassination and destruction of property for revenge and in the vain hope of relief. Murder is the natural result of the capitalist system itself. It is a boomerang thrown by the capitalists in their struggle for profits.

In their struggles to defend a hopeless case, the prostitutes of capitalism will resort to the most vicious methods. A Vancouver paper, the policy of which is subversive of all truth, and the highest ideal of which is to snap at the heels of public men, or whine about a board fence, expresses the following pleasant sentiment:

"Murder and incendiarism are the twin progeny of the Vancouver brand of Socialism, and that brand is rampant throughout the West."

The coarse brutality of this deliberate lie is sufficient to brand its author as the slimiest of journalistic sycophants. He knows, if he knows anything at all, that the very nature of Socialist propaganda is to point out the uselessness of such methods and to occupy workmen's minds with something more dignified and important.

Not that it is out of any respect for the persons of capitalists or their tools that we decry their assassinations. The blood of a million workers sacrificed on the altar of cheapness is justification enough. It is the utter inadequacy of such acts to accomplish any definite purpose that places them outside the pale of working class effort. To assassinate one capitalist or one politician is merely to gratify the ambitions of a competitor who is secretly pleased though wailing in public. To burn the property of one manufacturer is to make business for another.

No one, however, would presume to deny that the present form of society was inaugurated with murder, incendiarism, fraud, trickery, torture and piracy. The "best" and most wealthy classes today are the immediate descendants of buccannereers, bandits, thieving traders, slave-grabbers, and grasping, cheating usurers. A good many of the fortunes made right here in British Columbia are the direct result of the lowest form of swindling—the robbery of innocent barbarians by making fair promises in the name of the "good Queen." To paraphrase our friend: "Modern business and modern laws are the twin progeny of murder and robbery."

The contemplated purpose of Socialism is viewed with far greater horror by capitalists and their respectable hangers-on than so commonplace a crime as killing. We propose to touch them in their real nerve centres,

their pockets. We intend to take away their property, the property that Labor has given them. This, to them, is an act unthinkable heinous. A crime of such magnitude that to prevent it they would spill oceans of blood—had they the courage—then fold their hands and raise their eyes in devout thankfulness that their dollars were saved.

To keep the workers loyal it is necessary for capitalist journals to lie, and do it enthusiastically. Against the fundamental facts that Labor produces all wealth, that wages represent only a fraction of the wealth produced, that if industry was collectively owned by the workers they would receive all the wealth they produced and that their condition would be immediately improved thereby, all argument is vain. Our enemies know this, that's why they are dumb on these points.

THE REASON.

It had not occurred to me to give any reasons for resigning the executive secretaryship and the editorship of the Clarion as the occurrence did not appear to have sufficient importance to warrant it. But being urged to give them in order to quell the reasons which appear to have been kindly supplied by apparently deeply interested parties, here they are, or rather, here it is. I resigned because I had for some time found myself unable to fill the bill to my own satisfaction. That the actions of the recent B. C. convention had anything to do with it is a cheerful untruth, which should be quite obvious to anyone who attended the convention. I admit a temporary spasm of disgust at the utter vapidity and futility of the aforesaid convention, but on consideration, particularly in view of its after effects, the results of the convention are not without their satisfactory features. It has acted upon the party in much the same way as lake-water upon a ship after a sea voyage—the barnacles are dropping off.

In this connection, being now in the rank and file and therefore quite irresponsible, a word or two might not be out of place. The futility of the convention was largely due to the facts that the majority had a program which they were unable to put through, and the minority's only possible program was to defend themselves from the majority. Consequently nobody arrived anywhere.

Owing to the negligence of a number of the real S. P. of C. Locals the majority was composed of delegates representative of an element entirely out of sympathy with the platform and principles of the S. P. of C. But while they had the numerical superiority they completely lacked any vestige of backbone. And so they failed to carry out the neat little program they had mapped out. They came to "settle" the Hawthornthwaite affair—and left it where it was. So anxious were they to do it up right that they appointed a press committee that was to make extended notes and inform the workers of Vancouver Island of the truth of the Nanaimo affair, through their official organ, the Nanaimo Herald. When, in spite of "sealed lips," the truth of the Nanaimo affair did leak out, the press committee so far forgot its enthusiasm for the enlightenment of the aforesaid workers that they gave their report to the flames. They returned Local Nanaimo's charter in the morning and took it away again in the afternoon. They declared the Executive's action unconstitutional, but were unable to say why. They came to take the secretary's scalp and went away after raising his salary—on paper. Finally they brought in a motion to declare all their previous actions null and void, and, being unable to pass it, some of them bolted. And, since then, without waiting for the convention proceedings to be deciphered and submitted to referendum, a number of them are ostentatiously leaving the party, and the wisest thing they have done yet and certainly the best thing they have ever done for the party.

Mc. Send a quarter for our assortment of pamphlets. Don't wait, send it now. The crew of half Canada's navy deserted in Vancouver. He got a better job. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Very well. See that everybody works. What's the proposition? Cheer up! Lots of railroads in sight. There will be plenty of slaves here soon. Who knows? We may beat New York yet! Boost her along, boys!

The emperor of India has announced his intention of contributing a sum of money for educational purposes in that country. We thought he was doing fairly well up to that time. The millions spent on the Durbar were not intended to be spent for amusement. At least we did not take the business that way.

Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. R. I. Matthews Secretary, 579 Homer-Richards Lane, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. R. I. Matthews, Secretary.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite post-office. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province. F. Danby, Secretary, Box 847, Calgary.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Notice—This card is inserted for the purpose of getting "YOU" interested in the Socialist movement. SOCIALISTS are always members of the Party; so if you are desirous of becoming a member, or wish to get any information, write the secretary, W. H. Stebbings, Address, 316 Good Street, Winnipeg.

SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every first and third Saturday in the month, 8:00 p.m., at headquarters, Main Street, North Battleford. Secretary will answer any communications regarding the movement in this Province. L. Budden, Secy., Box 101, North Battleford, Sask.

MANITOWA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, meets every second and fourth Sundays in the Cape Breton office of the Party, Commercial Street, Gloucester, N. S. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 491, Gloucester, N. S.

LOCAL FERRIS, S. P. of C. HOLDS educational meetings in the Miners' Union Hall, Victoria Ave., Ferris, every Sunday evening at 7:45. Business meeting first Sunday in each month, same place, at 2:30 p.m. David Paton, Secretary, Box 101.

LOCAL GREENWOOD, S. P. of C. No. 9. S. P. of C. meets every Sunday evening at Miners' Union Hall, Greenwood. Visiting Comrades invited to call. C. Primrose, Secretary.

LOCAL ROSSELAND, NO. 25, S. P. of C. Meets every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secretary, P.O. Box 674. Roseland Finnish Branch meets in Finlander's Hall, Sundays at 8:00 p.m. A. Sebble, Secretary, P.O. Box 64, Roseland.

LOCAL MICHEL, S. P. of C. No. 16, S. P. of C. holds propaganda meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. in Crehan's Hall. A hearty invitation is extended to all wage slaves within reach of us to attend our meetings. Business meetings are held the first and third Sundays of each month at 10:30 a.m. in the same hall. Party organizers take notice. A. S. Julian, Secretary.

LOCAL MOYIE, S. P. of C. No. 30, MEETS second Sunday, 7:30 p.m., in McGregor Hall (Miners' Hall). Thos. Roberts, Secretary.

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

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, S. P. of C. No. 23. S. P. of C. meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theatre Block at 2:00 p.m. L. H. Gorham, Secretary.

LOCAL SVELTSTOKE, S. P. of C. No. 7. S. P. of C. Business meetings at 7:30 p.m. of each month. B. F. Gayman, Secretary.

LOCAL SANDON, S. P. of C. No. 36, S. P. of C. Meets every Tuesday in the Sandon Miners' Union Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandon, B. C.

LOCAL SOUTH FORT GEORGE, B. C. No. 61, meets every Friday night at 8 p.m. in Public Library Room. John McGinnis, Secretary; Andrew Allen, Organizer.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C. No. 1, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 133 Water Street. F. Perry, Secretary, 518 Hornby St.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C. No. 45, S. P. of C. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 2237 Main Street. Secretary, Wm. Myntill.

LOCAL YERDON, B. C. No. 28, S. P. of C. Meets every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m. sharp, at L. O. L. Hall, Tronson St. W. H. Gilmore, Secretary.

LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 9. Miners' Hall and Opera House. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m. on the first and third Sundays of the month. Business meetings on Thursday evenings following propaganda meetings at 8 p.m. in the month, at 4 p.m., in Secretary, Jas. Glendenning, Box 83, Coleman, Alta. Visitors may receive information any day at Miners' Hall from Com. W. Graham, Secretary of U. M. W. of A.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA. No. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 622 First St. Business and propaganda meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. Our reading room is open to the public free, from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. Secretary, A. Farnilo, 622 First St.; Organizer, W. Stephenson.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., No. 4, S. P. of C. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Room 25, Mackle Block, Eighth Avenue and Second Street W. Club and reading room same address. Frank Tipping, Secretary, Box 447.

LOCAL REGINA, NO. 6, SASK. MEETS every Sunday, Trades Hall, 8 p.m. Business meeting, second Friday, 8 p.m., Trades Hall. B. Simmons, secretary, 1909 Garnet St., P.O. Box 1046.

LOCAL BRANDON, MAN., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Headquarters, No. 10 Nation Block, Rossar Ave. Propaganda meeting, Sunday at 8 p.m.; business meeting, second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m.; economic class Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary, T. Mellalieu, 249 First St., Brandon, Man.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., No. 19, S. P. of C. Meets first and third Sundays in the month, at 4 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Secretary, Chas. Peacock, Box 1983.

LOCAL MOOSEJAW, SASK., No. 1, S. P. of C.—Propaganda meetings every Sunday, 7:30 p.m., in the Trades Hall; Economic Class every Sunday, 8 p.m. D. McMillan, Sec. Treas., South Hill P. O., Sask.; A. Stewart, Organizer, South Hill P. O., Sask. All slaves welcome.

LOCAL No. 1, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, S. P. of C.—Headquarters 233 1/2 Main Street, Winnipeg, room 2, next Dreamland Theatre. Business meeting every Sunday morning, at 11; economic class Wednesdays, at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 270 Young Street. Propaganda meeting every Sunday evening in Dreamland Theatre, Main Street, at 8 o'clock. Discussion invited.

LOCAL OTTAWA, NO. 8, S. P. of C.—Business meetings first Sunday in month in Labor Hall, 44 Bank St. A. G. McCallum, Secretary, 140 Augusta St.

LOCAL GLACE BAY, NO. 1, OF W. S. Business and propaganda meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. in MacDonald's Hall, Union Street. All are welcome. Alfred Nash, Corresponding Secretary, Glace Bay; Wm. Sutherland, Organizer, New Aberdeen; H. G. Ross, Financial Secretary, office in D. N. Brodie Printing Co. Building, Union Street.

PLATFORM Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program 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-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the 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 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 the collective property of the working class.
2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

SUBSCRIPTION CARDS 5 Yearlies - - - \$3.75 10 1-2 Yearlies - - - 4.00 20 Quarterlies - - - 4.00

ADVERTISE IN THE CLARION



CORRESPONDENCE

O'BRIEN REPORTS.

Since I returned from the east I have assisted the Comrades with 22 meetings in Alberta and two in B. C. from the collections received outside of the striking district I received \$17.70. The assembly is now in session and I am answering the roll-call. C. M. O'BRIEN.

YALE-CARIBOO.

Commissioners For Voters' Lists. Will Locals throughout Yale-Cariboo send in as soon as possible, the names (in full), age, occupation and place of residence, of those they wish to be appointed as Commissioners to take Affidavits for 1912?

Also comrades in isolated communities who wish to be appointed, please notify with full particulars.

H. GILDEMEESTER, Dist. Secty. Mara, B. C.

STATEMENT YALE-CARIBOO ELECTION RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Table with Receipts and Expenditure columns. Receipts total \$262.10, Expenditure total \$260.05.

Balance in hand \$2.05 Audited and found correct. WILLIAM ELSON, THOS GRAY, Auditors.

The total vote for Yale-Cariboo was \$8, no doubt disappointing to all, but a vote which is stripped of all sympathizers. I have received many enquiries re the comparatively small vote and I take this opportunity of reminding the comrades that in the past analysis they themselves are to blame for not pushing the propaganda more actively between campaigns.

WANTED—At the Ymir General Hospital, a nurse, must be a graduate of some well established hospital. For particulars write W. B. McISAAC, Secretary.

Our propaganda efforts should never cease. So let us commence right now with propaganda and organization work.

Some parties in the Boundary district will notice that their contributions are absent from this account of receipts. This is due to the fact that the collector, Gerald Desmond, did not give me any account of these contributions, nor did he remit any money to me.

I have some Yale-Cariboo voters' lists left, which may be useful to locals throughout the district. Send in your wants. These voters' lists can be split up for the different provincial constituencies or left whole.

I am compelled by lack of time to resign as district secretary on the 1st of January next. Will some comrade volunteer to take up the work?

H. GILDEMEESTER, District Secretary. Mara, B. C.

NOTICE.

A special meeting of the B. C. Provincial Executive Committee is hereby called for Monday, December 18th, 8 p.m.

R. I. MATTHEWS, Secretary.

LITERATURE.

We need money and we want to make way for new pamphlets. Therefore we make the following offer: Manifesto of S. P. of C. 10c Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism 10c Socialism and Unionism 5c Slave of the Farm 5c Struggle for Existence 5c Proletarian in Politics 5c The State and Government 5c

THE WHOLE BUNCH FOR 25c. Five-cent pamphlets at 80 cents per hundred. Ten-cent pamphlets at \$2.00 per 100.

This is all excellent propaganda matter. Order quick, as the stock is not likely to last long.

A contented slave is in exactly the same position from an intellectual standpoint as any other domesticated animal.

"Britons never shall be slaves." If not slaves now, we wonder what they would look like if they were?

Many a man thinks that it is goodness that keeps him from crime, when it is only his full stomach. On half allowance he would be as ugly and knavish as anybody. Don't mistake potatoes for principles.—Thomas Carlyle.

WHAT THE COMRADES ARE DOING COUNSEL AND CRITICISM.

Editor of the Western Clarion, Vancouver, B. C. Dear Comrade:—

In response to the call for help of the Western Clarion, I have gathered the enclosed eleven yearly subscriptions. For the other \$10.00 send us sub. cards. This is all we can guarantee for the present, but the comrades are thinking of trying the Vancouver method of distributing envelopes, we can but try, it is doubtful if it will come to anything as the people are scared to part with a dollar in this quarter. I had forty-two miserable cent-pieces put in the collection last Sunday, which totalled \$1.42. You can just about judge what it means for the comrades in this dark and superstitious quarter of the Globe.

The comrades are thinking of trying to arrange a smoking concert or a dance to raise funds to forward on to you to help keep the Clarion, as I assure you we don't want to see it go under, but I must confess that the articles are a bit too deep for the wooden headed wage slaves of Eastern Canada and it has been a job to secure subscriptions even from some so-called Socialists. I would suggest that if things are favorable for its continuation, it would be a good thing to use the front page for the purpose of explaining Socialism in the most simple manner, just publish the A.B.C. as it were, the rest of the paper could be used for deeper articles to suit the real Socialists.

I must confess that we need as the good christian says: "your prayers to wake up this dark part," I think Comrade Gribble could give us another look round to good effect. Kindly acknowledge receipt of money order and oblige,

Yours in the fight, A. TAYLOR, Sec. S. P. of C., St. John Local No. 6.

To the Publisher of the Clarion, Dear Sir:—

I have received the Clarion for some time and I am not aware of who is sending it to me as I gave no order for it and I might say have no use for it or any other paper that is opposed to priest or preacher, as without the influence of those people I fear it would be a terrible state of affairs. Trusting you will discontinue the paper I am respectfully, JOSEPH F. REDMOND, Gopher Head, Alta.

Comrade:— We have at last forced them to notice us here in Montreal. After a long course of "silent contempt" the press took a definite stand today, when they informed us that we would have to pay full rates for a "display" ad. for our meetings.

We had been compelled to make use of cheaper ads. in the "wants" and "miscellaneous" columns through lack of funds, but we were informed today by the "Montreal Star" that these insertions of ours had been and would in future be classed as "OBJECTIONABLE," and that the full rate would be charged as a deterrent. They have had to sit up and take notice. The first big gun has been fired in Montreal.

Yours in revolt, BHAI, Montreal Local, S. P. of C.

Copeville, Alta., Dec. 1, 1911. Dear Comrade,—Am very much pleased to see our paper out again as a weekly and believe me or not, if those soreheads are made to go down the road and air their views, instead of using valuable space in our paper, we will be able to build her up and keep her up. Will state here that Comrades A. P. and Mrs. Olsen of Red Deer just left for Copenhagen, Denmark, to take up residence there, after a stay of 31 years on this continent. Yours scrupulously, PETER F. OLSEN.

HOW THEY COME

Two thousand new yearly subs. by January 15th will put us on Easy Street. We must not have a deficit this month. Do your best, comrades, for the next month and get us that two thousand. Then we will stop talking about it for awhile and go after the enemy. The following are doing their part; it's up to you: Local St. John, N. B. 11 E. Kuhn, Brandon, Man. 8 T. B. Legge, Brandon, Man. 5 W. Bennett, City. 5 D. McMillan, South Hill, Sask. 5 R. Thomas, Merritt, B. C. 4 F. Tipping, Calgary, Alta. 4 E. Fulcher, Brandon, Man. 3 N. K. Pugh, Victoria, B. C. 2 E. Simpson, Victoria, B. C. 2 T. A. Austin, Nelson, B. C. 2 Singles—L. M. Gordon, Hamilton, Ont.; Fred Teeple, Brandon, Man.; S. Lefeaux, City; Jas. C. Dawson, Charlotte, Sask.; Claude Swan, Shellbrook, Sask.; R. F. Smith, Youngstown, Alta.; Peter F. Olsen, Copeville, Alta.; C. F. Webber, Carmack, Y. T.; H. Noakes, Victoria, B. C.; W. Davenport, Brantford, Ont.; G. C. Hanselman, Saskatoon, Sask.; W. E. Cocks, Regina, Sask.; W. K. Bryce, De Meane, Sask.; J. N. Hints, Gibson's Landing, B. C.; John C. Turner, Fernie, B. C.; Jos. Naylor, Cumberland, B. C.; A. E. Tipper, Chas. Mulcahey, C. Rayner, City.

Bundles—J. S. Odegaard, Prince Rupert, B. C.; 5; Wm. Allen, Sydney Mines, N. S., 5. Sub. Cards issued. Local St. John, N. B. \$10.00 Maritime Executive 8.00 E. Fulcher, Brandon, Man. 5.00 Thos. E. Mason, Montreal, Que. 4.00 W. E. Cocks, Regina, Sask. 4.00

FREEDOM FOR MRS. NAPOLITANO.

Some Chicago women who can think of other things besides frivolous society capers have put a petition into circulation demanding the freedom of Agelina Napolitano, who is now serving a life sentence in a Canadian prison for having killed her husband.

Mrs. Napolitano killed her worthless spouse after he had tried to force her to sell her body upon the streets and support him. He had been tried once before on the charge of threatening his wife's life and was sentenced to three years in prison, but was pardoned after serving three weeks.

Perhaps Mrs. Napolitano had obeyed the demands of her swine husband she would not now be condemned to a living death in a Canadian penitentiary, but might be a successful rival of Gaby Deslys in the pleasing pastime of entertaining the vicious and degenerate "smart set" of New York—the parasites who rob the tolling, molling millions of workers that they may poison the social conscience with their riotous debauchery and obscenity.

In our humble opinion the poor Italian woman who protected her virtue and the honor of her children by killing a scoundrel is a heroine, and the barbarous judge and jury who condemned her to die upon the scaffold deserve to be transported to the jungles of Africa to associate with and learn a few lessons in morality from wild beasts, for even lions and tigers protect their young.

Words can but tamely express our loathing for the Canadian cannibal who have learned to walk upon their hind legs and gain keen pleasure in torturing a poor weak woman because she employed a natural law to defend her life and soul from an inhuman monster.

Those whose hearts possess some of the milk of human kindness, who appreciate the eternal fitness of things and who can spare a few hours' of time occasionally to labor for justice and common decency should write to Iris Smith, 4538 Hazel Avenue, Chicago, Ill., secure some petitions and further information regarding the movement to secure freedom for Mrs. Napolitano.

The King goes to India to overawe the tolling millions there and to subdue the voices crying out against oppression. Let us hope the day is not far distant when the masses will not be dazzled into subjection by the wealth which has been filched from them.

THE MACHINE AGE

Our civilization is essentially a machine civilization; the machine is its typical representative. The steamship and the locomotive which play an immense role in our modern life are essentially machines. All the products we consume have the stamp of the machine upon them; either they are fashioned by the machine or the machine brings them to us. The next social revolution will be fought around the machine—the machine will be its storm centre. Modern society cannot live for a day without the machine and unless it is to be always at the mercy of a decreasing handful of machine owners, it must make the machine social property—which again means the triumph of Socialism—Arthur Morrow Lewis.

THE PROLETARIAT

(By Karl Kautsky)

(Continued from last issue)

The existence of the exploiter is not bound up with that of the exploited. The worker and his wife and children can at any moment be turned into the street, with starvation staring them in the face, without causing the slightest change in the position of the exploiter who has fattened on him.

And the misery of unemployment is today rarely the consequence of disturbances in production through external, overpowering influences, it is now in fact the natural consequence of production itself. Disturbances in production under present conditions often increase the opportunities for work instead of lessening them: one need only call to mind the consequences of the war in 1870 to the economic life of Germany and France during the immediately succeeding years.

Under the domination of petty enterprise the income of the worker producing on his own account grew larger the more industrious he proved to be. Laziness ruined him and caused his unemployment. Today the longer the workers work the more unemployment increases. The worker causes his unemployment by his own work. Like many another maxim from the world of petty enterprise, the one that the worker's good fortune depends upon his being industrious has been changed to its opposite by the large capitalist enterprise. And another maxim still mouthed today by many a Philistine, presumably for the benefit of the worker, has become an untruth, namely, that anyone willing to work can find work.

Just as little as small property is a sure protection against want and misery, so is possession of labor-power. While the ghost of bankruptcy is continually hovering over the peasant owner and the handicraftsman, the ghost of unemployment haunts the wage-worker all his life.

This continual insecurity is, of all the evils of the present mode of production, the most tormenting, and also the most atrocious, the evil that stirs up the feeling of the worker unspeakably and scatters completely to the winds all his conservative notions. This eternal insecurity of his own position undermines his belief in the security of the existing state of things and extinguishes his interest in its retention. And he who continually dreads the existing state of things finally loses all fear for new conditions.

The capitalist mode of production brings in its train overwork, unemployment, and dissolution of the family for the working-class, and it has at the same time the effect of forcing proletarian conditions upon further sections of society, thus visibly making these conditions the general conditions of the great mass of the population.

6. THE GROWING EXTENT OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Commercial and the "Educated" Proletariat.

It is not only by the extension of industry on a large scale that the capitalist mode of production makes the proletarian conditions general. It is also caused by the position of the wage-workers in industries on a large scale becoming the standard for the position of the wage-workers in other spheres of activity. And their conditions of work and life are revolutionized by the large scale industries.

The advantages which these workers may perhaps have possessed over those employed in capitalist industries are now, by the influence of the latter, changed into so many disadvantages. Where, for instance, today the worker of a handicraft still boards and lodges with his master, the aforesaid change results in this handicraft worker being worse fed and housed than the wage-worker who has a household of his own. The long apprenticeship in times gone by, a means for preventing a glut of workers in handicraft; today the system of apprenticeship is the most effective means of producing a glut of cheap workers in handicraft and of depriving the adult workers of their livelihood.

Here also, as in other directions, things that under the domination of petty enterprise were reasonable and a boon, have become nonsensical and a hindrance owing to the capitalist mode of production.

The endeavor of guild-masters to revive the old guild system may in the main be ascribed to the desire to create, by the revival of the old forms, new means for the purpose of exploiting their workmen. They seek to save themselves from the bog by throwing down and stepping on proletarian bodies.

And these gentlemen grow indignant when the working class fails to become enthusiastic over this method of delaying somewhat the inevitable extinction of petty enterprise.

Commercial trading undergoes a similar development to handicraft. The large enterprise squeezes out of existence the petty enterprise, even in the sphere of petty trading.

The small commercial undertakings

need not, therefore, diminish in number. Petty trading becomes the last refuge of those who have gone bankrupt among the small producers.

In the German empire there were employed per thousand workers in each particular group:—

Table showing establishments industrial commercial (including Licensed Victuallers) with employee counts for 1882, 1895, and 1898.

From this table it will be gathered that in commercial and licensed establishments petty enterprise predominates far more than in industry and declines less rapidly—speaking relatively. Speaking absolutely, petty enterprise is on the increase in commerce and the licensed victuallers' trade. The number of employees in these callings increased from 1,013,981 in 1882 to 1,509,453 in 1895.

To restrict petty trading—for instance by restricting hawking or peddling—would mean nothing else but to sweep those who are getting their livelihood in that way completely off their feet and to force them into the ranks of the loafing class; that is to say, to compel them to become beggars, vagabonds, or jailbirds—which would indeed be typical social reform.

The influence of the development of industry on a large scale as far as petty trading is concerned, does not find expression in a decrease in the number of small trading concerns, but in their actual dwindling away. The existence of petty traders on their own account becomes continually more insecure and more like that of the proletarians. Besides, there is a steady increase in the number of those employed in large concerns, who become real proletarians, and have no prospect of ever going into business on their own account; child-and-woman-labor continues to extend, the latter, accompanied by increased prostitution. Overwork, unemployment, and the cutting down of wages also enter this sphere of employment. The position of the commercial employer is approaching that of the industrial proletarian. The former can be distinguished from the latter almost in only one way, namely, by his keeping up the appearance, at a great sacrifice, of a higher social position, while the industrial proletarian knows nothing of practising such deception.

And yet another category of proletarians begins to develop; the educated proletariat. To be educated has, in our present mode of production, become quite a separate business. The scope of knowledge has grown immensely and is widening from day to day. And capitalist society as well as the capitalist state, require more and more men of science and art for the conduct of their affairs, for the subjection of the forces of nature, be it for the purpose of production or destruction, or for the luxurious utilization of their increasing affluence. But not only the peasant, the handicraftsman or proletarian, but even the merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, the stock-exchange gambler and the large land-owner have no time to devote to art or science. Their time is fully taken up by their business and amusements. In present society it is not, as under former systems of society, the exploiters themselves, or at least a section of them, who foster art and science. They leave that occupation to a separate class, whom they pay for their services. Education becomes a commodity.

But until several decades ago it was still a rare commodity. There were but few schools, and study involved considerable expense. The peasants were mostly not in a position to be able to raise the means for sending their sons to the higher schools. Handicraft and commerce on the other hand were still in a prosperous condition; hence, whosoever was engaged in these callings remained in them; only the fact of being specially gifted or in exceptional circumstances induced the son of the handicraftsman or merchant to take up the study of art and science. While the demand for officials, technical experts, medical men, teachers, artists, etc., increased, the supply was almost entirely restricted to the progeny from such circles.

The commodity education commanded therefore a high price. Its possession brought at least a comfortable living to those who turned it to practical account, like lawyers, officials, medical men, professors, etc.,—often fame and honor also. The artist, the poet, the philosopher were the companions of kings. The intellectual aristocrat considered himself superior to the aristocrat by birth or money. His only concern was the development of his intellectual gifts. Consequently the educated could be idealists, and often were such. They stood above the other classes and their material aspirations and antagonisms. Education meant power, happiness, and amiableness; therefore the conclusion lay near, that, in order to make all men happy and amiable, to surmount all class antagonism and to abolish poverty and degradation, nothing more was required than the diffusion of education.

(Continued Next Week)

CO-OPERATION Is The Key Note of Socialism

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THE PHILOSOPHY AND POLICY OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

At the present time, when this terrestrial globe is swamped with a galaxy of stump orators, too colossal to enumerate, each with his own pet theory or idea of the eternal fitness of things, visible and invisible, most of them with some well-designed plan of a future state of society, even to the most minute details; almost without exception holding a philosophy built upon the shifting sands of idealism, it behooves those who profess to voice the revolutionary proposition to make their position clear in plain and unmistakable language.

The writer himself hails from a country where so-called Socialist parties are so numerous and varied—each distinguished from the rest by the all-important qualifying adjective—and ideas about Socialism so peculiar and conflicting that the honest seeker after facts, is apt to become entangled in a labyrinth of ideas, leading nowhere. Thus many, seeing the awful confusion existing among parties professedly voicing the interests of the working class, have either lapsed into absolute apathy, or descended into the quagmire of anarchy. Therefore the purpose of this somewhat incoherent mass of phrases is to attempt to outline a few salient points in the Socialist philosophy and the policy a party admitting all that such a philosophy implies should adopt.

Engels, whom Labriola rightly termed a professor of professors, although without a chair, in that masterly little work entitled "Socialism, Utopian, and Scientific," says at the end of Chapter II, "These two discoveries, the materialist conception of history and the revelation of the secret of Capitalist Production, through surplus value we owe to Marx. By these discoveries the teachings of Socialism became a science."

The materialist conception of history explains all man's activities, mental and physical, as resulting from the methods adopted in the production and distribution of wealth.

There is nothing that history brings out more clearly than the fact that man constantly changes his customs, laws, and methods. Almost any elementary school boy can describe the successive changes in dress, habitat and weapons. Take for one moment the evolution of the latter: first the club, then the stone axe, then the sling and javelin; then the bow and arrow; then the steel plate armour with lance and sword, then with the discovery of the use of gunpowder it was found a man could use powder and ball with deadlier effect than the steel-clad, mounted knight with his long lance or sword, and so firearms appeared on the scene with first, the flint-lock musket, then the percussion lock, then the repeating rifle and finally our modern automatic maxim gun, etc.

Alongside of this gradual change in the methods of defense, can be observed the same gradual change in the method of production; so that from the crudely shaped, primitive club, probably the first instrument used by primitive man to obtain his livelihood easier, we have in our midst today the gigantic social machine of production operated by a vast aid well-organized industrial army. It might here be noted that the motive for each successive change in the tools of wealth production, was man's desire to live easier, that he might in fact, produce from mother earth, life's necessities more economically.

Every change in the method of producing and distributing wealth all along this line of evolution has resulted in a corresponding change in man's ideas and in the institutions by which he is surrounded. As Engels, in chap. III, of the work before referred to, says: "The manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view, the final causes of all the social changes and Political Revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."

Ever since the dawn of private property in the means of production society has been composed of classes known at various time under various titles—masters and chattel slaves, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and wage workers—and a struggle is everywhere manifest between these classes of diverse economic interests.

The class struggle (the struggle for ownership) is a corollary of the struggle for existence. In the same way the Darwinian law explains organic evolution, the Marxian law explains social evolution. The subjection of the working class, being due to the fact that the means of production are in the possession of another class, makes the interests of these two classes diametrically opposite, and the class struggle inevitable.

The evolution of the tool and weapon crudely outlined earlier, have resulted in the existence of two mighty

factors in modern society, the state or machinery of government and the mighty forces of wealth production. And every class that at any period in history has been made the recipient of the benefits accruing from the operation of the economic forces, has been able to retain that position only through the possession of that which had its inception in the primitive, crudely-shaped, club, the State.

The materialist conception of history, explaining all man's ideas of religion, moral codes, justice, goodness etc., as arising from and being built upon an economic basis, cannot entertain any metaphysical reasoning or idea of the miraculous; or such a thing as the existence of eternal—(natural or divine)—laws governing and guiding the human race.

Surplus Value: The revelation of the secret of capitalist exploitation through surplus value which as Engels said, we owe to Marx. This brilliant, yet much despised economist demonstrated conclusively that commodities—articles produced for sale upon the world's market—exchange one with another at value, such value being determined by the amount of average necessary human labor in the abstract incorporated therein, measured by time. Prices of course are but the monetary expression of values and though these may fluctuate owing to supply and demand, and—(this being the most important factor)—the fluctuation in exchange value of gold itself, still it remains a fact that seeing these fluctuations necessarily cancel one another, prices cannot rise above value on the average. Now the laborer, owing to the fact that the means of production are in the possession of another class in society than that to which he belongs, is compelled to sell the only thing he has in order to keep alive. This is his labor power, his physical or mental energy. Labor power is thus an article of merchandise, bought and sold upon the labor market, in exchange for which the worker receives a certain sum of money, called wages. This is simply the price of another value, the value contained in his labor power, which value like all others is determined by its cost of production measured in labor time. The cost of production of the workers' labor power is the value contained in his life necessities, food, clothing, shelter.

The opportunity the worker has of exercising this privilege (glorious privilege) of selling his life force at so much per hour, day, week or month is regulated by the competition he finds upon the labor market with his fellow laborers. This competition by the way, is daily increasing owing to the constant improvement in the machine, and because of such improvement the wages received are harder to obtain, more difficult to maintain and easier to push down; and this in spite of the existence of any form of unionism. The amount received in wages fluctuates around the cost of subsistence, and though we may admit that this line is moveable, still it is around this line that the struggle is to-day taking place. Thus any organization that interests itself in the working class as peddlers of commodities cannot be effectual in helping that class materially.

The peculiarity of the commodity labor power is that it imparts a greater value than its cost—a value greater than the value of the labor power expended. As Marx says: "He (the capitalist) sells dearer, not because he obtains more than the value of his commodity, but because his commodity contains a greater value than that contained in the natural elements of its production." Thus surplus value is crystallized, unpaid labor, that portion of the workers' product appropriated by the capitalist class. It is the difference between what it costs the capitalist to produce his commodities and what he realizes for them when sold upon the world's market.

The contention of certain would-be critics, who point out that since according to our view of the matter, the worker in selling his labor power for wages obtains value for value, cannot therefore be subject to the exploitation we make so much complaint of, falls entirely to the ground. The capitalist engages in production for the sole purpose of obtaining this surplus value. He buys and sells labor power and corals for himself the difference between what he pays for it and what he obtains for the product it creates. The capitalist can make nothing in the buying and selling of the other factors in production—raw material, machinery, etc.—their value is merely consumed in the process of manufacture and passes over and is embodied in the finished commodity, but without increase. It is only the living commodity, labor power, that transfers to the new product an additional value—a value exceeding its own value. This is what, as pointed out previously, constitutes surplus value. After the foregoing rather brief outline of a few of the fundamental points in the Socialist philosophy, let us try and find out what the policy of a party accepting the same should be.

Realizing that the working class, becoming more and more subject to oppression owing to increasing competi-

tion for jobs, can do nothing by so-called industrial organization, or by the obtaining of concessions or reforms from the master class, our policy must be to educate the working class to the fact that they are numerically stronger, in the ratio, approximately, of 9 to 1, than their masters, but that their very numbers on the industrial field spell defeat in any action they may take. But upon the field upon which the master class are organized, the political field—the plane of power—their numbers must inevitably spell victory, for there alone are their interests in harmony.

"The proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy" is a quotation from Marx not sufficiently recognized at the present time. Our object must be the capturing of the state, whose function is to enable one class to subjugate another; and it is because the capitalist class are at present in possession of the reins of government, that they can ride on the backs of the workers and continue to extract surplus value from their hides.

We are told by a certain number of people today, that because all institutions, social, political and religious, arise from the economic basis upon which society stands, therefore political power, that is, the state, is merely a reflex. But granting it be reflex, it by no means follows that it is a shadow or myth, as these very enlightened individuals would have us wall may be the reflex of modern belief. We can say that a certain bricklaying, but anyone can see that this does not make it a shadow. Far from it. Let anyone doubting this try his head against it. Recently, in many places all over the world we have heard of policemen batoning into subjection, wage slaves who dared to interfere with their masters' affairs. This is where the shadow (the policeman's club) meets the substance (the wage plug's cranium). Suppose any of us were to do anything considered detrimental to our masters' interests, we are instantly 'brought face to face with political power in the shape of a fairly well armed policeman. He compels submission, because we realize that behind the individual policeman stands the police force as a whole, then the militia, standing army and all the naval and military equipment that go to make up the machinery of law and order. Behind these mighty forces are the henchmen of the ruling class, placed in office to do their masters' bidding by the votes of the majority of the working class, behind which vote stands the colossal ignorance of that class. Our policy therefore is to make clear our principles in order that this ignorance might be dispelled and the workers brought to a sense of their position in society and their historic mission as a class.

What conceals from the working class at the present moment the method of their exploitation is the form of money in which they are paid their wages. If, like the chattel slaves of old, they received as a return for the expenditure of their energy so much of the corn, wheat, oats or meat which they themselves raised and procured for their masters, they would be under no delusion as to the meaning of the transaction, however little power they might have to effect their freedom. Or, if they were serfs compelled to surrender to their lord, the result of three or four days' toil without any payment whatever, they would hardly conceive, however thick-headed and mule-like they might be, that their interests were identical with those of their masters.

But the fact that the modern wage slave is free (?), so perfectly free that he can travel wherever he pleases and still possess nothing; so free that, even if sufficiently independent to leave his master if he so desire, he is compelled to sell his labor power at subsistence cost or starve—this keeps their eyes blinded to the fact that the owners of the means of production and distribution, simply because they are owners, can appropriate from two-thirds to four-fifths of the product of their toil.

In order to dispel this class ignorance our propaganda must be clear cut and revolutionary, so that when the members of our class realize the game now practiced upon them, they will not be led away from the one and only issue, by any sentimental will-o'-the-wisp idea, to which their notice might be attracted. The utter futility of striving after reform, trying to patch up this present horrible system, compromising here and there in order to gain this or that concession, must be clearly pointed out. To the workers who as yet do not realize that conditions can only be made better for them by ending the present system of production for profit, we can point to another of Marx's well-known statements: "That instead of having on your banners 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' you should inscribe the revolutionary watchword, 'The abolition of the wage system.'" This can only be accomplished by a class-conscious movement and the capture of political power.

Then let us ever hew to the line, keeping our eyes on the goal, turning

neither to the right hand or the left, so that when the time is due, we may hurl all the paraphernalia of nonsense, degradation, misery, oppression and uselessness connected with this present system, into oblivion. May the good Lord preserve us to behold the day.

W. A. P.

UNITED STATES STATISTICS.

There are 102,329 prisoners in penitentiaries and 23,786 children in juvenile institutions. There are a total of 199,981 paupers. Three million pauperized citizens apply for assistance to charitable institutions each year.

There are 500,000 prostitutes in the United States, 100,000 of which die each year of diseases peculiar to their profession. There are 63,807 illegitimate children, 101,009 insane persons and 76,895 feeble-minded.

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