

Socialist Party

FIFTH EDITION.

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1920.

VANCOUVER, B. C.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

(DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).





Manifesto
Of The
Socialist Party of Canada

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

This pamphlet has been in the hands of the working class for ten years. Over 20,000 copies have been sold, and as the demand continues unabated, we are venturing another edition.

We have had criticisms from all parts of the English speaking world, and have, after much discussion, revised some theoretical errors and obscurities. It has been our care in making these corrections not to interfere with the work as a whole, preferring to leave it, as far as possible, just as the author, who is dead, wrote it.

The Preface to the Fourth Edition draws attention to the Great War, and was written shortly after the world went mad, like the dog in the poem, for spite. The real causes of the war were set down, causes which very few today care to deny. We took the stand then that the war was not regrettable, and the grounds that "forward it must carry us to the Social Revolution." And we set down this principle, that the outbreak of peace would be as "cataclysmic as the outbreak of war." There are other forecasts we could claim credit for, but let these suffice.

That we have been carried forward toward the Social Revolution requires no proof. The Russian Revolution has been carried through and the working class of Russia are masters of that country. They have retained mastery after almost three years of warfare against both the victors and vanquished of the Great War. They have overthrown the national autocracy which was suited to early capitalism, have conquered the seat of power from the capitalists, have put down a dozen counter-revolutions of formidable character, which were strongly supported by foreign powers, have driven several foreign armies from their territories, and have, isolated from the civilized world, evolved an economy which has fed and clothed, and armed the men who accomplished this amazing feat.

It is a working class achievement and harbinger of the accomplishment possible when the workers take control of social life.

It is fortunate that Russia was the first to revolt. We can conceive of no other country so admirably situated which could have withstood the rain of fire and brimstone showered down by the outraged God of Capitalism. Its geographical position prevented the capitalist world from bringing all its tremendous resources to bear, and its wealth of natural resources neutralized the Allied blockade. If they have sinned against the Holy Ghost in revolting before the evolutionary alarm clock called them, we freely forgive them, and humbly hope that those who await the appointed hour, will bear themselves as valiantly.

Other revolts which followed the war were for the time being crushed. The reports from Hungary show to what lengths a master class will go in avenging itself upon an unsuccessful working class re-

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volt. That the Hungarian revolt was premature, in so far as the suffering entailed by Hungarian workers is concerned, we will concede, but social development is not concerned with human suffering, or human happiness. We have all seen, if we have not all been seized with it, the madness that causes a man to strike blindly at some inanimate object, which in some innocent manner causes him injury. And in just some such manner do revolutions occur, not from any premeditated design, but from the inherent consequences of a particular social condition. While we confess the difficulty, nay, the well nigh impossibility, of organizing a revolution, we can at least try to understand one when it occurs, and we can furthermore realize the inevitability of a social change in a world where social changes have been constantly occurring since the dawn of civilization and the advent of slavery.

It is for the purpose of furthering an understanding of this social phenomenon, inherent in a system where man is enslaved by man, where in the midst of plenty, the powerful many are starved and sweated by the feeble few, that this Manifesto is issued.

A thorough understanding can only come by study of the actual conditions which confront mankind. We do not pretend to reveal the secret in these pages. All we hope to attain by inducing the members of our class to read this book is, to call their attention to the fact that a thorough investigation has been made of society, and the results are available to almost any one who will devote some time and a little cash to that end.

The Great War has torn down, with that careless and aimless ruthlessness manifest in natural forces, many barriers to social progress. It has, just as the Crusade did for the rising capitalist class, thrust the working class into positions of power which they cannot help but enlarge. It has, just as the Crusade did to the feudal barons, torn from the hands of the capitalists many of their most powerful weapons. It has further, just as the Crusade did, disrupted the economic machinery of the ruling class. It has in short, carried us forward to the Social Revolution.

This is so apparent, and the murmurings of revolt are so frequent—thunderings would be a more appropriate word, but we admire the soft pedal,—which, coupled with the manifest stupidity of the official hirelings of the capitalist class, might precipitate a revolution in half a dozen countries in Europe. Socialist literature abounds with information which discloses the economic motive underlying every move of the recent peace conference, and which also shows the utter impossibility of carrying into effect the proposals of the Versailles Treaty, or the League of Nations. Lloyd George can no more create a nation than he can create the country they are to inhabit; Millerand cannot extract tribute from Germany without injuring France any more than he could cut off his arms and increase his strength. These are facts known to all students of Marxian Socialism, to which this pamphlet is an introduction.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

Approved to 3rd International?

Since the first issue of the Manifesto, many events have transpired of more or less importance, but all to be dwarfed into insignificance by the outbreak of the most colossal and destructive war of all time—a war which has all the appearance of being the opening of a new chapter in human history, not on account of those of its aspects which loom largest in the popular eye, but for the underlying social and economic changes it is hastening, and the valuable lessons it has already writ large for the workers' reading. Yet it is precisely these latter features which are practically neglected, while the former are given an attention altogether beyond their merits.

This war is not being waged because an Archduke was assassinated in Bosnia, nor because a treaty was violated in Belgium. The issue is greater than that. It is a war for the world markets. The "place in the sun" the Teutons seek is a place to sell their wares. The British outcry against the peril of Prussian militarism is inspired by the fear of German commercial competition. The German military machine, like the British naval machine, is but the jemmy wherewith the capitalist pries his way into his neighbor's domain. The world market calls for world mastery. Without the latter, the former is a dangerous ambition.

As a war for world markets, it is a matter of concern only for the various capitalist interests involved. Yet the workers of each country have flung themselves into the conflict, regardless of the consequences to themselves. They have been stampeded by the two faces of the one bogey that has been conjured up before them all. The Teutons have rallied to the defence of the Fatherland from Russian barbarism; Briton and Frank, Slav and Roman have risen to breast the onrush of Prussian militarism, regardless of the fact that the foe the most feared by each is already within the gates—the master class whose battles each is fighting; regardless of the fact that they have more to lose by victory than defeat. For, in any war, the victorious State has ever been the stronger to oppress its own workers; the defeated State ever the weaker to resist their demands.

Also, at the first blast of war's trumpet, fell the walls of our "International" Jericho—an event of no little import to the working class. Justifying the S. P. of C.'s long resistance to any movement to join the International Socialist Bureau, on the ground that it was neither international nor socialist, it points the valuable lesson that Internationalism is born not made. If the working class is to be internationalized, it is the capitalist system, not Social-Democratic statesmanship, that will do it.

Another illusion that has been dispelled is that of the strength of the European Social-Democracies, arising out of their opportunist

ist mode of propaganda. These parties have waged their campaign upon the "political issues of the day," thus aligning themselves with that section in the Socialist movement which would sacrifice sound principles to immediate successes. They have numbered their adherents by the million, and have educated them not at all. They have sown the wind—they are reaping the whirlwind. In conflict with them for a generation are those who would sacrifice immediate successes to sound principles, who have been content to be fewer in numbers if clearer in understanding, who have given transient political issues the "go-by" and have harped upon the Social Revolution, who have expounded Economics and the Class Struggle, when the others were shouting against taxes and tariffs, who have earned for themselves the name of "impossibilist," and have been content therewith. The war has justified them. Where there are any "impossibilists" or "near-impossibilists" in Europe, they have stood firm. The "practical socialists" are cutting one another's throats in the trenches.

But the war!

This war is by no means to be regarded as an accidental and regrettable cataclysm. It is a fundamental and inevitable part of a world process. A page in the era in which we live—Capitalism; an era in the evolution of the human race from the simple, unorganized communes of savagery, toward the complex, highly organized Commune of Civilization, wherein the forces of Nature are to be harnessed to the wheels of Man. The slaughter may seem appalling to us. To an era it is insignificant. To the Process it is of no moment:

"It slayeth and It saveth, nowise moved,
Except unto the working out of Doom.
'Tis threads are Love and Life, and Woe and Death,
The shuttles of its Loom."

At any rate, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than War." A period of peaceful capitalist prosperity will kill and maim as many as a periodical war.

And the outcome? Just as the outbreak of the war was foredoomed by causes within the capitalist system, so is the outcome, whatever it may prove to be, foredoomed. Just what it will be none may yet say. Only this is certain: forward it must carry us towards the Social Revolution. How far forward one cannot see. But the signs are most promising.

On the one hand, debt is piling upon debt and capitalist industry must pay the tax. And the tax will be hard to collect—which is hopeful. For when the State is in financial straits, the revolution is at hand. That is one lesson of history.

On the other hand, the influx of women into the fields of wage labor hitherto occupied by men is remarkable. By virtue of their cheapness they will stay. And at the end of the war some twenty million men will be thrown upon a glutted labor market, in an in-

dustrial system staggering under its incubus of war taxes. It looks well!

The longer the war continues the more do the "war conditions" of society and industry, outside the war zone, tend to become the normal conditions; the more does the war become the world's chief market. The more unsettling, therefore, will be the settlement of the war. Peace will uproot those established conditions and annihilate that market. It will be an outbreak of peace, as cataclysmic as was the outbreak of war.

On the face of it, uprisings of a more or less revolutionary character seem not unlikely. Whether they will be successful or not is problematical. If they are it will not be the fault of the master class.

One more illusion, indeed, we may put from our minds, if we ever had it—that of a peaceful Revolution. A master class capable of sending millions to slaughter in the field for the extension of its profits is capable of making a shambles of an industrial city for the retention of its property in the means of production. To expect them to give up their rulership with any good grace is to credit them with grace beyond reason. It is only when a social system is about to pass that the resistance of its parasites seems to collapse.

At any rate, the moral is for the workers to prepare. The worst, or the best, is about to come. Let us hope for an early victory—for the working class.

HISTORY.

History, as it is commonly understood, is a chronicle of more or less unrelated events of wars, battles, and murders, of the deeds and misdeeds of kings and heroes; a chronicle wherein the more spectacular occurrences are given an exaggerated prominence, while little if any attention is accorded to either their underlying causes or to their ultimate effects.

To the Socialist, however, History is but a chapter of Biology. It is the life story of the human race. Studied from this viewpoint, its features rapidly fall into their proper perspective. The importance of wars and battles diminishes. The glory of kings and heroes fades when these appear in their true light as but the pawns of circumstances tricked out in a little tinsel. Events, so far from being unrelated, are seen in their order and sequence, interlinked into a vast chain of causation, and the great panorama unfolds showing us the human race in its progress from the mists of the past towards the receding veil of the future. Then, too, is perceived that feature of history which most historians ignore—the evolution of human society. For society is seen, not to be now as it ever was, but to be in a process of growth, in obedience to the universal law of evolution, from the simple to the complex.

And the beginning of our present society may be traced to a preceding phase and thence through previous forms back to the earliest tribal communities. It is this development of society which it is proposed here to sketch.

THE ANTE-SLAVERY PERIOD.

So far removed in the dim past is the period of human development previous to the appearance of slavery that it has left little historic trace beyond the scattered remains of primitive handiwork that have been unearthed from time to time, and any conception of that period would be almost impossible were it not for its present day survivals—the races yet existing in a state of primitive savagery.

By piecing together the information derived from a study of these races, with what can be gathered or guessed from the prehistoric remains, such knowledge as we have on the subject has been attained.

The characteristic that marks the ante-slavery period from ours is the non-existence of property in the true sense of the word. Personal possessions the primitive savage has, such as his weapons and his dwelling, but the resources of the earth, being free of access to all, are the property of none. For property is not so much the assertion of the claim of the individual as owner as a denial of the claim of all others to ownership.

TRANSITION FROM SAVAGERY TO BARBARISM.

The economics of this period is as simple and crude as its tools, but is, nevertheless, worthy of attention, as, owing to that very simplicity, it affords a clearer conception of the fact that labor is the determining factor in comparing the values of articles—a factor of supreme importance to the Socialist conception.

Production under savagery differs from that of to-day in being hand production instead of machine, and individual instead of social production. That is to say, each article produced is completed by one individual instead of being, as it is to-day, the result of the toil of a whole army of workers, each one doing a little to it. Furthermore, under savagery, articles are produced for use; under capitalism, for profit.

The elimination of these three factors—social production, machinery, and profit—reduces economics to its simplest form.

Such exchange, or barter, of articles as would take place under savagery would be carried on in the first place at the whim and caprice of the parties to the

exchange; but with the division of labor that would come with dawning civilization there would be an increasing tendency for exchange to take place on the basis of the labor involved. Thus a savage wishing to barter, say, ornaments for weapons, would exchange them upon the basis of the labor it would cost him to produce either. He would know how long it took him to make the ornaments, and he would have a pretty good idea how many of the weapons he could make in the same time, and would therefore insist on just so many in exchange for his ornaments. To accept any less would be foolish, as he would be better off to make them himself. And, be it noted, that this standard of value has endured through all the succeeding changes in the methods of production and exchange.

The resources of the earth have no value, a fact which is quite clear under savagery, but obscured under capitalism by the fact that they are bought and sold on the strength of their potentialities. It is only when the hand of labor is applied to the natural resources to convert them into articles usable by man, that anything of value is created.

The primitive savage's method of life is predatory. He lives by hunting and fishing, and upon wild fruits and roots. Such a method of life is, at any time, precarious and becomes more so with the increase of population and the consequent restriction of the tribal hunting grounds. As time goes on the savage is driven to domesticate animals and to cultivate the soil in order that his means of life may be more certain. Once this becomes general, the way to slavery is open.

The primitive savage kills his enemies on the battlefield—perhaps eats them. He has no incentive to make them captive, as it would only mean so many more mouths to feed. He cannot even compel them to maintain themselves by sending them to hunt, as, obviously, they would escape.

But with the cultivation of the soil it becomes at length possible for an individual to produce more than is necessary for his own keep. It then becomes well worth while to make captives. They can be compelled to toil in the fields and produce for their masters; their escape can be prevented by armed guards. So property, the slave and the soldier make their advent upon the scene of events together, never to leave it till they leave it together—when the slaves shall emancipate themselves.

A COMPARISON.

The slave of old toiled in his master's fields and the fruits of his toil belonged to his master; the worker of to-day toils in his master's factory or farm, and the fruits of his toil belong to the master. The former received for his toil enough for his own subsistence, just what the latter to-day receives at the best. The slave was bought and sold, bodily and, being so much invested wealth, was more or less well cared for whether he worked or not. The worker of to-day sells himself from day to day, and, being a "freeman" and nobody's property, nobody is under any obligation to care for him or to feed him when there is no work for him to do. The slave was generally an unwilling slave, but the

worker votes for a continuance of his servitude. His freedom lies in his own hands, but he refuses to be free. Which is the baser slave?

To sum up: the savage came upon the scene endowed with power to labor, which he applied to the natural resources, and produced for himself wealth—articles of use to him. The chattel slave was owned by a master, who compelled him to apply his labor power to the natural resources, and took the wealth he produced. The worker of today sells his labor-power to an employer, to whom belongs the wealth produced by the application of that labor-power.

THE SLAVE EMPIRES.

It is noticeable that those people among whom slavery of one sort or another does not exist are not very far advanced in the arts and sciences. This would point to the fact that slavery is essential to human progress, and such is actually the case.

While man lived by fishing and hunting he had little leisure for the pursuit of knowledge. All his time was taken up with the economic problem—how to provide for his wants.

When, however, the agricultural stage was reached, and it became possible for an individual to live upon the fruits of another's labor, society became divided into two classes, the slaves and their masters, the working class and the leisured class. This master class then had leisure to turn its attention to other things besides its immediate necessities.

Upon this basis the civilizations of the ancient

world were built. Upon the labor of slaves Babylon upraised her temples and gardens, Egypt her pyramids and tombs, Greece her colonnades and statuary; the armies of Xerxes and Hannibal, the mighty empire of Rome, were all maintained out of the surplus product of vast armies of chattel slaves.

Built thus upon the backs of toiling millions, empire after empire arose, attained its zenith and crumbled to decay, some of them leaving scarce a trace to mark their place in history. The course of each one was in many respects similar, for the reason that they were slave civilizations.

Commencing as an aggregation of rude husbandmen conquering their neighbors until, becoming great and having overcome all dangerous rivals, the masters degenerated into a mere horde of parasites living upon the ever-increasing product of their slaves.

Wealth tends ever to accumulate into the hands of the most wealthy, and, as the wealthy become fewer the slaves become more numerous, until the disproportion becomes so great that the wealthy few, with all their luxurious extravagance and wastefulness, are no longer able to consume the volume of wealth, and there are more slaves than employment can be found for. As the slave thus becomes of little value his condition becomes more and more precarious and miserable. Society is no longer able to provide for the wants of the useful portion of it, and, there being no possibility, at the time, of any new form of society to take its place, the slave civil-

ization perishes, its extinction as a general rule being hastened by the inroads of some younger and more virile race.

THE PRELUDE TO FEUDALISM.

The fall of the last of these, the decadent Roman empire, marked the dawn of a new era. For thousands of years chattel slavery had been the only form of slavery. In endless rotation civilizations founded upon that basis had succeeded one another, but now, at last, conditions were ripe for a change for which these cycles of chattel slavery had been but a preparation.

The drying out of the uplands of Asia displaced the population of that continent, and a great westward migration commenced. Goth, Frank, Vandal and Hun swept wave on wave across Europe. Before the inrush of these rude barbarians, Rome, already tottering, could not stand. Gnawing at her vitals was the old disease common to all slave civilizations—"where wealth accumulates and men decay." The wealth of Rome had concentrated into the hands of a very small percentage of her population; the number of slaves was greatly out of all proportion to the masters; their productivity beyond even the wasting capacity of the dissolute Roman patricians. Roman society had reached the brink of destruction. The barbarians had but to push it over.

THE INSTITUTION OF FEUDALISM.

Western Europe, formerly one great forest, had now become populous. The incoming races amalgamated with the former inhabitants who had, under

Roman rule, been reduced to some semblance of order. Conditions became so settled that it was no longer easy for a slave to escape. It was no longer necessary to own and guard him. Therefore, gradually, a new system of slavery evolved. The slave was attached to the land; he became a serf. His master was now the owner of the land—the lord. The serf toiled on his lord's land, producing wealth for him, in return for which he was permitted to toil on his own behalf upon a piece of land set apart for that purpose. The wealth he thus produced was just sufficient to meet his necessities so that he might continue to live and produce more wealth for his lord.

The difference between the chattel slave and the serf is one of form rather than of reality. Each produced the wealth that maintained both himself and his master. Each received of that wealth only sufficient, at the best, to maintain him in good working condition. While the chattel slave, being generally bought, represented so much cash laid out, and was therefore worth taking a certain amount of care of, the personal welfare of the serf was a matter of little concern to the lord beyond that it was to the lord's interest to protect him from other robbers in order that he himself might get the full benefit of the serf's labor. The reason serfdom displaced chattel slavery was that it was a more economical and less troublesome method of exploiting the workers. The point most worthy of remembrance in the feudal system is that the serf worked a part of his time for himself and the rest of his

time for his lord, much as the worker to-day works a part of his working day producing his own wages and the rest of the time producing profit for his employer.

THE PASSING OF FEUDALISM.

It had taken several thousands of years of chattel slavery to prepare the way for serfdom. And it took several centuries of feudalism to prepare the way for a new form of society — capitalism — the kernel of which already existed in the feudal society. While the agricultural districts were under the sway of the nobility, the towns and cities of the Middle Ages were, to a certain extent, free from their domination. Here were congregated the merchants, artisans and handicraftsmen, whose interests were at all times more or less antagonistic to those of the land-barons, who naturally sought to place restrictions on the manufacture and marketing of the city products. This antagonism was accentuated by the discovery of America and of the southwest passage to the Orient, and the consequent expansion of trade.

As the wealth and power of the townsmen increased, that of the nobility decreased. The invention of gunpowder sealed the fate of the mail-clad knights and their chivalry. The nobleman became a mere parasite upon society; feudalism ran its course as other forms of society had done. It was dying when the steam engine gave it its death-blow.

That invention threw wide the doors of opportunity to society's new masters, the townsmen or bourgeoisie. Heretofore the production of articles of

commerce had been carried on by hand. The town worker was a craftsman who learnt his trade by a long apprenticeship, who, when he became a journeyman, worked by the side of his master, and had reasonable hopes of becoming himself a master. The tools of production were yet so primitive as to be within the purchasing power of the thrifty workman. Land alone was the sacred property of the ruling class.

The coming of the steam-driven engine changed all this. The hand tool grew step by step into the gigantic set of machines we know to-day. Ownership of the tools of production became more and more an impossibility for the worker. The master workman left the bench for the office; the foreman took his place. The factory called for more labor — cheaper labor. The capitalist turned profit-hungry eyes on the brawn of the agricultural districts. Serfdom stood in the way, so serfdom was abolished. The serf was freed from his bondage to the land that he might take on a heavier yoke, that of the factory. The factory needed not brains, but "hands." The hands of the country yokel, of his wife, and of his children, would serve equally as well as those of the skilled craftsman. No apprenticeship was needed, no training. Only "hands" with hungry stomachs attached. The serf was not only freed from the land, he was driven off it by the closing in of the commons and by other measures. The freeing of the serfs was no humanitarian measure. Greed—and greed alone—was its inspiring motive.

BOURGEOISIE.

The capitalist class had humble enough beginnings. Its progenitors were the bourgeois, literally townsmen, of the Middle Ages. A part of the feudal society, they were yet, in a way, apart from it. They were neither nobles nor serfs, but a species of lackeys to the nobility. From them the noble obtained his clothing and the gay trappings of his horse; they forged his weapons and his armour, built his castles, loaned him money. [He stood to them in the relation of a consumer, and, as a consumer, he legislated, defining their markets, prohibiting them from enhancing prices, enacting that wages should not exceed certain figures, insisting that goods should be of such and such a quality and texture, and be sold at certain fixed prices.]

FROM SERFDOM TO WAGEDOM.

Naturally these restrictions were little to the taste of the bourgeoisie. As trade and commerce increased they found these conditions less and less tolerable. As they grew in wealth and influence they became less and less inclined to tolerate them. In England they had joined with the nobles to weaken the king, and with the king to weaken the nobles. Finally they broke the power of both. In the name of freedom they crushed feudalism. But the freedom they sought was a freedom that would allow them to adulterate goods, that would allow the workers to leave the land and move where the factories needed them, their wives, and their children.

While in other lands the course of the bourgeois

revolution was somewhat different to that in England, the result was the same. In France, for instance, the revolution was pent up for so long a period that when it burst forth it deluged the land in blood, through which the people waded, bearing banners inscribed "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," to a new order wherein Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were the last things possible.

THE MISSION OF CAPITALISM.

Once freed from the fetters of feudalism the onward march of capitalism became a mad, headlong rush. Everywhere mills, factories, and furnaces sprang up. Their smoke and fumes turned fields once fertile and populous into desolate, uninhabitable wastes; their refuse poisoned and polluted the rivers until they stank to Heaven. Earth's bowels were riven for her mineral hoards. Green flourishing forests became mere acres of charred and hideous stumps. Commerce pierced all mountains, fathomed all seas, explored all lands, disturbing the age-long sleep of hermit peoples that they might buy her wares. Capital spread its tentacles over all the world. Everywhere its voice was heard, crying "Work, work, work," to all the workers; "Buy, buy, buy," to all the peoples.

THE NEW SLAVERY.

The conditions of the new form of slavery that took the place of serfdom, and now is the form prevailing throughout the "civilized" world, are somewhat different from the old.

As has been pointed out before, the essence of

enslavement is that one man should be compelled to work for others, and surrender to them the product of his toil. Wage-slavery, the present form of servitude, fulfils this condition exactly as much as did chattel slavery or serfdom. The workers of today have not an atom of claim upon the wealth they produce. That is sufficiently self-evident to call for no proof. And while they may not be actually compelled to work for any given master, they must work for some master. They are therefore slaves in the proper sense of the word. And, indeed, the conditions of their servitude are in the main more severe than under previous forms of slavery. They are exploited of more wealth—that is to say, the masters obtain from their labor greater returns than did the masters under any other form of slavery. In fact, were it not so, the other forms would be now in existence. But no feudal serf or chattel slave can compete with the modern wage slave at slaving. Moreover, while in favored trades and in favored localities, the modern worker may lead a more or less tolerable existence, the misery and suffering prevailing in populous centres to-day are undeniably worse than could have existed under the old forms of slavery at their worst, for the reason that the masters of old were, to a certain extent, interested in the welfare of their slaves, having, directly or indirectly, a property interest in them. The modern master, on the other hand, has no such interest in his slaves. He neither purchases nor owns them. He merely buys so much labor-power — physical energy—just as he buys electric power for his plant.

The worker represents to him merely a machine capable of developing a given quantity of labor-power. When he does not need labor-power he simply refrains from buying any.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAPITALISM.

Ages of chattel slavery were necessary to break the ground for feudalism, centuries of feudalism to prepare the way for capitalism. In a dozen decades capitalism has brought us to the threshold of Socialism.

Capitalism has done a great work, and done it thoroughly. It found the workers, for the most part, an ignorant, voiceless peasant horde. It leaves them an organized proletarian army, industrially intelligent, and becoming politically intelligent; it found them working individually and with little co-ordination; it has made them work collectively and scientifically. It has abolished their individuality and reduced their labor to a social average, levelling their differences, until to-day the humble ploughman is a skilled laborer by comparison with the mere human automata that weave cloths of intricate pattern and forge steel of fine temper. In short, it has unified the working class.

It found the means and methods of production crude, scattered and ill-ordered, the private property of individuals—very often of individuals who themselves took a part in production; it leaves them practically one gigantic machine of wealth production, orderly, highly productive, economical of labor, closely inter-related—the collective property of a class, and

of a class wholly unnecessary to production, a class whose sudden extinction would not affect the speed of one wheel or the heat of one furnace.

It found the earth large, with communications difficult, divided into nations knowing little or nothing of one another, with prairies unpopulated, forests untrod, mountains unscaled. It has brought the ends of the earth within speaking distance of one another, has ploughed the prairies, hewed down the forests, tunnelled the mountains, explored all regions, developed all resources; it has largely broken down all boundaries, except on maps; it has given us an international capitalist class with interests in all lands on the one hand, and, on the other, an international working class with a common interest the world over.

THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM.

Aristotle, with something akin to prophetic vision, laid down the axiom that slavery was necessary until the forces of Nature were harnessed to the uses of Man. This has now been accomplished and the necessity for slavery is past. Armed with the modern machinery of production, with steam, electricity, and water power at their command, the workers, a fraction of society, can produce more than all society can use or waste—so much more, that periodically the very wheels of production are clogged with the superabundance of wealth, and industrial stagnation prevails.

At the very heyday of prosperity, industry suddenly becomes disjointed; the wheels of production come to a standstill. Furnaces cool off; smoke ceases to

belch forth to the skies; the belts stay their eternal round over the pulleys. The workers, from being worked to the limit of their endurance, find themselves unexpectedly without work at all, and soon without means of subsistence.

Not here and there alone, but everywhere where capitalism rules, from all quarters comes the same tale. Famine-stricken where food is plenty; ill clad where clothing lacks not; shelterless among empty houses; shivering by mountains of fuel; tramping where carwheels rust. And ever the tale grows! There is no promise of alleviation, but rather portents of worse to come.

Society can no longer feed itself. When the societies of old could no longer feed themselves they perished. And capitalist society is about to perish. A revolution is at hand. Another leap in the process of evolution. Society has grown too big for its shell. It must burst that shell and step forth a new society.

The means of wealth production are the collective property of the capitalist class. The operation of these means of wealth production is the collective function of the working class. The working class, working together, produces all wealth. The capitalists, owning the means of production, own all the product. They allow the working class, when working, sufficient, on the average, for their subsistence—just what the slave owner allowed his slaves; what the feudal lord allowed his serfs. But when the worker of to-day is not working he is allowed no-

thing except freedom to starve. He is the worst kind of slave.

What stands between him and his emancipation is the collective ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. If the means of production were collectively administered by the working class that now collectively operates them, the product would also belong collectively to that class, and the workers would be able to individually consume the wealth they collectively produced. They would not need to be hungry, homeless, ragged, shivering outcasts. The world is theirs for the taking. Presently they will be compelled to take it. Man cannot be equalled in endurance by any animal, but even his endurance has a limit. When that limit is reached capitalism will be at an end; its mission will have been accomplished to the final touch.

The economic problem, whose solution lay in the advent of slavery, will have been solved. Labor will step forth free at last from its æons of bondage. Man shall be master of his own destiny, able with little effort to produce all that his mind desires, with ample leisure to enjoy the fruits of his handiwork, and the legacies of time. The earth shall be his and the fullness thereof; the forces of Nature his to command; the giant machine his tireless servitor. Speed the day!

ECONOMICS.

Economics is the scientific study of the mode of wealth production, that is, of the manner and means whereby society procures its food, clothing and shelter, and all that goes to make up its living.

The importance of the study of Economics arises out of the fact that, whereas, procuring its living is obviously the most important function of society, it must of necessity, very largely influence all other functions or phenomena of society. So much so that it may be taken as an axiom that the mode of production in any society determines its social, political and religious forms; and it is only in the light of a knowledge and understanding of the former that the latter can be accurately understood and explained. Of particular importance to us, therefore, is the study of the economics of our own period—of the capitalist mode of wealth production.

WEALTH.

The sum total of all that is produced by human labor is the wealth of the world. Notwithstanding the current use of such terms as "natural wealth," "mineral wealth," "forest wealth" and so on, those things known collectively as natural resources are not, for the purposes of political economy, included under the term "wealth."

It is only when natural resources are, by the hand of labor, worked up into things useful to man, that wealth comes into being.

Two factors, then, enter into the production of wealth. Taking the first commodity that comes to hand, *e.g.*, gold, it is well known that gold is extracted by labor from gold-bearing quartz, or sand.

Given these natural resources, man, by the exercise of his physical energy, his power to labor, produces wealth. This power to labor is called for short, labor-power. It should not be confused with labor, though this is frequently done. Labor is a condition

of labor-power. It is the act of applying labor-power to natural resources in order to produce wealth. The wealth thus produced is the embodiment of the labor performed. Its existence is the evidence that a certain quantity of labor has been performed. The sum total of the world's wealth, therefore, represents the sum total of the labor performed in its production.

THE VALUE OF WEALTH.

We say that wealth has value, *i.e.*, it is worth something. But what is it that gives it that value? We have seen that it is composed of natural resources and labor. But the natural resources of the earth are the free gifts of Nature and count for nothing in this regard. Therefore, it must be labor. The hand of labor alone confers value.

It may be objected that, as natural resources, such as coal-beds, mineral veins and timber limits, are bought and sold, they must have a value. However, natural resources with which human labor has not entered into the slightest relations cannot be regarded as properly being raw materials. And, furthermore, such natural resources are bought and sold on the strength of their potentialities; that is, the possibilities they may present when converted to human use by labor. Without labor no value can be possible.

USE VALUE.

The wealth of a capitalist society, such as we now live under, "presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities."

A commodity is, in the first place, "a product of labor." It is, in the second place, a "use value," *i.e.*,

it will satisfy some want or desire. Thus the use value of a sack of flour is the length of time it will keep a man alive. The utility of an object is dependent upon its natural properties and qualities, but is independent of the quantity of labor required for its production. Thirdly, a commodity is produced for sale, *i.e.*, for exchange. In the act of exchange, the value conferred by labor will manifest itself as exchange value.

EXCHANGE VALUE.

Exchange value is necessarily comparative. It cannot be used except in comparing the relative values of two or more articles. An article by itself can have no exchange value. Thus a loaf of bread cannot be said to have any exchange value until it is compared with something with which it is proposed to exchange it. Furthermore, that with which it is proposed to exchange must be something else than a loaf of bread, it being self-evident that there would be no advantage in exchanging loaves for similar loaves.

We find, therefore, that exchange value comes into play only when it is proposed to exchange two or more dissimilar commodities.

The two commodities being thus dissimilar, their concrete components are necessarily also dissimilar. While the one may be made of flour, the other may be of steel, spirits or wool. There arises, therefore, the difficulty of comparing them, as there appears to be nothing contained in either by which may be ascertained how much of the one should be given in exchange for a certain quantity of the other. Nor will

weights and measures serve for the purpose of this comparison. The one may be measured by the pound, the other by the yard or gallon.

We have seen, however, that there is one factor that is embodied in all commodities—labor. And it is the only factor common to all commodities, however dissimilar may be the materials of which they are composed, or the means by which they are weighed or measured. Therefore it stands to reason that dissimilar commodities can be compared one with another only on the basis of the labor contained in each. It is on that basis, then, that commodities must be exchanged.

However, we may observe that exactly similar shoes may be produced in two different factories, but in the one factory, owing to improved methods and machinery, less labor is involved in the production of a pair of shoes than in the other factory under less efficient methods. While the labor contained in these shoes would be different, their exchange value in the open market would be the same. No more could be obtained for the shoes in which more labor is embodied than for the pair in which there is less, *because no more labor is actually necessary to the production of shoes of that quality.* This brings us a step further in our examination into exchange value. We now have the axiom that *commodities exchange one with another according to the necessary labor involved in the production of each.*

Another aspect of exchange value has yet to be considered. The labor involved in the production of a

pair of shoes is no longer the labor of one individual, but of many. Primitive man made things for his own use himself. From the materials to his hand, he laboriously and painstakingly fashioned all the things he required. Not only did he complete each article himself, but he made the crude tools wherewith he worked. This was individual production in its purest form. To-day, however, things are different. Individual production has disappeared; social production has taken its place. No individual produces any article in its entirety. It takes a multitude to make a box of matches. Not only are the leather, nails, thread, etc., of which shoes are made the products of many hands, but in the factory itself the shoe passes through the hands of a large number of operatives, each of whom does a little to it until it is finished. Then it has yet to be transported and handled by the labor of others again before it reaches the consumer. So that, from the ox to the consumer, there is embodied in each pair of shoes a fraction of the labor of each of many individuals. All these transmutations are a part of the process of production. The labor that is embodied in any commodity is not individual but social labor—the collective labor of a large number of individuals. This completes our definition of exchange value. Thus: *the exchange value of a commodity is determined by the socially necessary labor embodied therein.*

This socially necessary labor is the cost of production of each commodity. Each commodity being the embodiment of a certain amount of labor, it costs just that much labor to produce it. Commodities,

therefore, exchange one with the other at cost. Which brings us face to face with the following problem: If everything is sold at cost and bought at cost, where does profit come in? For buying and selling is really nothing more than the exchange of one commodity for another with money as the medium through which that exchange is made.

The generally accepted idea of profit is that it is made by buying cheap and selling dear. But, unless our reasoning up to this point can be proved fallacious, buying cheap and selling dear are out of the question, as the relative values of commodities are predetermined by the socially necessary labor involved in their production.

It is true that a certain amount of fluctuation in the price of commodities, above and below their exchange value, actually takes place according to the supply of, and demand for them in the market. But these fluctuations are almost negligible, as will be seen later, and cancel one another in the average. Moreover, they offer no solution of our problem as to the source of profit.

SURPLUS VALUE.

The solution to this mystery is that buying and selling have nothing whatever to do with the making of profit. It is not in the process of exchange, but in that of production that profit comes in. Profit is acquired, not by paying less for a commodity than it is worth, nor by selling it for more than it is worth.

The chattel slaves, we have seen, produced wealth, which belonged, of course, to their masters. In this

wealth was embodied the labor of the slaves. That was its value. A certain amount of this wealth went to feed, clothe and house the slaves, the surplus accrued to the masters at no cost to themselves. The value of the surplus wealth would be surplus value.

The modern worker—the wage slave—is in much the same position. The wealth of the world is produced by the workers of the world. Its value is determined by the labor they have put into it. It belongs to their masters, the owners of the means of wealth production, the natural resources, mines, mills, factories, etc. A portion of this wealth goes to feed, clothe and house the workers through the medium of wages. The remainder accrues to the masters, the capitalist class. Its value is surplus value. It costs them absolutely nothing. The workers have received all that is coming to them. Having produced all the wealth, they have actually paid their own wages. The capitalists have done nothing except own the means of production. The wealth they thus obtain by virtue of ownership is clear gain—profit.

THE COMMODITY NATURE OF LABOR POWER.

Wealth being a social product, the individual produces nothing, but only fractions of things. The collective labor of the workers is necessary to produce wealth. The individual is a mere cog in the social machine of production. Being thus unable to produce things for himself, he can procure them only by buying them—unless he begs or steals them. To buy them he must first sell something. In other

words, in order to procure the things we need we must give something in exchange for them.

The capitalists can very well do this because to them belongs all the wealth that is produced, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production. The workers, however, have no property in the means of production, and therefore own none of that wealth. The vast majority of them have absolutely nothing to give in exchange for their necessities—that is, nothing tangible. They have, however, the power to labor. In order to procure food, clothing and shelter they must, then, sell their labor power. This is what working for wages amounts to. The worker is not paid for what he does. He is paid for so much labor power, just as he in turn pays the grocer for so much flour and potatoes. He is paid, not for the wealth he produces, but merely for the exertion of producing it. To the wealth he produces, therefore, he has not a vestige of right or title. It belongs by right to those who bought his labor power, by means of which it was produced. To admit the capitalists' claim to the ownership of the means of production is to admit their right to the whole of the product of labor.

[Labor power, being bought and sold, ranks, therefore, as a commodity, and is subject to the law governing the exchange of commodities.]

The law governing the exchange of commodities is that they shall exchange, on the average, at their cost of production, as has been shown. The cost of production of any commodity is the social labor necessary

for its production. Labor power is the physical energy of the individual. The labor necessary to produce this is the labor that is involved in producing the individual's living. *The exchange value of labor power then, is determined by the socially necessary labor involved in the production of those things that go to make up the laborer's living from day to day.* And that is exactly what the workers get on the average—their living, according to the prevailing standard. It is true that some of them get a little more than is actually necessary for them to exist on, but, on the other hand, millions get less and are actually dying of slow starvation at their work.

WAGES.

Wages are generally regarded as so much money: two dollars a day or sixty a month. A closer examination shows two other aspects before which the mere money wage dwindles into insignificance. These are the "relative wage," and the "real wage."

THE RELATIVE WAGE.

The relative wage is what the worker receives in comparison with what he produces.

Owing to the improvements in the machinery of production, *the relative wage has fallen greatly during the last century, and is continually becoming less.* Under handicraft production the worker could not produce very much more than he consumed. Under modern machine production the worker produces far more than he consumes, even if his standard of living has risen.

THE REAL WAGE.

The real wage is what is bought with the money wage, the food, clothing, housing, etc., of the worker. It is what the workers actually receive in exchange for their labor power. While the money wage, the price of labor power, may rise, the real wage may at the same time be falling. Thus during the last decade, United States statistics show a rise in wages of some 20 per cent., and a rise in the cost of living of some 30 per cent. Here the money wage would be raised 20 per cent., but the real wage would have fallen 10 per cent., so that in place of receiving 20 per cent. more, the workers are actually receiving 10 per cent. less in exchange for their labor power. (This was written before the war). A rise in prices, therefore, means to the worker, not so much a rise in his cost of living as a fall in the exchange value of his labor power, that is, a reduction of the standard of living.

PRICE.

As the money wage has been referred to as the price of labor power, a consideration of price itself would not be out of place. Price is the approximate monetary expression of the exchange value of a commodity. Money itself arises out of the inconveniences attendant upon the direct exchange, or barter, of one commodity for another. To overcome these inconveniences one commodity is employed to which all other commodities are compared, and their exchange values are expressed in terms of this commodity.

The commodity employed becomes in time segregated from all others and is looked upon as having a fixed value. Nevertheless it should be remembered that in reality it remains a commodity, and is subject to such fluctuations in exchange value as are other commodities.

At present, gold is the money commodity. In terms of gold the exchange values of other commodities are expressed. Actually this is equivalent to comparing the exchange values of other commodities with that of gold. Thus if we say a pair of shoes is worth five dollars, we assert that the same quantity of necessary social labor is embodied in a pair of shoes as in five dollars of gold. The coinage of gold merely signifies that the government certifies the coin to contain so much gold of such and such a fineness. The gold itself being the product of labor, its exchange value is determined by the labor it embodies.

FLUCTUATIONS IN VALUE AND PRICE.

Fluctuations in the exchange value of a commodity can only take place when changes take place in the quantity of labor involved in its production. Thus, with the development of labor-saving machinery, the production of commodities involves less labor, and their exchange value decreases. Price, being the approximate monetary expression of exchange value, necessarily follows these fluctuations. It is, however, subject to fluctuations from other causes, one of the most important being the fluctuations in the exchange value of gold itself.

So great has been the saving of labor recently in

the production of gold, that its exchange value has decreased more than has been the case in other commodities, which accounts largely for the so-called "high cost of living."

The minor fluctuations in prices that are continually taking place are due mainly to supply and demand. In a staple market, wherein the supply of, and demand for, all commodities exactly balanced one another, prices and exchange values would be equivalent. But, as such is not the case, as supply and demand do not balance, prices of commodities continually fluctuate above and below their exchange values. When the demand for a commodity is greater than the supply, its price rises. When the supply is greater than the demand, the price falls. But, whenever from this cause, the price rises anywhere, a flow of commodities takes place in that direction and the price is brought down to its level, and wherever the price falls, production is retarded until the normal level is resumed. So that these fluctuations in process of time cancel one another, and commodities exchange, *on the average*, at their cost of production, that is, according to the socially necessary labor involved in their production.

FLUCTUATIONS IN WAGES.

The money wage, being the price of the commodity labor power, is subject to the same fluctuations as is the price of any other commodity. That the supply of labor power exceeds the demand at all times, and often to such an extent as to produce a veritable glut, is so patent that it may be taken as proved.

This excess of supply over demand naturally gives the price of labor a constantly downward trend.

Apparently, however, wages have risen. This apparent rise is due to the decrease in the value of gold. As has been shown, the real wage has fallen 10 per cent., even in a period of capitalist prosperity. And now that that period is over and the industrial depression following it has immeasurably swelled the ranks of the unemployed, thus increasing the disproportion between supply and demand in the labor market, the money wage has come tumbling down.

In the case of a fall in the prices of other commodities this would be remedied by a restriction of production, but no such restriction of the production of labor power is possible. The worker's labor power being his physical energy, his very life force, he must continue producing it while he lives, and he will not continue to live very long if he does not find a buyer for it.

The inevitable result of the downward trend of wages is an ever-increasing portion of misery and privation for the workers, in spite of the constant struggle which they are compelled to carry on in the industrial field to obtain a better price for their labor power, etc. Strikes have been fought with the greatest determination; privation and suffering have been endured with a heroism of which the working class alone is capable; millions of dollars have been spent; the unions were never so strong as during the first decade of this century, and yet, in spite of it all, the wage has fallen. Here and there, in favored trades,

they have attained to some success, but it is but a passing success. Capitalism is the great leveller of the working class, the great abolisher of individuality. All trades are being reduced to a common level. In one line after another the skilled worker has been replaced by a machine and a "hand." And locality after locality is being brought more and more within the full dominance of capitalism.

At one time, when the workers fought against individual capitalists, with no great capital, some measure of success was possible. But now the odds are against them. Monster Capitalism sits enthroned! Employers are now grown to giant corporations, with millions at their command. Out of the very rise and fall in stocks consequent upon strikes and lockouts, the masters may reap a richer harvest than what they lose by stoppage of industries. And all the powers of government are theirs to do their bidding, the policeman with his club, the thug with his revolver, the soldier with his rifle, the court with its injunctions, and the legislature with its law. Weapon after weapon has been wrested from the hands of the workers until to-day, in the words of a Western labor union official, "the only remaining usefulness of the labor unions is in resisting the petty tyrannies of the masters."

The workers to-day are fighting not only against the man-made laws of capitalism, but also against all the laws of economics. So long as their labor power remains a commodity they cannot better their condition. So long as they allow the capitalists' claim to

the resources of the earth and the machinery of production, slaves they must remain, and as slaves they must expect to be treated. Their only hope lies in their emancipation from slavery—and they alone can achieve that emancipation.

POLITICS.

The history of all hitherto existing society (that is, all written history) is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.—“Communist Manifesto.”

The “politics” of the working class are comprised within the confines of the Class Struggle. And, conversely, the Class Struggle is, necessarily, waged on the political field.

By this statement we do not imply that the political action of the working class must be limited within the bounds of constitutional convention or of parliamentary procedure, nor that the means employed in waging the Class Struggle must everywhere be the same. Political action we define as any action taken by the slave class against the master class to obtain control of the powers of state, or by the master class to retain control, using these powers to secure them in the means of life.

For one country it may be the ballot, in another the mass strike, in a third insurrection.

These matters will be determined and dictated by the exigencies of time and place.

On the industrial field the workers appear as sellers of the one commodity, labor power; they are rivals, rather than allies. As, with the sellers of any commodity, competition forces combination to a certain extent, so with the workers. As sellers of labor power they combine in trades unions, making an effort to support one another in enhancing the price of their commodity. Were they all welded into one organization there would yet remain the unemployed to whom hunger would dictate the necessity of competing with, rather than aiding, the employed workers in their

Anti-industrialists

struggle. To form the workers, employed and unemployed, all into one union would be but to transfer the competition from without to within the organization.

State which
By means of the state they are held in subjection, and by means of the state they can alone be emancipated. The state it is that guarantees to the master class ownership in the means of production. Not a title deed but is issued under the ægis of the government, and it is the government that must protect and defend the owners in the enjoyment and possession of their property. The government it is, also, that can revoke all these titles. The state is the sword of the master class. It lives by this sword and by this sword it shall perish.

Classes with antagonistic interests have existed in one form or another since the beginning of slavery, and ever the antagonism between them has increased. As each slave-system has drawn to a close this antagonism has been brought to a head in despairing revolts on the part of the slaves and bloody reprisals on the part of the masters. In these conflicts the workers have attained nothing, as conditions were not yet ripe. To perfect the economic organization of society capitalism was necessary. This organization perfected, the working class organized into a disciplined army of production, the utility of slavery is past. The time for freedom is ripe!

In modern society the classification is clearer than ever before. On the one hand the capitalist class, on the other the working class; between them—nothing. The individuals of each class have become completely

merged into the class. The individual master no longer exploits individual workers by means of his private property in the means of production. The capitalist class collectively exploits the working class by means of its collective property in the means of production. To speak of Socialism seeking to abolish such private property is truly ridiculous, for capitalism has already abolished it. Not even the small capitalist can say to-day, "This factory is my private property." His landlord or his bankers may have more real claim upon it than he has, though his name may be over the door. Capitalist property is collective and international, just as is the process of production. As a class the workers produce the world's wealth by their collective labor. As a class the capitalists own collectively the means of production and collectively exploit the workers of the wealth they produce. Profits, the proceeds of that exploitation, flow into the hands of the capitalist class to be divided among its members according to the extent of their holdings. On both sides the individuals have been submerged—the two classes alone stand out supreme. In the one all the workers, in the other all the capitalists; the international proletariat against international capitalism, massing their forces for the final conflict.

A WAR OF RESTITUTION.

All the wealth the capitalist class possesses has been produced by the working class. In taking it the working class would but be taking it back. Wealth is not a fixed and indestructible quantity. It is being constantly destroyed and renewed. Even the most

stable portions are being constantly worn out and replaced. The workers of one generation may be said to produce with their own hands practically all the wealth in existence at the end of their generation, so that in taking it they would actually be taking the very things they themselves produced, things taken from them without any compensation. They would therefore owe compensation for them to none. And, indeed, there can be no question of compensating the capitalists.

The outcome of this struggle between the capitalist class and the working class will be the Social Revolution. By political force the working class must wrest from the capitalist class the reins of government and must use the powers of the State to legislate in its own interests. By that stroke classes will be overthrown and labor power cease to be a commodity; production will be for use and not for profit; government of persons will die out and be replaced by an administration of things. The workers, controlling the means of production, will also control the resultant wealth, *i.e.*, individually enjoy what they collectively produce.

THE POLICY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

From an understanding of these facts the Socialist Party of Canada came into being. Its policy is to educate the slaves of Canada to an understanding of their position and organize them for concerted political action, to the end that they may wrest the powers of State from the hands of capital, and use them to

strip the master class of its property rights in the means of production and to establish a system of society based upon the collective control and administration of the forces of production and distribution.

The Party platform—a short and scientific exposition of sound working class principles and tactics—is broad enough to embrace all who are Socialists, and narrow enough to exclude all those who are not. Since all political parties must be the expression of certain class interests, the Socialist Party of Canada enters the political field determined to wage war on all other political parties, whether openly capitalistic or so-called labor. Understanding the futility of reform and the danger of compromise, it stands square with science and practical experience, wasting not its time and energy on mere effects but, dealing only with root causes. Realizing, furthermore, that no “step-at-a-time” policy, no remedial legislation or political quackery can be substituted for working class knowledge, its propaganda, therefore, is one of enlightenment and education.

“Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains; a world to gain.”

THE END.

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