

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

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Whether the dispute be one of wages and hours, or one of bread, the amount of workers affected at any given time correctly reflects the concentration of social wealth in private hands. And with this concentration and its motion we get a corresponding growth of action of an antagonistic nature between the owners and non-owners thereof.

Among the ranks of the workers such action spreads itself out over an ever-growing mass, but among the capitalists it expresses itself more as intensity. Thus the masses must in the very nature of things be much slower to move with the same intensity of purpose as do the few who own and control. But, nevertheless, class consciousness grows in proportion amongst the capitalists. It does not become so packed and hence not so concentrated amongst such huge numbers as it does amongst those who at present rule the roost. Nevertheless, while the elements that comprise the working class cannot all be set boiling or be heated up to the point of revolutionary heat, at the present moment, yet, by the dynamic force of modern machine production, coupled with the force of convective currents and conductive channels of the most active members of this class, the heating process can be muchly accelerated and in places welded together into larger and larger groups. But the simple process of grouping these discontented elements is insufficient for our purpose.

It is not the purpose of a group, attempting to revolutionize the ideas of the working class, to simply bring the disgruntled groups together and then hatch a hotch-potch political platform to try and fit the particular case of each and every group. Such an attempt is doomed from the start to failure.

The bringing together of those who suffer most under the system is a very worthy action. But the objective should be for some other purpose than merely creating a mass discord, or, more correctly speaking, for uniting the several special expressions of discordance into one mass discord. All of these discordant factors are a product of bourgeois society. That being the case it necessarily follows that an enlightened lecture on the evils of the system as applied to both the industrial worker and the exploited small farmer would do much greater good than leaving them in the same ignorant frame of mind made worse by its massing. The work of emancipation is the work of the proletariat. Capitalism creates them, but it also takes good care to see that they are not given an enlightened understanding of the system that crushes them. Rather do the institutions of present day learning make every attempt to confuse the issue. Therefore, if ignorance of the laws of capitalism are to the capitalists' benefit, will the simple massing of such ignorance be of any pronounced danger? I honestly can't see it as such.

Capitalism must by virtue of itself create discontent, but so long as that discontent is merely centred on some special phase of its working, so long must the discontented masses move in a circle. The more capitalism tends to international consolidation, the deeper must we delve into our studies in order to explain the more complicated workings of capital. And this for the simple reason that phases of the international question must ever tend to overshadow those arising from a purely national working, if such is possible, with a given international status. For with the ever-growing importance of the international linking of capital, there must go a corresponding change in consciousness. To quote Marx: "The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure of society is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond."

"The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general.

"It is not men's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness."

With a more complete interlocking of exploitation, therefore, we must necessarily have a growing demand on the part of the proletariat for an answer

to the international questions. These can be answered in a dual manner. One side of the question suiting the ruling interests and the other that explains the position of the exploited.

The consciousness of the worker, therefore, must be brought up to the well-tempered point of understanding that the solution of his woes lies in the solving of the problem of the abolition of Capital and the establishment of Socialism. With this thought firmly embedded in his brain and a determination to bring about the happy consummation thereof, shall we collect the ripe fruit from the tree of "class consciousness."

J. C.

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

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and displays to the tune of a hundred thousand france a day. It was the playground of Europe and as an English diplomat said, "They did better than banish Mrs. Grundy, they invited her, and drugged her the moment she arrived." It is said that a Maggie Jiggs comedy was frequently enacted. The Emperor demanded rounded limbs and ample bosoms to the front; the Empress strove mightily to have the front benches reserved for the more angular types of beauty which she preferred. The functionaries responsible were sore distressed to accommodate such conflicting artistic values, and sometimes the poor Empress, by no means squeamish, had to hide her mortification in Scotland.

We spare the readers further detail, but while the scenes were staged a hundred miles from Paris, these were the days of telegraphic eyes, and they were seen by proxy in the dimly lit streets of Montemarte and St. Germain, whose populace had more than once reached anxiety for the flying coattails of a prince of blood. But even more ominous signs and wonders were forced upon the emperor. He had withdrawn his army from Rome, where the atheist French stood guard over God's Vicar on earth, and the French clergy, by no means a negligible factor, were not pleased. This displeasure was turned to rage when, in 1867, Garibaldi marched his Red shirts on Rome. The Pope's soldiers were routed; but the French army soon proved that they were not alone in facing the enemy back to front and while Napoleon placated the clergy, he lost a valuable ally in Italy and made impossible any alliance with Britain. He attempted to throw the responsibility of the Pope's safety on the Powers, but Bismarck was not minded to such an easy way out for his good friend, especially as he possessed knowledge of a tentative treaty between France, Italy and Austria, and recollections of the half hearted support of Italy during his war with Austria. The French army stayed in Rome.

Several other little items might be noted. Darwin's "Origin of Species" had taken the world by storm, and the old safeguards of property were shaken to their foundation. The first International had been lately and successfully launched and had taken to the new gospel like a temperance communicant to his wine. A new power, electricity, was engaging the attention of the Capitalists. Napoleon decided to grant a constitution and a responsible ministry.

But fate, so long indulgent to this fortunate adventurer who rested securely in the dictum "in the Empire is peace"—Peace, of course, between the classes—was marked for the slaughter. Bismarck was ready, and fate kindly lent her assistance through the vacant throne of Spain, which is all so exciting and illuminating as to deserve a chapter all to itself.

SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS.

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to teach anything but the facts, whether our masters like it or not.

Therefore I maintain that any advance worthy of mention that is made in the science of sociology in the future must be made by the workers themselves, because it is not in the interests of the capitalist class that any advance should be made in that particular science. Of course, we must take into consid-

eration an occasional scientist of the capitalist class who is both economically and intellectually independent, as well as intellectually honest, but such are few and far between.

BOOK REVIEW*

"Freedom of speech, of press and of assemblage . . . and all the above named freedoms are so regulated that, in their enjoyment the bourgeoisie encounter no opposition from the like rights of the other classes. Wherever the bourgeoisie wholly interdict these rights to others or have allowed them their enjoyment under conditions that were but so many police snares, it was always done in the interest of 'public safety', i.e., of the bourgeoisie as required by the Constitution."—(Marx).

MR. POST'S book is a belated addition to the mass of "Now It May Be Told" literature of the post-war period. It is a form of literary apologia offered by liberal politicians in defense of the aberrations of Democracy and Justice in times of class strife.

Mr. Post, viewing American Capitalism through the 18th century spectacles of Jeffersonian democracy is loath to admit that the Republic "of Liberty triumphant in government" (as he phrases it) is a class State.

If any contradictions have developed between the high falutin' principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the practical application of these principles in the realities of injunctions, deportations, Espionage and Criminal Syndicalism laws, directed exclusively against the workers, the fault lies not in the abstract principles of bourgeois freedom to which the Republic is dedicated, but in the venability of the official interpreters of the basic laws incorporated in the Constitution. So reasons Mr. Post. Some of the laws applying to aliens are subversive to American ideals, says Mr. Post. Yet, being a firm supporter of "a Government of Law," as opposed to a "Government of Men," Mr. Post administered the law as he found it. The gentle art of "passing the buck" is an ancient one.

"I did not make the law, I merely administer it," has been re-echoed from the lips of ruling-class officials down through the ages.

From Pontius Pilate to Metcalf in Winnipeg, and the "administrators" of Criminal Syndicalism in California, that cry has resounded. "He only did his duty," re-echoe the gullible slaves.

Aside from the defense of Mr. Post and American Ideals, the facts set forth in the book are in general accord with the personal experiences of the victims of the Red Hysteria. The power of the minor bureaucrats to ignore the orders of their superior officer, when it suited their purpose is exemplified by the fact that though the assistant secretary of labor ordered the release from jail of the membership of one organization on "their own recognizance," this order was not complied with until the final disposition of their cases, some months after the order was issued! Mr. Post is evidently unaware of this fact, though it can be amply substantiated.

As a sample of the mentality of the morons who saved the Republic from the Red tyrants, I quote from the book. During one of the raids in New York city a portrait of Karl Marx was "captured." "Painting Karl Marx's pictured nose red, one of the detectives used the mutilated portrait as a mask, and, thrusting a cigarette through the pictured lips into his own, made the caricature of the founder of Socialism seem to smoke gaily as its wearer paraded about the place—all to the delight of the office force."

To the worker who has given some time to an investigation of class society, and the functions of capitalist governments, the book presents nothing new. It only proves the assertions of Lafargue that in times of class strife, the "Right to Life, to Liberty, to Justice, to Revolt and the rest of their Constitutional rights," are about as useful to the proletariat as "a plaster on a wooden leg."

F. CUSACK.

*The Deportations Delirium of 1920.—By Louis F. Post, assistant secretary of Labor, U. S. A., 1913-21. Chicago, C. H. Kerr & Co.