

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

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Twice a Month

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FIVE CENTS

International Labor Day

THE whole world over, the class conscious working people will celebrate the First of May. There will be parades, speeches, songs, and general rejoicing.

In many lands, the appearance of our brothers and sisters on the streets will be the signal for onslaught by the armed thugs who obey the dictates of our masters, and shoot or club down their own fellow workers. There can be no doubt that some of our comrades will see their last May Day. It is a customary occurrence in those countries where the master class feel themselves sitting on the volcano's edge. But it is an inspiring thing to reflect for a few moments on the significance of this world-wide celebration.

Can you grasp the fact that the most intelligent members of our class, people whom we never saw, never will see, people whom we couldn't speak to if we did meet them, men and women of all races, colors and tongues, representing every land where capital has found a foothold, yet each and every one breathing the living spirit of revolt, singing one song, the Internationale, are this day marching under one banner, and that the one our Russian comrades so proudly carry at the head of the column, the Red Standard of Social Revolution, Symbolic of the common blood. No matter what other differences we may have in our surface appearance, the blood of every slave is Red. That is our symbol.

It has dripped the world over to keep their respective master classes safe. It stains every dollar in their possession. But now, it is dawning on greater numbers than ever before that if blood of necessity be shed, then the place to shed it is in the ranks of Class Conscious Labor, fighting to take their own again.

It is a most happy omen of the future, when we see the highest social instinct gaining ground. What can be more distinctive of growing reasoning power on the part of our class than the growth of this sentiment that places the International above nation, tribe, clan, kindred, and family?

It indicates a breadth of outlook that will never be found amongst the followers of nationalism.

It is a distinguishing feature of man to be gregarious.

The earliest form of mutual aid, the first group ever formed for better defense, was the pioneer of the International. No matter that group has slaughtered group, in the bitter struggle for survival; no matter that uncounted millions have laid down their lives in tribal, and nationalistic quarrels, and are still doing so, the inevitable trend of events has always been toward larger group formations.

These groups having adapted themselves most successfully to the course of the struggle, first with Nature, then in the economic battle for markets, to dispose of the surplus wealth that slaves produce for their masters, have survived. These economic struggles are not peaceful by any means. They reflect themselves on the political field, and as war is a continuation of politics, bloody fights took place to determine who shall be top dog.

But it is dawning on the minds of the workers who furnish the combatants, that not markets alone furnish the motives for their mutual slaughter. Fifty years ago, Marx well stated that Nationalist war was a most convenient method of heading off any threatening slave revolt. So it is, that the workers are beginning to realize that their interests are mutual, no matter what imaginary lines are drawn by alleged statesmen between peo-

ples.

Not a League of Nations will solve this problem, because the nations still retain class divisions, and will always do so, until the struggle continually taking place over the division of Labor's product, is settled by Labor boldly striking out for all political power, and bringing administration into line with the facts of wealth production.

So it is that the most intelligent workers in all countries who know they have nothing to lose but their chains meet together symbolically at least, on Labor's Day and proclaim their common interests, in the face of bourgeois rage and hatred. We have more heart for the struggle now than ever before. Any one of us, momentarily discouraged, has but to look back a few years when all seemed dark, and now, turn his or her eyes to the East. Red Russia and her achievements inspire all of us, in all lands, wherever we may happen to meet on this great day.

And the thought comes right here, that our Russian comrades will be celebrating by doing much needed Extra Work, and not by playing. It is very necessary that they do this. Hunger and desolation is an ever present enemy to them, and while our fellow slaves are so apathetic and indifferent to their fate, it means a most terrible and heart-breaking struggle in Russia, to organize and bring their productive powers up to the nation's need.

So, is it not needful that we too should take thought on this matter, and determine to redouble our efforts to rouse our fellow victims to the need for action in their own interests. Every recruit we make is a support taken away from the ruthless blockaders of our comrades, and the time will come when the scales will tip, and in our respective countries we shall follow the example of our brothers, abolish class distinctions and proclaim that: "He who does not work, shall not eat."

A most terrifying prospect to our masters, but a healthy one.

And further, without a doubt, new wars are brewing. Plans are being laid; and millions of us are doomed to perish like rats by poison gas and liquid fire, for the greater honor and glory of plutocracy. To at least try an avert this by increasing and solidifying our forces, is our bounden duty.

It is not enough to sit around and sing the praises of the Bolsheviks. Lenin correctly said he would prefer the praisers studied their tactics more and profited thereby.

It is easy to enthuse and rhapsodize over an event, or some particular day, to develop a mild form of hysteria over it. But it is better to be practical, and learn well, from what has gone.

When we hail on that day all our heroes of the present and the past, when we remember that only 50 years ago at this time the French Communards were paying the bitter price of defeat, and that but recently our comrades in various parts of Europe have likewise paid. Let us learn from those affairs that besides sentiment, and enthusiasm, our revolution will need discipline and organization.

The collapse of the present system which seems imminent is not a thing to look forward to with un-mixed pleasure. It will bring troubles all its own. Let us look forward to the problems we are likely to meet, and do what little we can to prepare for grappling with them. There is not space for a dissertation on this phase of an event we all look forward to, but it is well to draw some attention thereto. To be successful, the proletariat, in any country, after they are class-conscious, will have to be the best organized side.

We are not mere pessimistic or optimistic waiters and commenters on history. We will be beaten many times, and yet we will rise again and again, scorning the half measures of the past, and learning from the failures till our class is victorious. Marx points out that while Man does not make History out of the whole cloth, yet he does make it, out of the material at hand. So, in the midst of our present rejoicings, let us learn to combine education with intelligent action in the interest of us all. And the near future shall crown our efforts with the greatest of all May Day celebrations, the triumphant acclamations of a Free People. F. S. F.

SAINTS AND SAWDUST.

THE word Bolshevism seems to haunt the capitalist, large and small, in every neck and corner of the earth. When he stirs the liquid he sees the devil in his tea cup. It disturbs him in his dreams and makes his life miserable. It palsies the hand and makes him shudder in his study then he is driven in despair to mischief. Refuge he seeks by the infernal method of contaminating mankind by bribery and falsehood.

I have as a peace loving capitalist, with instructions from my brother capitalist haunted by the same vision, bribed every body worth bribing, and bought every newspaper, book and circular, to plaster its pages with lies about the Russian Bolsheviks having destroyed everything worth destroying; even God and religion could not escape.

A copy of an almanac that reaches almost every rural home lies before me denouncing Bolshevism. At the same time I possess a copy of an article come (by post) dated September 1st, Kovno Lithuania. It says the relics of the Russian Saints are being opened in the monasteries of Russia in the presence of large popular assemblies. For centuries the down-trodden people of Russia sought relief from their suffering by appealing to some favorite dead saint they thought to be non-decomposable. When the Bolsheviks examined the relic of Mitrofan in the city of Voronezh the non-decomposable body of the saint was found to be a human skin stuffed with cotton. The stuffing produced a figure resembling a football with a button stuck on its circumference for a human head. The relics of Tikhon, believed to be genuine, were found, when examined at the Zadonsky monastery, to be cardboard containing some bones. While the relics of the saints were being examined the onlookers bared their heads, but when they observed the shapeless human figure, and the cardboard box, with the bones, they gave way to a sense of disgust and contempt for the brazen deception carried on by the Roman hierarchy. Then the capitalist, through their mouthpieces, tell us the Russian Bolsheviks have destroyed God and religion.

Grant Allan tells us that in the dark ages the savage buried his chief in a sitting posture with the trunk level with the ground, and if the head was lost in battle a cocoon took its place. The savage considered a cocoon head was just as capable of functioning in a future world of spirits as the real head of his dead chief. There is not the slightest doubt that if some of our modern editors of capitalist periodicals lost their heads they would never miss them. A cocoon could take its place. I may deal with this subject later in a more scientific manner. GEO. PATON.

How to Read Capital

(Adapted from a leaflet by A. M. Simons, issued by Kerr and Co., Chicago. Now out of print)

In one respect at least Marx's "Capital" deserves comparison with the Christian Bible—it is the most talked about and the least read book among its followers. There are thousands of copies of the first volume of "Capital" among socialists, yet only occasionally is a person found who has really mastered it. The most common explanation of this is that it is extremely hard to understand. To a certain extent this is true. It is true of any great fundamental work. Yet I have seldom found a working man who, if he would take the time to study, could not grasp the Marxian philosophy.

I have found hundreds of readers of Marx, however, who never could get beyond that first chapter. It always seems to me unfortunate that the logical order of the work determined that this chapter should serve as an introduction. The technical discussion of commodities has proved the undoing of thousands of would-be Marxian students. Yet there are portions of this first volume of "Capital" (and I speak only of this volume at present) that are dramatic and absorbing, with flashes of humor and touches of eloquence that place them well up in the ranks of literature, apart from their argument.

Because of these facts it has been a hobby of mine that if the method of approach were changed it might be made much easier to understand Marx. I am the more led to suggest this idea because all the attempts to popularize "Capital" have been dismal failures. I think I have read nearly all these attempts and believe that the above opinion voices the conclusion of nearly every Marxian student (who has not written such an adaptation or popularization).

I do not claim that the order of reading which I am about to suggest is preferable as an orderly arrangement of the argument to that left by Marx, but simply that by selecting those portions which are most entertaining and most easily understood, and which are none the less fundamental, as a beginning, the portions which are ordinarily looked upon as extremely difficult of comprehension will have had many of their obscurities cleared away.

I would, therefore, suggest that the reader who is approaching Marx for the first time, begin with Chapter xv. of Part IV. (p 365 of English edition). This is the chapter on "Machinery and Modern Industry," and the factory workman at least will find himself at once in the midst of a world with which he is familiar. He will meet the words he uses in his daily work. He will find ideas which have always been within his reach presented to him in a form that will carry infinitely more meaning than they have ever done before, and this is largely the secret of what makes interesting reading. Here he can read the famous definition of a machine which has now become classical and has been accepted (or shall we say stolen, since credit is almost never given) by nearly all the orthodox political economists.

Note in the pages that immediately follow how the introduction of the various forms of motive power has brought corresponding social changes. The four pages following p. 379 (closing the first section of this chapter) are one of the fullest discussions by Marx of the relation of industrial to social changes; in other words of the materialist interpretation of history. Yet it is seldom referred to by writers on this subject. This whole chapter is illustrative of this method and this fact should be closely borne in mind by the reader. Here, too, we find Marx's discussion of just how machinery "saves labor" and how this saving redounds to the benefit of the capitalist. All this is told with a wealth of illustration that cannot but make it intelligible even to a careless reader.

When this chapter has been read, follow the well-known example of the novel reader and skip everything to the conclusion and see how the plot turns out. Part VIII. on the "So-called Primitive Ac-

cumulation' is the biography of the capitalist. The eight chapters of which this part is composed constitute a study in industrial history. Whenever an attempt is made to indict the present capitalist we are always told that he secured his capital by "honest" methods and that he should be compensated. No man can read these chapters and not forever realize that even from the point of view of the ethics of capitalism the present owners of the earth can claim no right to their possessions.

This portion of the book moves on majestically in its argument, its summing up of facts, its power of logic, until it culminates in chapter xxxii., "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation." This chapter is one of the great classics of socialism. With the chapter which precedes it, it constitutes an epitome of socialist philosophy. It has a strength of style, a sweep of argument, a prophetic insight, which it would be hard to parallel elsewhere in the world of literature. It has been reproduced many times in socialist writings, but if the reader does not recall it, let him lay this down until he has read these two chapters. They will bear reading again and again and will grow greater and give new meaning each time.

Around these two chapters have been waged the fiercest battles of Marxists and "revisionists." It was against the chapter on "Historical Tendency" that Bernstein directed his heaviest batteries (in the days prior to his recantation of revisionism.) Read it in the light of the facts of industrial development and see how much wiser Marx was than those who wrote almost a generation after him, and were so much the nearer to the facts which he foresaw and to which they were still blind.

The reader who has proceeded thus far will have obtained a fairly good grasp of one phase of the Marxian philosophy—the materialist interpretation of history—especially if he has already read the "Communist Manifesto" and Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." If he has not read these works he had better stop at this point and familiarize himself with them. Such a reader will have met with many phrases that he did not understand, but could skip them without materially interfering with the comprehension of the argument. He will now want to know more of the mechanism of this capitalism whose life history he has traced.

It is the analysis of this mechanism which constitutes Marxian economics. The chapters we have discussed show how capitalism came, and whither it is going. The remainder of the book tells how capitalism operates while it is here. For this reason they are much more difficult to understand. Almost any one can grasp the history of the growth and evolution of electricity as a mechanical force, but only the trained electrician can calculate the methods which a given electrical mechanism works.

Let us then turn back to the first chapter. Here we are learning the language which will be used throughout this portion of the book. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we master this first chapter. There are only 55 pages of it and it is well to read it half a dozen times before going on. When we are sure that we know what is meant by a "Commodity," by "Use Value," "Surplus Value," and "Labor Power," we shall find that many of the difficulties that have always confronted us in a study of Marx will have disappeared.

Then read straight on through the book, including chapters already read, which will fall naturally into their relation with the whole, and not forgetting at the end of each part, to turn back and read those first 55 pages again, to brush up the "vocabulary," as the student of a language would say.

It may be said that this is hard work. Certainly it is. But a mastery of Marx's "Capital" will go far towards supplying a good education in economics and the philosophy of history. You can not expect to get such an education by a few hours' easy reading. Moreover, much of the difficulty of Marx comes from the fact that we have learned to think in terms of capitalist ideology, while Marx

demands, as a preliminary to his comprehension, an understanding of proletarian psychology. This explains why he is even more difficult for the college student than for the manual worker, and is practically incomprehensible to the bourgeois reformer.

I have said nothing about the other volumes of Marx, because the person who has mastered Volume one will scarcely need any suggestions on the best method of reading the others.—("The Plebs." A. M. SIMONS.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR.

This is what "The Plebs" has to say about the Economic Causes of War:—"Imperialist interests are centred on the control of raw materials—coal, iron, oil, etc. All three were vital matters for France, Germany and Great Britain. Germany's control of the greater portion of iron ore in Europe and her Bagdad Railway scheme, having for its objects (1) the bringing of all Central and S. E. Europe, and Near East, into one big trade bloc, dominated by her; (2) control of Eastern oil supplies; (3) control of the Dardanelles trade route to the Black Sea and Russian supplies; (4) the breaking of Great Britain's eastern empire monopoly in trade exploitation, etc.—these were the elements of menace.

France wanted the iron ore of Lorraine, and was short of coal, hence annexation of the Saar Valley. Great Britain—world trade and empire, both threatened by Germany. Italy—control of the Adriatic coast, ports, etc. Russia (pre-Revolution, Bosphorus, Dardanelles) and access to the Mediterranean. For the smaller belligerents the need to be in favor with the victorious Great Powers as a condition of being allowed to live, and, in addition, in the Balkans, the necessity for the long overdue "national" settlement of lands once held by the Turks; and in Austria-Hungary, by the Hapsburgs. These are a few of the vital economic issues at stake in the Great War." To follow this investigation read P. T. Leckie's "Economic Causes of War." Post paid, 25 cents per copy.

THE MINER'S WAGES.

SOUTH WALES			
Grade	Present Wage	Proposed Wage	Reduction
Colliers (day)	85 9	50 7	35 2
Hauliers (day)	80 8	45 9	35 0
Assistant timbermen, ostlers, Laborers, pumpmen	73 11	38 11	35 0
NORTH WALES			
(Other reductions from 40 to 50 per cent.)			
Colliers	81 8	51 8	30 0
DURHAM			
Bankmen (day)	60 10	44 1	16 9
Roll'ymen (day)	71 1	44 4	26 9
Laborers, etc.	65 8	41 5	27 3
NOTTINGHAM			
Rippers (1st chargemen)	93 9	82 6	11 3
Filers	73 2 1/2	55 1	18 1 1/2
Laborers	72 3/8	54 3	18 5/8
NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE			
Colliers	82 3 1/2	62 8 1/2	19 7
Loaders	78 7 1/2	57 11	20 8 1/2
Horsekeepers	71 4 1/2	48 2 1/2	21 1 1/2
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE			
Collier (day)	90 5	73 9	16 6
Odult drawer	78 9	59 1	19 8
Daywageman	72 10	51 8	21 2
FOREST OF DEAN			
Colliers	74 3	43 4	31 11
Timbermen	63 9	40 10	22 11
Laborers	64 2	30 5	33 9
CUMBERLAND			
Hewers (day)	80 0	40 10	39 1
Laborers	71 4	33 4	38 0
WARWICKSHIRE			
Getters	81 8	68 9	12 11
Loaders	73 4	57 6	15 10
Banksmen	61 8	39 3	22 6
SOMERSET			
Colliers	70 0 1/2	46 8	23 1/2
Hauliers	67 11	40 5	27 6
Laborers	67 11	40 5	27 6
SCOTLAND			
Colliers	85 0	64 2	20 10
Firemen	90 0	69 2	20 10

The above figures appeared in the "Labor Leader," April 7th, 1921. The average wage reduction as proposed by the mine owners amounts to over 30 per cent. All grades of labor employed in and around the mines received 14 days' notice of dismissal unless they accepted the proposed terms. This included pumpmen, ostlers and stokers. If the mine owners succeed in enforcing these wage reductions then, by all reports, the real wages of the miners—that is, the commodities they can buy—will be below the pre-war level. The figures are startling, and they indicate what the present lock-out of the miners means to British labor in general if the miners fail.

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The S. P. of C. and the Third International

Editor's Note.—The D. E. C. decided at last meeting to limit this discussion to one page each issue to allow more space for regular articles and propaganda matter. Correspondents will please note and present their arguments as briefly as possible.

Position of Local Equity No. 87 of the Socialist Party of Canada on the Question of Joining with the Third International.

VIEWING history for the past few years, we see capital competing for more lucrative fields of exploitation, and by so doing are despoiling the workers.

Capital functioning through international groups finds itself antagonistic towards each group in competing for world markets. During these struggles there are conflicts of the bloodiest nature being waged, in which the working class is called upon to pitch themselves one against the other.

The working class through their organizations are menacing the powers held by capital, by competing for control of the political and industrial machinery of State. Therefore the interest of the working class should be directed towards an international organization for greater efficiency by concentration of forces. As capital functions in group competition, labor to excel must abandon groups for one central organization.

Therefore in stating our position in favor of joining with the Third International, we believe that the Third International is a thorough revolutionary international based upon the Marxian philosophy of the class struggle.

And though the formation contain diverse thoughts, judging from the past enunciations of some already included—and which is somewhat out of harmony with our own way of thinking—we recognize that an international cannot be governed on quite as narrow limits as to identity of thoughts and actions as would a group bounded within a much smaller territory. The "Theses" we believe contains the necessary rigidity as well as the correct procedure applicable to conditions as at present obtaining, to insure against losing control to "freaks" or elements seeking to destroy it, as well as it being a powerful necessary instrument in the class struggle on the side of the proletariat.

And this move we believe will hasten the day of emancipation. For united effort by the workers would shorten the duration of the struggle and mitigate its inherent tendency to violence. We of local Equity No. 87, of the Socialist Party of Canada, are unanimously in favor of joining with the Third International of Moscow and endorse without exception all points in the "Theses."

(Signed) H. H. HANSON,
Secretary.

ON THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONALISM

As a result, chiefly, of somewhat ill-conceived statements and observations, certain misconceptions have arisen in the minds of many workers relevant to the international character of capitalism, and the possibilities of a world-wide working class movement to combat it.

No doubt, this misconception was largely due to the fact that groups within the capitalist class, which in their economic and historic development had engendered clearly defined antagonisms, which were responsible for the party form of government, sinking their differences in times of war and during the sporadic attempts of the workers to maintain their standard of living.

This was strengthened by the Entente between France, Russia, and Great Britain on the one side and the countries within Central Europe on the other, all of these countries having in their turn developed definite and deep-rooted national prejudices. And, later still, at the close of the war of 1914-18, when the League of Nations occupied the attention of most people, it was thought that here indeed was an international oligarchy or parliament for the peaceful administration of the affairs of capitalism.

But, with the division of the boodle between the victorious allies, when the partitioning of the

enemy's territory was considered, the parliament of the world dissolved right there. What we had overlooked was the essentially competitive character of capitalism, and forgetting that the differences in the fertility of soils, the variety of mineral wealth in the sub-soils of different countries, together with the distribution of land and sea between certain peoples, determines why and where the interests of national groups of capitalists must clash.

Why are the chief military and naval powers in the world today, while outwardly appearing friendly, inwardly increasing as rapidly as possible these two arms of their respective States? Says Baron Kaneko, Japanese statesman, Privy Councillor, and author: "All nations are looking for new markets for their industries, and the only market now remaining which can be exploited with benefit is the continent of Asia."

The generalization which I have stated above is applicable to this statement of his royal nibs. For Asia abounds with wealth as yet scarcely scraped, and with slaves using the most primitive methods to wealth production, and for more than a generation the advance agents of capitalism, church missionaries, have been pouring into China, and elsewhere on this continent, preparing the psychology of its people for a change of habits and customs, while taking a general survey of the chief deposits of natural wealth.

Can you imagine national groups of capitalists amicably agreeing to divide this wealth equally between them; if so, why the recruiting campaigns for armies and navies? A world state under capitalism governed by capitalists is thinkable to tonsorial—beg pardon, literary artists like H. G. Wells, not to materialists who know that the relationship between nations can never be permanent as long as capitalism lasts. Indeed the history of the past few years proves conclusively, to my mind, that capitalism and internationalism can not mix—even though "capital" (money!) is international. For a system of production for profit, and a class competing for a place in a world market, must develop a spirit as ferocious as that of the jungle when the material interests of this class are at stake.

Furthermore, if a union between the capitalists of the world is impossible, an international labor movement is equally so. Take the workers in the United States coalfields and those of England and Wales—it would seem on the surface the interests of these workers in the same industry was common—can you imagine an agreement between these workers so binding that when the British miners are dickering for a minimum wage the American miner will cease production? The existence of the American miner depends on his ability to produce coal as cheap, or cheaper, for a European market as will the miners of Britain. And, again, why did the Triple Alliance of Britain fail to function when put to the test in support of the Miners' Federation?

With the American workers, tradition, habit, and custom will always interfere with any movement for united action with the workers of any other country. But the traditions, customs, and habits of the British working class are the same (largely so), yet this interfered with the smooth running machine of the Triple Alliance. How so? They are servile—the atmosphere of feudalism still surrounds them they accept the decisions of their "superiors," and their leaders are looked upon and accepted as such. Moreover this is the common trait inherited by the slave class of every country on earth. The fact—if it is such—that men like Thomas, Clynes, and Hodge deliberately sold out their interest in the working class for five million dollars, can be set aside as of no importance in this argument. What I have endeavored to prove is the fact that "tradition does sit like a mountain on the brains" of the working class; that habit and custom control their actions. For more than a generation the British workers have been subjected to a more intense form of propaganda, more completely organized than the workers of any other country, yet on the question of a "minimum wage" the organization, the labor of years, cracked up in a test of solidarity. Like the workers of the world,

the Britisher has lived largely on "belief"—simply transferring the belief of their fathers in a Jesus Christ to a belief in labor skates, the religion of Christianity to nationalization, and if their belief is shattered the fiasco is not complete. Neither is the lesson without value to the workers of other countries who may learn now that solidarity in one country is conditional, and between the workers of all countries (as long as this system lasts) is hopeless.

But the future, comrades, is full of promise, brimful of hope, the army of invasion in Central Europe is the allied bailiff seeking to collect rent from a financial bankrupt; each day the debt mounts higher and the chance of collecting grows less. Meanwhile trade in this part of the world becomes less and less profitable and the armies of unemployed grow larger. Warships are being rushed to completion and humanity will once more be engaged in a bloody struggle to open a new market for some and close it against others. If the last war rocked capitalism to its base, this one should bring the whole works around their ears. Allons! Allons! R. K.

After reading the articles for and against affiliation by the S. P. of C., and after listening closely and taking an active part in the discussions carried on by Local Vancouver, No. 1, I am forced to conclude that the viewpoint of those in favor of affiliation is determined more by enthusiasm for a Cause, rather than a close study and correct appreciation of existing conditions.

The support which has been given to our Russian comrades, and to which the recent and successful tour of Isaac McBride bears eloquent testimony, can only, in my opinion, be made stronger by the extension of that educational work which the S. P. of C. has so long been engaged in.

Participation in the official activities of the organized labor movement, municipal politics, bourgeois liberation movements, would undoubtedly tend to confuse the presentation of the doctrine of the Class Struggle, which the serious nature of the present age demands should be kept clear and distinct. To do this, neither the sanction of Moscow nor a change of name is necessary. The effective work carried on by the Party is made possible by the voluntary effort of its members, and it is my experience that the "new movement enthusiasts" are not shining examples of that "self-imposed discipline" to which they refer so much these days.

The duties involved and the efforts demanded by the terms of affiliation are utterly beyond our present strength and influence. And until the terms are modified to suit matter of fact wage plugs possessing the ability to compute values, and not martyrs with Christ-like attributes, I submit in all earnestness, that the S. P. of C. can do no better than to keep on with its present task of explaining to the working class the true character of capitalist society. SID. EARP.

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Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MAY 2, 1921.

CANADA IS ON THE MAP.

NEWSPAPER reports, in so far as they may at any time concern the doings or sayings of working men here, there or anywhere else constitute items of interest in the way of occasional truth and general falsehood that have been successful in producing among readers a more numerous crop of unbelievers than all the literature of the sceptics.

Press reports immediately to hand outline disturbances in St. John, N.B., and the dispersal by policemen's clubs of workmen's outdoor meetings in Toronto. Two weeks ago the Victoria, B. C., press printed a report of riots in the city of Vancouver, telling of the employment of the military and of streets running with blood—presumably workers' blood. What truth there may be in the reports from eastern Canada we do not know, but Vancouver has not yet endured the blood bath.

However, we have among our reputable citizens some business enthusiasts whose persistent policy it is to enrage public feeling and stir up strife, and no doubt reports current in papers elsewhere of happenings in this city are prompted by expectation. Something over a week ago we were visited by one Lindsay Crawford, who proposed to outline in public his ideas on the Irish situation from the Sinn Fein point of view. At once there arose a howl of protest, and days ahead of the date of meeting the disciples of law and order organized themselves into active disturbers of the peace, in order that this meeting should be broken up through the practical administration and imposition by these worthies of the imperialist idea. If the lying reports of that meeting as they appeared in the Vancouver press have spread across the country, then our fellows elsewhere, judging the press by the same standards as we do will be able to see the truth to be the contrary of most of the statements made. The lie that the press would like best to see accepted is the one that is usually most insisted upon, and that lie generally is that the Reds have gone down to defeat and have all and sundry kissed the flag—if they have not rioted among themselves to swallow it.

To such events as occurred at the meeting in question we are indebted for bringing to the attention of Vancouver workers, and notably ex-soldier workers, the identity of some puny minded imperialist braggarts who, if they ever chanced to have any have pledged their light-weight self-respect in their eagerness to realize the worth—in cash or kind—of patriotic howling. Without the gift of craft or cunning that is able to turn patriotism to profit they are from time to time forced, empty in mind and pocket, to offer themselves for advertisement to the fortune of chance and circumstance wherever there may be a gathering of men.

In this case, with or without instructions they succeeded in disturbing the peace and violating the law to such an extent that somewhere in the upper reaches of the Mayoral mind there dawned the idea that Socialist and Labor meetings must not be held on Sunday 24th. No self-respecting capitalist views with indifference meetings being addressed day after day by men who outline to the working class the story of capitalism's birth, growth, and the reason for its present decay. Any mayor who can put an end to the constant recital of this story will earn

for himself lasting glory. But in these turbulent times even a mayor must proceed with caution! Under none too eloquent persuasion the proclamation prohibiting regular indoor meetings was withdrawn, but the unemployed workers' Sunday parade and outdoor meeting, held each Sunday during the past several months was specially prohibited. On Sunday at a meeting indoors called to discuss the matter, the chief of police quoted his interpretation of the law to the effect that the mayor had it legally within his power to prohibit the parade and meeting. Extra police and military reserves were held in readiness. The parade and outdoor meeting were called off for that day, in the expectation that on Sunday, May 1st, the parade will take place ending in a May Day gathering of all workers outdoors.

In the meantime, the City Council is doing its best to pass a by-law declaring that all parades must bear at their head a Union Jack of sizeable dimension. Some legal obstacle has arisen concerning municipal powers in this connection. But this is surely a sign of the times and a recognition of the workers' state of mind. Some few years ago they could be trusted to voluntarily bear the flag, whereas today they are to be compelled to do so.

In prosperous times the various nations are featured as competitors for the control of trade routes and world markets. Their importance on the map is regulated thereby. In dull times the magnitude of the problems they have on hand is in ratio to their previous prosperous state. A look at the map of the capitalist world indicates a problem for capitalism everywhere. Canada takes her rightful place among the troubled nations, she is on the map.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

The appeal of Ben Gitlow against the decision of Judge Weeks of the U. S. Supreme Court, heard in the Appellate Division by Justice Laughlin has failed. He was sentenced to from 5 to 10 years on a charge of criminal anarchy by Judge Weeks, and Justice Laughlin has sustained that judgment. The New York "Times" says the articles upon which the indictment is founded do not discuss ideas or theories, but promulgate a doctrine or plan for the forcible overthrow of the government. This judgment, according to the "Times" shows "great cogency and force." C. M. O'Brien's case is still pending. We understand Ben Gitlow's case has some bearing on his, but we hope the outcome will not be identical.

We expected to have Comrade George Armstrong in Vancouver on the 1st May. The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, however, at the moment of writing is still in session, and George's visit will be delayed a little. When he comes he will speak at principal points between Winnipeg and Vancouver. We hope also to be able to induce him to go up Prince Rupert way.

Orders for "Clarion" for the year 1920, bound volumes, should be sent in at once. Price \$4, express paid.

Our "Here and Now" item is seriously in need of attention. Local Vancouver the other week conducted a campaign for subs. which netted around \$30 with promises of more to come. The paper needs all the working class support possible in these trying times when the slave and the dollar are such strangers to each other. We need subs. Send for sub. blanks.

A public debate is scheduled between Jack Harrington (for the S. P. of C., Local No. 1) and Rev. A. E. Cook, subject: "That the teachings of Jesus Christ are not opposed to the interests of the working class." The Rev. Cook says they're not. Debate will be held in the Empress Theatre, Vancouver Sunday, 8th April, at 2.30 p.m.

Local Vancouver No. 1 will hold a special business meeting to discuss arrangements for May Day, on Saturday, April 30th, at 8 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

THE ANTIDOTE TO APATHY

DO the workers like being sentenced to hard labor for life? Do they enjoy living in cramped little cottages or great barrack tenements? Do they delight in shedding their blood to make the world safe for some brand or other of Imperialism? Are they happy in seeing their wives wearing their souls out trying to make sixpence run a shilling's race?

By no means! They are apathetic, that's all. Apathy smothers them and they'll do nothing to mend matters. Why? Is it as useless to try to rouse them to right their wrongs as it would be to try to inspire the mummies in the British Museum to become passionate supporters of Egyptian Independence? Not at all.

The workers can cast apathy to the winds. Watch them at football! No barrier will prevent them going. Are the cars to the grounds full? Then they will cling to the platform. Is it a working day? Then they will sacrifice half a day's pay. No apathy there—thousands of throbbing enthusiasts. Harshness that enthusiasm, direct it against the walls of capitalism and that system will be unknown to the next generation.

The workers then are not apathetic over all things. But they are apathetic over the thing that counts. They are slow to take up the task that history has set them—of building a new system on the ruins of the old. And our problem is—What is the remedy for their apathy? Can the energy they expend in other directions be attracted to the main issue, and used to knock capitalism to pieces and lay the foundations of a new world?

The workers are apathetic because they don't feel that they can improve things. Our business then is to **make them feel** that they can break out of their prison-house; and we can only do that by robbing them of the ideas which make them devoid of hope and confidence. We believe that it is only because they do not know the facts of today and yesterday that they have no vision to fire them into striking a blow for something better than the life of a rich man's drudge. Ignorance is the mother of apathy.

It is here that History will help us. Intelligently studied, it shows that things were not always as they are now. Ours is the age of the Business Man. We workers work when he allows us to, starve when he doesn't. Noble lords of ancient lineage are proud to marry their daughters to him and to sit on his boards. Statesmen canvass foreign lands for orders for him. And Kings on his behalf distract the "rabble" from their wrongs by royal pageants and hand-shakings.

But History will make it clear to the dullest of workers that things were not always so. It will show him that not so many generations ago there was an age of Land Lords, and that then the Business Man was an "under-dog." Even in the beginning of the 17th century in Scotland a master-plumber who repaired a fountain for a Lord of the Land was clapped into that gentleman's dungeon for daring to expect payment! Today, if one of our nobility wants a loan from a Rothschild, he goes cap in hand and offers six, eight or more per cent. for the favor; but his forefathers of feudal days would have commanded their men-at-arms to roast the Jew financier on an iron grating until he agreed to bid his money an eternal farewell.

Working-class apathy can be cured by tactful application of historical facts. If the age of the Land Lord gave way to the age of the Business Man why should not this again give way to the Age of the Worker? The Land Lords went down because they became superfluous. And the Business Man will be superfluous, too, when once the workers shake out of their heads the idea that they can't get on without him.

We must make the workers know. When they know they will feel. When they feel they will act. Ignorance is the mother of apathy.

J. P. M. MILLAR,
—In "The Plebs" (London):

Pacifism

I have been led to write on one of various kinds of Pacifism by what I have observed of the wide-spread activities of certain religious organizations, late arrivals, comparatively, in the sphere of religious life, whose doctrines beget in social conditions and a non-participation in the political and industrial struggles of today. These organizations speak in the name of Primitive Christianity, whose principles they claim to have adopted, and are propagating among the working class that old doctrine of non-resistance and other-worldliness which was the characteristic element in Primitive Christian doctrine. They are sufficiently aware of social tendencies to regard the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a new social order by proletarian forces as inevitable, they, however, profess to have scriptural warrant for belief in this course of events as part of a pre-ordained divine plan. In keeping with their pacifism they hold that it is not for believers to take part in the struggles with which it is to be accompanied. These are to be waged by the ungodly and profane who know not the Lord and his divine plan of the ages. Primitive Christianity preached, believed in, and waited for the destruction of the material world, literally and in fact, in the near future, according to revealed promise; these modern "Primitives," more worldly-wise, interpret the promise to mean the end of a dispensation, which they say means the end of a social system.

We Marxian Socialists look upon all social movements as emotional and mental responses to the material conditions of life obtaining in society at any period. And my aim is to show that far from the religious pacifists holding that doctrine by scriptural warrant, recourse to that guide being only an after-thought, a justification for conduct, that their beliefs have as a basis, the discouragement of their own spirits at the complexity of modern social problems: that their religion and passivism is a mode of escape from the strain of perplexity, thinking and conflict incidental to a form of society in its death-throes; and their conception of a pre-ordained divine plan, a craven resigning of the social problem to external authority.

The significant aftermath of the late war is the wide-spread and profound disillusionment at the futility of the enormous sacrifice of human life and effort entailed, and at the failure of that better order of social life to materialize, promised by press and pulpit and the great men of public affairs, as the reward of effort and sacrifice. Instead, it is realized that not only are the iniquities of the old order with us yet, but are indeed magnified and multiplied. Seeking relief and spiritual consolation from the mortifying disappointments and frustrations in this outcome, many people are fleeing to the asylum of mysticism and religion. These people are not attaching themselves to the old established churches, for it is remembered against them that they preached the worldly doctrine of national hate, harnessing the national god to the national cannon, but the movement is towards those lately arrived religious organizations in question whose religion is an other-world religion more in character with that of primitive Christianity of the first century and of the passivist, non-resisting life and teachings of the "Prince of Peace" himself.

I shall briefly outline the salient features of the social situation in the Roman world, that gave birth to the Christian movement.

At the first century of the Christian era Rome was supreme mistress of the world and that empire's civilization presented many significant resemblances to that of modern capitalism. Both of them are examples of extreme centralization of wealth and power in the hands of a ruling and exploiting class, the power being organized in a highly civilized political state. Roman society stood, as capitalist society stands today, at the end of a long line of social development, the other end of which is a social condition of extreme decentral-

ization. Back of Rome lies primitive tribal communism in which each tribe was an independent, self-sufficient unit, having each its own tribal customs, religion and gods. Back of capitalist society lies the isolated, fragmentary communities into which Western Europe fell after the collapse of the Roman empire.

Rome was originally a municipality or town, a settlement of three or four tribes within a walled area. The rest of the people of Italy, as did those of Spain and Gaul, also lived in walled towns, the open country being practically uninhabited. The landed proprietors went forth with their slaves or sent them in charge of overseers, to cultivate the land. When Rome extended herself she conquered or founded towns. The history of the conquest of the world by Rome is the history of the conquest and founding of a great number of towns. Each of the conquered towns had been an independent city—state with its own laws, customs, civic patriotism, civic religion and gods. This municipal character of the Roman world rendered unity, the necessity of every great state, extremely difficult to establish and maintain. Though the municipality of Rome had been able to conquer the world, it found it much less easy to govern and organize it. In the effort to do so a centralized state is evolved in its most perfect form by the time of the beginning of the Christian era. Authority was pyramided; at its apex was Rome. Everywhere the independence of the provincial city-states had been crushed and their civic customs, patriotisms and religions had been undermined or abolished. And out from Rome went Roman law, magistrates, governors and legions to rule the provinces, and in the time of the emperors the Caesars even became the gods of the empire. One god, one law, one empire, no doubt, was the slogan of Roman patriots. At the same time, every great centre could show in addition to its slaves, a great multitude of hopelessly poverty-stricken freemen, proletarian wage laborers eking out a living in competition with slave labor.

Roman civilization had also other features paralleling that of ours. It had developed into a crude form of capitalism, of commodity production based on slave labor without the aid of machinery. And of course, as a consequence, it also had its unemployment problems. So great and menacing did this problem become that the state and the wealthy people were compelled, in their own interest, to feed vast numbers of the population who were now found unnecessary in production. It is on record that they gave them "bread and circuses" to keep them quiet. The increasing parasitic wealth, licentiousness and general corruption at one end of the social scale, and increasing pauperism and misery at the other, gnawed at the vitals of Roman society like a rotting cancer. As the social situation got worse the response of the ruling class was such as it has been in all ages, including the present: the exploiters became more harsh and intolerant and the class state became more tyrannical and vicious in the exercise of its coercive powers. So unalterably set in this policy seemed the Roman state and so impregnable, that for millions all hope of social amelioration was lost. Daunted in spirit and hopeless of a social situation in which life held nothing for them, men turned from society and its problems, and, as substitutes for frustrated desires and social aspirations, sought for consolation and emotional expression in the numerous mystic and religious cults springing into being at this time.

Christianity was one of these cults. It taught the doctrine of immortality, then a new conception. It denounced this world and all its works, and proclaimed the near approach of its destruction. It preached that the first duty of man was to save his immortal soul, flee from the wrath to come by renouncing the world. A blissful immortality in the hereafter at the price of renunciation of the present world was particularly attractive to those who had

already lost hope in the earthly "scheme of things entire." So the primitive Christian movement gained its adherents among the unhappy of all classes, but chiefly among the disinherited, the dispossessed and enslaved.

But, finally, the facts of life were too strong for the Christian movement and its mistaken standard of holiness. Originally, the movement was a simple association of people with a common creed and common sentiment, but with no determinate doctrines, no rules, no discipline, no body of priesthood. These were developed in time, however, in the church institution of Rome. And historians are generally agreed that it was the organized church, turned militant in its own behalf, though still teaching passivism to the exploited, that struggling and fighting against the social corruption and anarchy which accompanied the decay and fall of Rome, preserved Christianity itself along with some remnants of secular civilization through those dark ages. Its high dignitaries, bishops and prelates, undertook magisterial duties and even led armies on the field of battle. Mere passivity could never have saved anything out of that savage anarchy, and nothing else but social disaster could take place when men turn away from unsolved social problems to save their individual selves. The church turned militant to preserve itself as an institution, but, as befitted an institution that was later to become the greatest feudal land owner in Europe, continued to teach to the slaves and serfs, the slave morality of non-resistance and passive submission. It is significant that slave or serfs in revolt have never looked to Jesus for inspiration, but slave owner and feudal lord have invariably held him up as an ideal to lose under them.

An epidemic of pacifist doctrine is symptomatic of a diseased body politic, and unchecked, inevitably leads to social paralysis. Marxian Socialists especially are on the aggressive against this creeping paralysis of pacifism invading the ranks of the working class. For, holding the Marxian theory of the class struggle as the historical agent of political development, and as the present agent of working class emancipation, we regard the doctrine of pacifism, in whatever form it appears, as false to the life history of class societies, and doubly dangerous to the working class because of its falsity and because it saps that fighting spirit without which the workers must sink to still lower depths of economic slavery and society itself ultimately perish of its accumulating problems, as did Ancient Rome.

Modern Socialism, born of capitalism and its class antagonisms, is in direct opposition to this passivist element in Christian doctrine. It calls on the working class to face the problems of society, because those problems are capable of solution when we rise to an understanding of them and cooperate for a solution. Modern Socialism declares that the dominion of capital, which economically enslaves the working class, can only be overthrown when that class shall set itself purposefully—

"To grasp this sorry scheme of
Things entire, . . . and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire."
C. S.

HERE AND NOW.

Following, One Dollar each: F. Levers, S. Craig, J. Craig, Joe Naylor, W. S. Matthews, H. Clough, J. H. Rossiter, G. M. Nechifman, J. Hollowink, R. Gooding, R. C. Mutch, W. H. Speed, M. Curtis, E. Kerr, A. D. Fairguere, W. Kastler, R. Sinclair, A. Toppano, Mrs. J. Speir, J. Smith, W. Walden, P. Brown, J. Pryde, C. A. Tidholm, R. Bayliss, F. S. F., R. Gardner, P. Budd, A. Nrdin, C. R. Seal, A. Lepold, W. H. Willis, J. Burton, Miss Williamson, C. C. Cameron, W. C. Wickwire.

Following, Two Dollars each: J. Cartwright, G. McIntosh, A. D. McDonald, J. Lysnes, W. Bennett, H. A. McKee, R. C. McCutcheon, A. McDonald, \$3; G. Alley, \$4; Bawif, Alta, \$2.50; A. H. Budden, \$5.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 13th to 26th April, inclusive, —total, \$64.50.

A REVIEW OF RECENT LIES.

Moscow, March 26th.

Statement by the Commissariat says the following over the recent deluge of lies which have been poured over the world. The Russian counter revolutionary press is accepted as authority on all Russian questions by the European press. On the other hand the counter revolutionary press lays very great emphasis on the fact that the authority for its statements is the bourgeois press of Europe. As a result of this system of mutual assurance and a shifted responsibility information concerning Russia assumes a specially unbridled character and falsity stands far behind stupidity.

Any one who has studied the world press for the past decades is bound to ask the question who fabricates the news and for whom is it fabricated. Why is such an unplausible character given to these fabrications? Why is evil intention complicated by such ignorance. We give several recent examples which have come with the French, English and German press. Choosing copies at random we find that Sadoul has been thrown into a Moscow prison as a result of an intrigue by Guilbeau, the assistant of Trotsky. Here everything is a fabrication from beginning to end. There was nothing and could be nothing which could be construed as Sadoul's arrest. Comrade Guilbeau was never the assistant to Trotsky and was not the cause of Sadoul's arrest which never took place. This story belongs to the realm of silly gossip. In the following column we find something much more serious. This deals with nothing more nor less than an alleged secret order of the Red Army, according to an article in the "Morning Post."

Petin, the commander on the southern front apparently proposes an advance on Poland in the direction of Lemberg and Warsaw. He alleges confidence of German aid. Trotsky apparently replied (under number 17) consenting to the plan . . . message blurred . . . sole chance being postponing advance to try according to alleged suggestion of revolutionary military council of republic. This is no longer gossip but deliberate fabrication of false information for provocative purposes. But how stupidly done! The commander of the front apparently reports to headquarters that in his opinion German aid was assured. It is quite obvious that to have evolved such schemes the commander must have taken his orders from the Entente journalists. It must be added that Petin never commanded the southern front neither did he nor the actual commander ever make reports resembling in the slightest way, the story in the "Morning Post" and in its understudies: Let us pause for another moment on statements dealing with our military policy and intentions. "Rul", a cadet paper appearing in Berlin, stated at the end of February that Trotsky toured Ukrainian cities adjacent to the borders of Roumania. His stay in Kiev was particularly prolonged. In this place he held a number of military conferences of a secret nature. The purpose in reporting visits to "places adjacent to the borders of Roumania" is quite obvious. The entire story is fabricated from beginning to end. There was no military conference. There was no visiting of cities adjacent to the Roumanian border. Trotsky has not been in Kiev during the past eighteen months.

Next we read a quotation of Trotsky's speech to the Red army saying that after traversing Poland and Germany they would approach Paris. Even the time and place are given albeit varying in different papers. Several February papers reported that Trotsky had fled and whereabouts unknown. Three days later without refuting the previous story Trotsky is declared to be Russia's military dictator. It is quite evident that both stories are equally ridiculous.

What does it mean? It means that the bourgeois papers have lost sense of shame and common sense. That is quite evident. But how do readers in civilized countries endure such mockery. One explanation remains: The more enlightened and interested readers do not of course believe the newspapers, but they believe still that such reports are useful to bring doubt and confusion to the consciousness of the working masses.—"Rosta Wien."

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Financial Statement for the Months of January, February and March

New York, April 1, 1921.

Receipts.

Contributions of District and Local Committees—Canadian District:	
Winnipeg District Committee	\$10,480.00
Vancouver	152.00
Ottawa	60.00
	10,692.00
Western District Committee	
Chicago Committee	1,458.40
Washington Committee	1,000.00
Los Angeles Committee	978.80
Czecho-Slovak Committee, N.Y.C.	652.00
Wilmington, Dela. Com.	600.00
Denver Committee	600.00
Philadelphia Committee	515.00
Portland, Ore., Com.	450.00
Rochester, N.Y., Com.	390.00
San Francisco Com.	300.00
Newark, N. J., Com.	292.98
Southeastern District Committee	
Madison, Wis., Com.	162.75
Spokane, Wash., Com.	150.00
Bayonne, N. J., Com.	147.27
Baltimore Committee	100.00
New Haven, Conn., Com.	100.00
Duluth, Minn., Com.	68.15
Yonkers Committee	65.60
San Diego, Cal., Com.	60.00
Oklahoma City Com.	30.00
Waterbury, Conn., Com.	30.00
Houston, Texas, Com.	28.00
Lawrence, Mass., Com.	15.50
Des Moines, Ia., Com.	8.50
	8,375.95

Donations from individuals and organizations	4,281.56
For pamphlets and post cards	425.10

Total receipts for January, February and March	\$26,376.92
Balance on hand January 1, 1921	1,768.35
	\$28,145.27

Disbursements.

For Medical Supplies	\$20,681.28
Organization expenses:—	
Wages and Salaries	\$1,295.83
Postage, stationery	270.14
Office rent and office expenses	208.08
Pamphlets and post cards	832.95
R. R. fares, telegrams and miscellaneous	328.08
	2,975.08
Balance on hand April 1, 1921	4,488.91
	\$28,145.27

Recapitulation:

Total receipts to April 1	\$74,755.51
Total disbursements:	
For Medical Supplies	\$63,263.41
Other disbursements: Printing, wages, office and travelling expenses, loss on exchange etc.	7,003.19
Balance on hand April 1, 1921	4,488.91
	\$74,755.51

Statement of Medical Supplies Shipped to Soviet Russia by the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee

April 1, 1921.

Total shipped up to January 31, 1921	\$78,010.34
Shipped during February and March, 1921:—	
On the s.s. Ripon, via Reval: 3 cases of various instruments and drugs	\$ 300.00
On the s.s. Lackawanna Valley, via Reval:	
5400 vials mixed typhoid immunizations, donated	1,000.00
2000 oz. quinine sulphate U.S.P.	1,220.00
2239 lbs. green soap, U.S.P.	195.91
153 lbs. Cascara Sagrada Bark	201.78
200 lbs. Tannic Acid U.S.P. Fluffy	220.00
200 lbs. Camphor Slabs Refined	150.00
100 lbs. Salol, U.S.P.	75.00
9111 lbs. Carbolic Acid, U.S.P.	1,002.21
1 case instruments and drugs, donated	100.00
Condensed milk	2,500.00
Cartage for above shipments	13.45
Insurance	142.32
Freight	165.37
	\$7,286.24

Grand total of shipments made up to April 1, 1921	\$85,296.58
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Payments made for above shipments:—	
Paid out in cash up to January 31, 1921	\$51,663.34
Paid out in cash during Feb. and March	11,600.07

Donated goods received up to Jan. 31, 1921	3,000.00
Donated goods received during February and March	1,400.00
Balance payable on goods shipped	17,633.17

Grand Total \$85,296.58

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, Room 506, 110 W. 40th St., New York City.

Contributions may be sent to F. W. Kaplan, Box 3591, Postal Station B., Winnipeg, Man.

MANIFESTO TO AMERICA

Moscow, March 21st.

"Rosta Wien."

The all Russian Central Executive Committee has addressed the following manifesto to President Harding and the Congress of the United States of America: "Since the beginning of its existence Soviet Russia has hoped for a speedy restoration of friendly relations with the United States, and reckoned that as a result thereof that a close relation to the mutual benefit of both lands would develop. When the Entente states forced their way into Soviet Russia without a previous declaration of war and without any provocation on the part of Soviet Russia, we turned often to the United States with the proposal to take steps to avoid further bloodshed. Even when American troops took part with the Entente in the attack on Russia we did not lose our hopes of a speedy change in the relations to the United States, and proved this by our moderate attitude towards the American citizens who remained in Soviet Russia.

"During the whole of his regime, President Wilson showed a continually growing and unjustified hostility to wards Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia hopes that the United States will not persist in this policy, hopes that the new government will recognize how useful a resumption of business relations would be to both republics; and that the interests of both peoples would entail the throwing down of the walls which now divide the two nations. The Russian government is now so occupied with the problems of its economic reconstruction that it has not the least intention of interfering in the interior affairs of America and declares this categorically. Now that many lands have concluded peace with Soviet Russia and enjoy regular relations the lack of regular commercial relations with America appears to us to be abnormal and injurious to the interests of both peoples. The all-Russian Central Executive makes the formal proposal to resume commercial relations between the two lands in order to regulate the questions associated therewith the Central Executive makes the proposal to send a special delegation to America to negotiate with the American government.

The president of the Central Executive Committee

KALININ,

Secretary, Salutsky.

America's Answer to Russia

Reval, March 30th,

"Rosta Wien."

The American Consul in Reval has handed over the answer of the American government to Litvinov. In this answer it states that the resumption of relations will only be possible when Soviet Russia fulfills certain economic demands.

Vanderlip Over American Delay

London, April 1st

"Rosta Wien."

The correspondent of the "Daily Herald" telegraphs from Moscow that Vanderlip has stated in an interview that since April, 1920, there have been 37 British ships arrive with goods for Russia, besides numbers of ships from other countries. He has had no news from his own country for four weeks, and asks if American business men still require an English visa in order to do business abroad.

Interview With Vanderlip

Reval, March 21st

"Rosta Wien."

Vanderlip stated to representatives of the Estonian press that the American business circles wish the immediate resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The trade shall take place over the harbors of the Baltic, the Black Sea and Archangel. Traffic over Vladivostok was to be especially desired. America will exchange its goods for raw material and gold.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 12.

THE discovery of America by some historians is called the "Transition Period," or the bridge from mediæval to modern history. Constantinople being captured by the Turks, 1453, cut off the trade route to India. This led to the discovery of America by Columbus, in an endeavor to find a maritime trade route for Portuguese trade. The fact is now clearly recognized that it was through economic causes, the chief of which was a maritime route to India to escape the annoyance and the payment of tribute to the Turks. This period embraces some marked events and revolutions in social affairs, such as the invention of printing, gunpowder with its consequent changes in the art of war, the decline of feudalism and establishment of centralized monarchies.

A sea route to India around Cape of Good Hope in 1498 was discovered by Vasco di Gama. When he turned the Cape into the Indian Ocean he discovered Arabians directing their vessels by an instrument which is now called a compass. De Gibbin says that competition began to operate as a new force, and men made haste to grow rich. The merchants became bolder and more enterprising in their ventures.

The merchants of Spain and Genoa found it more profitable to hire captains whose ideas were injected from the pagan Arabians, than those whose ideas of the universe were taken from the city bishop or village priest, and who kept their ships close to land, afraid lest they should sail over the edge of the world or fall into the hole where the angels put the sun at night, after they had rolled it across the sky. By this time, the craftsmen had reached the height of their power. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high and at no time was food so cheap. All attempts by legislation to lower wages failed. They had an eight hour day with 40 religious holidays, quitting on Saturdays and the day previous to all holidays at four p.m. Food was so abundant and cheap that it was sometimes thrown in with wages. The prices during this golden age of the English laborers were:

1 lb. butter, 1½ cents.

1 lb. cheese, 1 cent.

Eggs, 40 for 2 cents.

The average price for the two years, 1449-1450, were: Geese, 8 cents; fowls, 3 cents each; pigeons, 8 cents a dozen; candles, 26 cents for 12 pounds; butter, 1 cent a pound; cheese, 1 1-3 cents a pound; eggs, 11 cents for 120; cloth, 34 cents a yard; shirting, 12 cents a yard. Yet the workers today are fighting for this eight hour day, and their wages cannot buy what the 75 cents a week could during the above period.

Their craft guilds had taken the place previously held by the merchants' guilds. They dominated in town authority. Even as late as the fifteenth century in France, the entire population participated in the elections of the towns. When oppressed they were all for the overthrow of the existing order, but like the merchants, when they had secured their freedom, they too, began to be restrictive, raising entrance fees, and enforcing long apprenticeship, compelling journeymen to declare they would not "set up" for themselves. By means of political action, and Acts of Parliament, industries were prohibited, except in towns.

With the accumulation of wealth, the master worker was converted into a non-laboring capitalist, and the journeyman into a wage-worker. In proportion as their wealth increased, their economic power increased, the more successful were their attempts to exclude the people from all share in the government of the towns. The whole history of the 16th to the 18th century comprises accounts of the successive reductions in the people's privileges and the increasing power of the oligarchy.

Towns began to decay in the reign of Henry

VII. and Henry VIII. because of the guild restrictions, which cramped the rising manufacturing industries. They therefore moved to open villages. Laws to check this moving was of no avail, and Henry VII. attempted to remedy this evil by limiting the privileges of the guilds, but even this step was useless. Master manufacturers, weary of municipal and guild restrictions organized in country places, little communities solely for industrial centres, so arranged to afford scope for division of labor and the apprenticeship system, to produce, not for local use as previously, but for the market at large. The break up of the feudal system, the migration to the towns of those who were put off the land to make room for sheep and wool growing, and the shutting out of those immigrants by guild restriction, helped to furnish the first elements for the formation of a labor market.

The introduction of a division of labor was a revolution not of the tool but of the laborer himself, because he no longer completed the commodity but was a mere cog in the collective labor process. The worker was no longer productive without the other workers, and as it required an increasing amount of capital to carry on business, by this new method the worker had less and less opportunity to escape from this dependence on capital. Whereas the guild craftsman was only temporarily a wage-earner, the handicraft workmen in the capitalist manufactory tended to become permanent. It was from communities such as these that Manchester, Bolton, Leeds, Halifax and Bury took their rise and afterwards developed into the great factory towns of today. This specialization of the laborer led to the specialization of the tools he used, but was curtailed in development until the industrial revolution of the 18th century, brought about by the introduction of the steam engine.

The guild towns were not capitalist productive concerns. They lacked two characteristics of capitalist production; free competition and unrestricted accumulation. Capital, which first appeared in commerce and money lending, received a great impetus to development from the discovery of the new lands and sea routes. The development of foreign trade involved the development of the home market and necessitated an extension of production. The guild restrictions stood in the way of progress, and disappeared before the conquering force of economic development. The industrial classes were strengthened by the Wars of the Roses, which weakened the Barons. The king was encouraging the commercial classes, as the duty on their exports helped his treasury in increased wealth and the nation was prosperous in wealth and industry, at the close of 1500 A.D.

We now arrive at the period of the Reformation. In 1522, Henry VIII. received the title of "Defender of the Faith" from the Pope, because he wrote a treatise against Luther, but five years later when Henry desired a divorce, which the Pope refused to give, Henry passed a supremacy law, making himself head of the church, and divided the church lands amongst the land lords who supported him.

Luther is one of Carlyle's heroes in his book "Hero Worship," but the Reformation was brought about by economic causes. Some people have been led into the error of ascribing all modern enlightenment to the influence of Protestantism; overlooking the fact that economic forces produced the conditions for Protestantism. Carlyle ignores the fact that had it not been to the material interests of the German nobles, Luther would either not have revolted in the first place, or he would have been shipped to Rome and burned at the stake. Carlyle himself relates how Luther had been disgusted with what he saw when visiting Rome, but decided to keep quiet, and Carlyle's narrative infers, if the Dominican Monk Tetzel had passed by Wurttemberg and left Luther in the undisturbed posses-

sion of his flock, there might have been no Reformation. Luther's own people pleaded with him, that they had already got their sins pardoned by buying indulgences from Tetzel. This is Luther, who marched to Worms with the Emperor's safe conduct. He flouted the terrible power of the Papacy with the ruling class of his own and other countries solidly behind him. The church owned most of the land, which was acquired by gift, fraud and robbery, but the industrial development forced new ideas, as the ideas of the middle ages were utterly incompatible with the free industrial and commercial spirit of the time, so it was no accident that the Reformation made progress in the free towns of feudal Europe. Ever since the year 800, when the Pope had crowned the German King "Emperor of the Romans," the church had received liberal grants of land. The church was holding enormous territory all over Germany, and the German princes had no longer anything to gain from remaining on good terms with the Pope, so they threw off the claims of the church and annexed the church lands, gaining wealth and freedom at the same time. This resulted in the 30 years war with Austria whose Emperor claimed the imperial crown. Although the Protestants were more numerous, the jealousy amongst the princes split them. The Emperor won victory after victory until he felt strong enough to issue a decree that all church lands which had been taken, be returned to the church. Here was a common ground to unite the princes, and the treaty of peace was signed, leaving the land as it was before the war in the hands of the princes. This was the time France got the territory along the Rhine (Alsace and Lorraine) and Switzerland, its independence from Germany, in 1648.

It would be preposterous to think the world would be enlightened by a superstitious, ignorant fanatic like Luther, who believed that three toads spitted on a stick would extract poison from a wound. Luther said of Copernicus and his discovery of the earth revolving: "People gave ear to an upstart astrologer, who strove to show that the earth revolves, not the heavens or the firmament, the sun and the moon. Whosoever wishes to appear great must devise some new system, which of all systems, of course is the best. This fool wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy, but the sacred scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still and not the earth."

When the peasants, who applauded Luther, revolted against their terrible conditions Luther said: "No mercy, no toleration is due the peasants, on them should fall the wrath of God and of man." He recommended they be treated like mad dogs. Peasant uprisings were stamped out just as brutally as ever Rome was capable of. Protestantism was the religion of capitalism because the Roman church was a fetter upon the development of this class. If any proof is desired that the Reformation was economic and not moral in character there is no need to go further than the fact: Henry VIII. murdered several wives; Luther murdered Tom Munzer; John Calvin murdered Servitus; John Knox raved in a blind rage that all ungodly should be rooted from the earth. A fine bunch to reform anything.

Rogers in "Work and Wages," says: "The discontent of the country and towns alike, had no little influence on the temper which gave Luther a hearing and the theses of Witemberg an ominous significance. The decline of trade, the pressure of poverty, the discontent engendered by distress, the angry enquiry into the causes of these unexplained calamities, the reference of these distresses to Papal extortion and extravagance, and the outburst for a passionate reform of the church. The enquiry into the causes of commercial and social decay became wider, and the discontent with authority more marked, the western world revolted."

Loria says: "If the church of the middle ages strove to mitigate the evils, it would do so on con-

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MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.
(Continued on page 3.)

dition that the progress of mankind would go on the lines which it had sketched out, and to the limits which it had defined. Any onward movement was dangerous, suspicious and finally intolerable."

"It cannot be from accident that those parts of Europe which have been from time to time distinguished for manufacturing and commercial activity, have always been with one exception and that capable of easy explanation, generally hostile to the church and they have whenever possible revolted from it. It was so in Toulouse before the crusade of Simon de Montfort wasted the fairest land of France. It was so in Flanders, Holland, Baltic towns, Scandinavia and the eastern parts of England. It was so in the most industrious and opulent parts of France in the 16th century. It was not indeed so in Italy; but the Papacy laid all Europe under tribute, and what have been the lot of its own subjects, the presence of the papal court was an immense factor in the wealth of Italy. It was not in human nature that Italy should quarrel with the process by which it became opulent."

The Pope gathered money he wanted from all his spiritual subjects by any pretext he could devise, by capitation fees, dues, taxes on ecclesiastical succession, by exacting enormous bribes for confirmations in dignities, by the sale on canonizations, relics, pardon licenses, and indulgencies. He invented affinities in order to sell dispensations and he gave dispensations for the marriage of near relatives, as for instance uncle and niece. He borrowed and paid interest by annuities, levied on anything that came handy. "The Roman Church," said Alphonso of Arragon to Eugenius IV., "is a veritable harlot, for she offers herself to everyone who approaches her with money."

Walsh's "13th Greatest of Centuries," published by the Catholic Summer School Press, p. 377: "The rise of free cities in Germany represents the democratic spirit down to our time better than any other single set of manifestations. The international relations of these cities did more than to broaden men's minds and realize the brotherhood of man, in spite of the national boundaries, than any other factor in human history. Commerce has always been a great leveller. The nobility gladly granted charters and privileges for men and money."

"It is to commerce we owe the first recognition of the rights of the people of other countries even in times of war."

"It was not the recognition of great principles, as of money and revenues that proved the origin of the amelioration of civic conditions."

"The commercial cities accumulated the wealth. Money was necessary for their rulers for the maintenance of power and to wage war. In return for money given for such purposes, the cities claimed for their inhabitants, and were granted many privileges."

Why has the church not put this book on the index? It must be an "overlook," because this is the Materialistic Conception of History with a vengeance.

When the Reformation storm subsided, and the wealth of the church lands was safely gathered into the hands of the landed and industrial classes, the church gradually gained her lost flock, and from being the supreme overlord of feudalism she became the handmaiden of capitalism, and the Bride of Christ for a second time became a strumpet. Henry divided up the spoils with his courtiers and concubines. Henry VIII. suppressed 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2,374 chantries and free chapels, 100 hospitals with an income of £2,000,000.

Rogers says of Henry VIII.: "The establishments of each of his infant daughters were more costly than the whole annual expenses of his father, Henry VII. He had fifty palaces. I am persuaded that the ever-increasing necessities of Henry and his vast expenditure would have led to the suppression of the monasteries or the confiscation of their wealth, even if the king had not quarrelled with the Pope. The religious had all along been discredited by the people for their debauchery."

Trade in England had grown between the continent, especially in wool. With the rise in the price of wool, and the increased productivity of silver

from newly discovered mines of South America, the manufacturers were flourishing. The landlords, ruined by the War of the Roses, saw it more profitable to turn their arable lands into pastures, and go into sheep farming on a large scale. They evicted small tenants and enclosed the common lands, employing less labor than formerly with larger returns, this resulted in an increase of the workers, becoming distinctively proletarian. This we will deal with in our next lesson.

PETERT. LECKIE.

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All "Clarion" readers in Maritime Provinces are asked to communicate with the undersigned at once. Comrade Chas. Lestor will soon arrive from England, and will speak at all points where arrangements can be made. We shall need funds, and groups of workers in each place. Get busy, collect funds, arrange meetings, and communicate with me regarding date, etc.

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE,
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