

# WESTERN CLARION

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EVENTS

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## The United Front

THE new theory of the United Front would seem to imply that, diverse in objective, and divided in purpose and ideation as we are, it is still possible, in the deepening distress of worsening conditions to inspire and animate the mass of the workers with the sentiment and purpose of social revolution. The theory is comforting, and is feasibly presented in the various journals of "immediate materialisation." And it has all the backing of young enthusiasm born of modern spirit of discontent with the patent anomalies of capital in decadence.

It would be futile to deny that crowds can be moved by the fervour of passionate appeal, or that society can respond to the stimulus of organised minorities. But experience is proof that the crowd that is moved by that appeal is very potently saturated with the spirit of its objective, and history shows that society is readily responsive only to awakened consciousness of its associate interests, clearly perceived. We may argue with man or mass, but the argument is cogent only as it expresses the psychology of their thinking. And similarly society will be attracted to the magnetic minority only as that minority can express the prime necessities of the hour in the intimate associations of social objectivity. Were minorities of themselves, able to influence a society unconscious of reality, society would not, as now, swing idly to the anchors of traditional phantasies. Were mere thought electric enough to illumine the web of historical event, there would be no occasion to appeal to the opportunism of minority leadership. It is not, in reality, the "enlightened" cult of individualism that is strong to arouse and enthuse, but the collective thought of forceful conditions, thrust mordauntly home on the simple mind of common experience. Just as labor, however complex, is measured in terms of simple labor, so minority consciousness, advanced though it be, is effectively active necessarily, as it expresses the experience of its social counterpart. Society cannot be led by the nose, except in the measure of its thinking. And it is (as yet) our misfortune that the forms of its thinking, evolved from the stimulus of past historic interest is still affiliated with the class interests of privileged powers. To change that requires more than persuasion and organisation; to give it power and influence, more than sentiment and watch cries, however red.

In the present pathos of world unrest the whole historic material of society is in a whirl of flux and criticism. But the flux is generated by the unhalting process of economic development, not at all by the prowess of economic interpreters. And its criticism, urged and directed by the whole weight of the social forces of life and labor and groping in the vast vagueness of social misunderstanding, derives vigor, incentive and value, directly as it perceives the origin of our social chaos and the non-equivalence of our social standards. To probe social chaos to its fundamental causes demands knowledge for the accounting of its equivocating standards, comprehension. Not the knowledge of mere academic philosophy nor the laboriously acquired understanding of theoretical primacy (beloved of convention and formalism), but the firsthand knowledge of life in the intimate relations of daily ex-

istence; and the understanding of those relations in all their grimy garments and vicissitudes of proletarian experience. That is knowledge and understanding that cannot be thrust upon us by stealth, nor by dint of formal argument or reasoned appeal, nor yet by the tense aspirations and "wanchancy" ambitions of impatient—and impenitent—enthusiasts. It comes only as the conditions of socially changing forms, break down the hoary traditions of time; as the changing social forms disrupt and vanquish social ethics and status; as the quagmire of social existence encroaches turgid and deep on the barren conventions of class Dominion and in the gathering flood of its deliberate movement exposes and overwhelms the false and pharisaic philosophy of class "eternities."

It is precisely here, where we would expect it to be the strongest, that the formula of the united front betrays weakness. It shows itself to be but a gambler's chance with a desperate dice. It seeks through grumbling discontent to organise revolution. It claims that when crisis comes society can be opportunely herded to salvation. It seems to declare that society can be swayed in a specific direction amidst a tumult of irrelevant interests. It implies that in the snapping of old social sanctions is the probability of conscious social reconstruction. Not so. True, discontent can be organized to express its discontent. But to express the philosophy of revolution it must consciously possess the objectivity of cause and effect. That is, that the cause of its whole social misery is the effect of the capitalist ownership of its life. If it does not prove that, it can not strike at the substance of reality, but only at the ghost of the ages—its shadow. And the hypothesis of "the crisis" is just a delusion. In the modern world of capital crisis has become a permanence. And rather than organising an opportunity to salvation amidst its drab and joyless inanities, we are, rather, settling down doggedly to its endurance. Like our capitalist masters we are apparently willing to endure the haggard leanness of the now, in the hope of the lusty prosperity of tomorrow.

But that hope can never materialise. As the days drag on; as conditions grow worse; as misery assumes wider proportions; as economic restrictions embrace and crush social class divisions; as social usages fall into deeper destitute; as hope grows dim and get dimmer and life more destitute and intolerable; the driven crisis will merge into the driving mass that moves because it must. The mighty stress of world conditions will shake down the bourgeois gods of now and yesterday. They will prove their wisdom false and their oracles empty. Their failure will be plainly written in the dire agony of human experience. In the stifling of social activity; in the stagnation of social production; in the withering of social existence, the eagerness of want, and the willingness of toil, and the technique of production will be contrasted with the luxury of possession; with the abundance of material and resource, and the cheap fripperies of profit. And brought thus face to face with the essence of social relations, and with the meaning of social organisation, the unromantic fundament of property right shall become plainly apparent. Being apparent, society as a whole will scorn its ethic and pre-

tension, as now it scorns the pretensions of the past. And it will, at the same time, clearly perceive the significance of the voice in the wilderness: that capitalist right in the means of human life is the prime cause of social destitution and the greatest progenitor of social evil. With that recognition,—not in the dissolution of social sanctions, is not only the probability of conscious social reconstruction, but its inevitable necessity.

Thus the appeal of the United Front loses potency as a material reality. We cannot force diverse purpose into the firm unity of common aim. We must first want the object of our activities. If the want is not common, its means will not mature. And if, in all the present criticism of men and mode, of means and aim, there is no appearance of plan or method, it is simply because, in the flowing of social change in the means, methods and objects of human life, the new psychology of the hour is not yet adapted to the unfathomed vicissitudes of the change. The fact that such criticism and such dissatisfaction exists is but a symptom of the running tide of development. For the multiplication of sect and party, and the infertility of their appeals, is an indication that the body politic is losing its centralisation of authority; that staunch as it may appear it is no more regarded as the sceptre of social unity and utility; but on the contrary has become suspect and unprogressive, and is inwardly disintegrating before the gathering weight of social purpose and social necessity.

That is, indeed, the process of social revolution. Social revolution—as it is now understood and in the particular relations of world conditions—is international and must be achieved internationally. It is the awakening of the world's proletariat from the hypnotic suggestions of political prosperity. That is one precise lesson of the Russian upheaval. Another is, that only clear comprehension of social relationships can give us the desired solidity of social purpose requisite to face the stern issue of the final struggle for power. But the awakening of the world's proletariat is neither the work of institutions, organisations, nor enthusiastic orators, but is primarily the development of the world's resources to their fullest capacity under the economic of established society. With that development proceeds the development of its Psychological reflex, until the latter, under the impetus of economic failure, is compelled to probe beyond the confines of authoritative doctrines and social superstitions, and discover the true source of its social evils, its economic miseries and fettered capacities, in the fundamental organisation of society itself—private property in the common, social means of life.

Mere organization is not sufficient to compass success. In fact many hinder it. Economic organization—which is all that labor associations are—presupposes economic relations, they are the developed consequents of those relations, and until those relations have quite plainly demonstrated their social inefficiency—that is, their failure to secure and conserve social existence which is the purpose of social organisation—a purely revolutionary organisation, at once practical and effective, is not only prevented by the very terms of the proposi-

(Continued on page 8)

## By the Way

MY proletarian shiftlessness undertook to write these notes instead of set articles, thinking thus to escape much labor in composition and study. It were easy thought I, to dash off in spare moments now and then notes of comment spiced occasionally with sly malice towards what I presume to think are Utopianisms lingering on among fellow Socialists. I would make no frontal attacks. No! My strategy was to be one of indirection, harrying the Utopian, deeply entrenched in his preconceptions, conducting demoralizing raids on his bases of opinion, all under cover of innocent looking comments on men and things. So my naive duplicity proposed. But, O Lord, in an unguarded moment I said I would deal with the "nationalization of land" proposal of the British Labor Party, and the more I have thought about the matter since, the more I realize what a mare's nest of troubles I have laid myself open to. It is not altogether the scope of the subject, about which discussion has been carried on for generations and upon which whole libraries have been and may yet be written. What chiefly troubles me it that the subject forces me into the open on the question of social reform and many things else; it compels me, prematurely, to expose a position I had intended to mask awhile partly because I do not feel altogether sure of it. So, I am moved by anticipatory tremors and timidities, in imagination already I hear on the breeze the undiscriminating impossibilists traditional war cry: "Reforms do not reform, palliatives do not palliate!"

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Not wishing to arouse unwarranted hostility and thus have ears closed to my further argument, I may state in advance that, so far as I see, my attitude on reform involves no change in the Party in respect of its educational function or in its independence as a revolutionary political organization. It would however, it seems to me, entail a recognition that reform organizations, industrial and political, fulfil a necessary function, both for defense and attack, in the interest of the working masses and therefore entail an attitude on our part towards them pedagogical, critical as occasion warrants, but fundamentally friendly as to organs of the workers in the fields where lie their immediate political and economic interests. As almost a necessary corollary to that attitude, the concept of **function** should be substituted for that of **principle**, as distinguishing one organization from another. What modernized mind but deplors the wastes of mental effort in the unending, turgid, metaphysical logic-chopping over principles, a concept out of date even in the eighteenth century for the purpose in mind. What wonder the practically minded working class at large are perplexed at the animosities, recurring splits and divisions among its active elements and fail to understand the metaphysics that are the occasion. And—whisper it not in Gath—neither do the doctors. Listen in on us when two—two, not three, two is enough—belonging to the same group are gathered together.

\* \* \*

Cast your eye over the cursed scene of anarchy in the so-called movement in Canada. Two cats or a dozen cats I think it is, over a clothes line exhibit the same kind of a movement. Are the working class apathetic! What wonder! But there is more than apathy. There is in them actual hatred and contempt for our anarchy, they realize it stands in

their way. Substitute, I say, the concept of function for that of principle and we should have a new spirit and a new order of things in the working class movement. Our organizations would be regarded as functional groups engaged in departmental activities, industrial, political and educational, in one great enterprise. Each functional group would attract those who by native bent were inclined to its form of activity. Mutual jealousies and suspicions would disappear or sink to a minimum. Individuals could go from the industrial or the political movement to the educational for a knowledge of theory and return to their own movements more efficient in the working class cause. The working class, seeing the active elements down to a workmanlike basis of function, a basis it could understand, would shed its apathy for an awakened and lively interest in all our affairs. On this matter, of course, I particularly address the rank and file, over the heads of individuals whose animosities have hardened them into mere feudists, or between whom the hard word has been passed which they can not forget. Not personalities, but a cause is at stake. Given the opportunity I may have more to say on this idealistic proposal in the future. There are, you know, two kinds of idealism, idealism and practical idealism.

\* \* \*

Well, having now committed myself, I must go more into detail. The way to get conclusions right is to start right in the premises, so they say. I want to traverse the premises. Though readers still disagree with me in the end, I hope that our going over the ground may still have some educational value as a by-product. Like any surveyor we need an instrument, the best possible. I recommend one below.

Someone has said, that it is the hall-mark of a civilized mind that it be capable of taking resurveys of its standards of judgment, testing them in the light of new experiences. One who should possess such a mind would be said to have an "objective mind" or to have the "scientific habit of mind." There is little doubt, then, that we are all more or less savages. In degree, for some limited uses it is present with us all, even with the primitive savage. Modern science, it might be said, has raised it in our day into the consciousness of mankind as a necessary attitude of mind for research. It is working "ideally" in enquiry when an idle curiosity is the only accompanying influence. Its achievements are mainly in the mechanical sciences and industrial activity. In the so-called social sciences the ideal is more difficult to attain because subjective influences, the self-deceptions of desire, the personal biases and predilections of the investigator colour his view and warp his judgment. In our courts of justice this trait of human nature is so well known that when witnesses agree too closely it is taken for granted there has been collusion. The freer play of the objective mind in the natural sciences and industry has resulted in man's control of natural forces and his power to produce growing apace, while in comparison his control over social forces lags far behind. It is true that science has accumulated a vast fund of knowledge concerning man and his society, but it can not be applied to the conduct of social affairs so long as the kind of mind that gathered the knowledge is absent from that field of activity.

What I have written on the character of the "objective" mind may infuse readers with a suspicion that perhaps their attitudes on many things, say for one, social reform, may not be the result entirely of rational considerations, and so incline them to their re-examination.

I have said that my point of view on reforms would entail a recognition of labor organizations dealing with immediate conditions as performing necessary functions in the interest of the working class. We have already recognized the economic organizations of our class as so functioning, but have withheld it from the political. Yet the workers have innumerable interests other than those concerning conditions of work and wages. Some of them are in the sphere of politics—State affairs—relations with foreign countries, and domestic affairs such as education, hygiene, recreations, State interference in industrial disputes and legal enactments affecting these disputes, etc. As the modern State evolves and adds to its original chief function of policeman more and more of economic and non-economic functions it becomes ever more necessary that the workers take a hand in political affairs as a class, not only to pursue a merely defensive policy but also to take the initiative in social affairs. The times demand, working class interests and the interests of society as a whole demand that working class activity take on not only an anti-capitalist character but also one of anti-capitalism. The full historical significance of the working class movement goes beyond the fact that it is a movement to free the workers from a position of economic subjection. It has also the task of freeing society and its means of life from class control, placing control in the hands of society as a whole. It is not by working class good-will, but by virtue of historical necessity that one aim embodies the other. There is more than an "ideal" necessity for social reconstruction, i.e., for the transferring of society's means of production from private to social control. Modern large-scale machine production and the world market signify socialized production and a universal dependence on its operation. Production, however, rests conditionally on production for profit for a class who own the means of production. It is this condition of production that has brought into play the driving force of necessity for the transferring of productive powers to social control. Even the bourgeoisie must yield before the pressure or break. But they yield reluctantly and ever seek to escape necessity through national success in commerce or in war at the expense of rival nations. As a consequence, the very existence of civilization is said to be threatened. The producing populations are threatened with an increasing measure of poverty and degradation that bodes no good, in the opinion of those who believe as I do, that a strong, virile working class, mentally and physically, is the chief hope of the social revolution. That is why "ideally," the producing masses, both urban and rural should become initiating factors in social change; it is also why, of a historically developed necessity, they **must**.

\* \* \*

But even though society should escape by chance a worse fate and under State necessity changes that are adaptations to new conditions be made by capitalist class parties, sheer economic necessity will continue to dog the heels of the masses of humanity. With, however, the producing masses entering in as an initiating force, while it will still be, as ever, "first things first" and "next things next," a transitional period entailed not alone by mental, but also by technical facts, their purpose will not be a mere existence, but well-being. The removal of obstructions to its attainment will be of another kind marked by an increasing revolutionary significance as knowledge of the social problem increases derived from practical experience and education.

\* \* \*

The work of scientific Socialists, is educational. To be true to name and function consists, not, it seems to me, in lumping reforms in one indiscriminate mass, but of analysing and classifying them as their elements, reactionary, meliorative or revolutionary, may indicate. So that, as the case may be, the working masses may understand the momentous significance of their political acts.

If these notes get in the "Clarion" I shall take it as a charter of liberty to say more along these lines in the next issue before dealing with the "Nationalization of Land" reform. C.

# The Anglo-American Alliance

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

THE Ruhr, and to a lesser degree, the Near East have for some months been absorbing practically the entire attention of all those interested in world politics. Yet, at this very time there has been taking place an enormously important orientation of forces in an entirely different quarter.

When the government of Lloyd George went out of office, it appeared as if the relations of Britain and the United States promised little peace for the near future. Lloyd George may be said to have been the spokesman and agent of the nationalist tendencies in British politics. He was the agent of the industrialists, and as such, he stood for a militant British assertiveness in the councils of the world. The policy for which he and his colleagues spoke was for a survival of the economic phase which had passed some time, prior to his resignation. The new forces, or rather the old forces which had regained economic power as a result of the long continued trade crisis, were those of the bankers and financiers. They had, gradually succeeded in undermining the economic power and political influence of the industrialists who had raised Lloyd George to the head of the coalition. Lloyd George, had he remained at the head of the government would probably have led Britain into a war with France, either indirectly in the East or directly in the West. He would not have been prepared to make the apparent submission to the United States with the same good grace as the government of Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin, has done. He was associated in the mind of America with hostile oil interests in Mexico, the West Indies and Mosul. He was similarly committed to interests in the financial world hostile to the domination of Chicago and New York.

The government of Bonar Law, while not by any means likely to yield at all points to the United conservatives, has already taken a line which is calculated to bring the United States and Britain into alliance, though it would be difficult to say whether this policy only commenced with the entry of Bonar Law into the office. It would seem that for some time previously there had been unofficial approaches to America, made through banking and commercial magnates, and which may have had the tacit approval of the more conservative element in the Lloyd George government. During the year 1922, and especially during the latter half of it, the question which assumed the greatest importance for the government was not the Near East, but the question of arriving at a settlement with the United States Government on the matter of the debt owed to it. Coming events cast their shadows before and we can take it that the Geddes Committee on economy in public services, was appointed with a view to arriving at such a reduction of government expenditures as would make possible the payment of interest and sinking fund on the American debt. The recommendations of this committee have by no means been entirely followed out, but the money saved is certainly about equal to that required for the immediate charges on the debt to America. It is not always the more spectacular aspects of state policy which are worthy of our notice. The adventures of Great Britain in the East were nothing like so vital an interest to our governing class as some people imagine. They were in fact rather a last effort of an obsolete phase of imperialism.

All important as the question of oil is for the British Admiralty the question of finance appears even more important in the minds of the government as a whole. While the war had greatly enriched the manufacturers, ship-owners and certain other profiteering interests, their position had been undermined during the two years of depreciation by those other and older economic interests whose capital values, relatively depreciated during the

war, had rapidly appreciated during the last two years. In this country at any rate, the whole banking fraternity and the mercantile houses in the City of London have recovered the position they occupied in the national economy prior to 1914, but which they lost for a while during the war. They have, a natural prediction for friendly relations with the United States. British investments in South America are somewhere in the neighbourhood of £1,000,000,000 and that these, like holdings in Canada, Mexico and the West Indies would be endangered by any complications with America. We can understand how strongly their influence works for the achievement of an entente between the two English-speaking peoples. Sentiment may appear to be a link which binds these peoples together, but in reality it is a class bias an economic community of interest.

Turning now to America, we find that there also, as a result of the terrible industrial depression, the big industrialists have come once more under the domination of those financiers of Wall Street, from whose control they had managed to slip during the war period.

The Wilson Administration from 1913 to 1921 were a visible political expression of an effort at emancipation from Wall Street, vigorously attempted, and for a time successfully carried out by American industrialists. That is to say, with the building up of huge fortunes as a result of the expansion of American industry, to meet the demands of the war-years, American big business became more self-reliant, more self-assertive and more nationalist in character, and for a time revolted successfully against the big houses of Wall Street, whose power in American finance was built not so much upon American production as upon the service which they rendered to European capital, seeking to exploit the expanding agriculture, industry and trade of the United States. The greatest achievement of the Wilson administration was undoubtedly the setting up of the Federal Reserve Bank which sought to give American business men a financial service at home, guaranteed and controlled by the American Government. Just before America's entry into the war, the big corporation of business men and financiers connected with Rockefeller and the Chicago Produce Trade, thought to cultivate an American export and carrying trade and an American economic expansion which expressed itself sometimes in terms of decided imperialism. With the entry of America into the war, these interests sought to build up a great mercantile marine, built at the expense of, and constructed by the State and intended to provide American exporters and importers with transport under the American rather than a foreign flag. From 1917 to 1921, numerous corporations were founded and efforts made to foster American trade and influence throughout the American Continent and the Far East. Not only that, but efforts were also made to gain a financial footing within the British Empire primarily in Canada, but also in South Africa and India.

This was the inevitable corollary of the acquisition by the American capitalists of British holdings in American securities, followed as it was by extensive loans, to the British Government and the Allies. It seemed, until last year, that America intended to assert herself as a great world power in active opposition, not only in finance, but in trade and politics, to Great Britain. The same phenomenon of militant industrialism which expressed itself through Lloyd George and the coalition Government appeared also in America. The failure, however, of the gigantic promotions of the industrialists and the Trust Companies, for the purpose of developing export trade, and the calamitous failure of the American Mercantile Marine, built and promoted by the United States Shipping Board, together with the

added inability of Europe to do business with America, have, in America, brought in the same liquidation of bloated industrialism which we have witnessed in this country. The great financial houses of Wall Street, have once more come into their own and resumed their sway in the world of economics. Not only that, but the farmers of the Middle West, unable to sell their produce in any of the American or European markets, have also fallen back into the clutches of these same bankers.

Thus, while the Republican Party came into power in 1921 with a tremendous majority, to carry into practice this policy of splendid isolation and strident Americanism, the logic of events has compelled President Harding to bring his party into the service of its traditional task-masters and paymasters, the bankers of Wall Street in general and J. P. Morgan in particular.

The house of Morgan has been a concern for the active promotion of Anglo-American friendship and co-operation. During the war it was a buying agent for the British Government; it sold immense quantities of securities for the British Government which that government had taken over from its subjects; it acted as a loan agent for all transactions, the cumulative result of which is now seen in the stupendous debt of the British Government to America. In every scene and on every occasion, J. P. Morgan and Company have been the faithful friends and close collaborators of the British governing class.

While Americans have a very considerable influence in Paris and have certainly been behind the electrical industry and behind Loucheur, they are not likely for a single moment to be in sympathy with the policy of the French militarists and petty bourgeoisie which is responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr. They have no more use for French national assertiveness than for the national assertiveness of any other foreign imperialism. In fact, it is doubtful whether Morgan and Company favor imperialism at all. They are essentially the agents of the international bond-holding interests that are a force likely to favor the regime of the League of Nations which, there is reason to believe, has its active though secret aid at every turn. They also, like Bonar Law, desire tranquility. Tranquility is, of course, just what merchant bankers and bond holders want.

While it would seem at first sight that the Americans have driven a hard bargain with the British Government in the matter of the funding of the debt, it is now evident that the British have not done so badly. The Americans have quietly dropped the Shipping Subsidy Bill, which was causing intense anxiety to British shipowners and which, had it been proceeded with, would without question have resulted in the bankruptcy of British shipping or, at an early date, war between this country and America.

This abandonment of State guarantee for the American shipping industry means in effect, the

(Continued on page 4)

## ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MAY 1, 1923.

### MAY DAY.

**T**HE Socialist press throughout the world on this date will carry in its columns what are generally called May Day features, and on this date the day of emancipation for wage-labor will be heralded from the workers' platforms throughout the world as a joyful parallel to the coming of spring flowers and sunshine.

It is true that the fellow we call the average man is not accustomed to glancing over the records of festival observances in the days gone by. He knows very little of any parallel between his present day labor demonstration and the ancient pagan festival celebrating nature's promise of harvest and food in abundance. That joyful character is somewhat absent from the present average May Day demonstration. Instead there appears a catalogue of present distresses and evidence of the yoke of industrial exploitation now laid upon wage-labor. Its hopes and aspirations are still unfulfilled. Even the International Socialist Congress (Paris) resolution of 1889 declaring for the eight hour day is still unrealised and the First of May, a day set upon the calendar by that Congress for annual international labor demonstration to secure that objective falls far short of universal recognition among wage workers as a day of holiday from wage labor to voice a measure of hope and resolution for freedom from industrial slavery. Yet, if it is not thought about and understood by mankind, it is recognised that dates recording events record past events and not events of the future, and so it is impossible to impose arbitrary standards for general recognition.

Today the condition of interest is a consideration of the degree of working class response in objection to class oppression from above. There lies the promise of working class emancipation.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES.

**R**ESPONSE to our invitation to discussion (of several issues ago) has not been very great. We have a short article from a Saskatchewan comrade which we hope to print next issue and a letter or two of promises and enquiry. We would like correspondents to send their names and addresses rather than bare anonymous documents alone.

Comrades in Alberta and Saskatchewan are asked by Com. R. Burns, Alta. P. E. C. secretary to note the contents of this letter:—

To Secretaries of locals, S. P. of C.,  
Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Dear Comrades:

A short time ago a letter was sent to all Locals of the P. E. C., and some members at large, requesting some information regarding the sending of speakers on a tour through the provinces. Most of the letters have been answered and the feeling expressed was that it would be poor policy on the part of the P. E. C. to send speakers through until about the middle of June.

The P. E. C. have decided to notify all Locals that no speakers will be routed until the above time. In the meantime it requests all secretaries, and active members at large, in the provinces to get all the information they possibly can in respect to how

many meetings could be arranged in their district, and what time would be most suitable for these meetings. When the P. E. C. receives this information they will get busy and make the necessary arrangements.

Kindly send in these particulars as soon as possible, so as to have your district on the schedule in its proper place.

R. Burns,  
(Sec'y. Alta. P. E. C.),  
27 Central Bldg.,  
Calgary, Alberta.

In the meantime, Comrade J. Harrington will be in Blairmore, Alberta, to address the miners there on Tuesday, 1st May.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 has organized what is described as a Grand Dance on Tuesday, May 8th, to be held at Belvedere Court, corner 8th Ave. and Main Street. Tickets, men 75 cents, women 50 cents.

J. Kavanagh sends us a copy of a letter he sent to the B. C. Federationist on March 17th and which was not published in that paper. He asks us to publish it. The letter (besides touching upon other matters) touches upon some discussion which has appeared in the Federationist over Harrington's first article (February 1st) of the present series—Revolutions, Political and Social.

As it so happens a letter was sent to the Federationist by J. Harrington on the 23rd April, no indication of which appears in the Federationist of the 27th.

The Federationist will perhaps explain what rule it follows in such cases. For the present we leave the matter at that without comment.

Com. J. Glendening, 221 Jefferson Avenue, Winnipeg, is now secretary of Local 109, S. P. of C.

### A WOMAN'S LETTER.

Wednesday April 19, 1923.

Editor, Clarion:—

Recently I heard a question, as to whether the time was not now ripe for the revolution to take place in its entirety. The answer came that since the average worker has the point of view he has at the present time it could not, nor would it take place.

Now being of that class of slave that attends to all the drudgery of the home I think many things whilst doing that drudgery and one of them (the thoughts) is that before long something, no matter how far short of the entirety, will happen, and we shall have to be satisfied for a spell at least without the realisation in all its fullness.

Perhaps Katherine Smith or the writer who quite recently wrote in the Clarion will answer. We get such a lot of men's view points and they are only one of the kinds of slaves there are.

I read all the Clarion and notice that so little encouragement is given for any but male writers to expound their views and, so far as I see it, all will have to see; speed the day; for unless they wake up pretty soon the other kind of slave will be forced to do so and then we will lead you to the "promised land."

For women are waiting till they are sick for something to be accomplished by the male of the species. I know there is nothing particularly interesting in my question but if only some interest could be aroused in women more than it is I think that something great would be accomplished; they are, generally speaking, apathetic.

New Westminster, B. C.

Editor's Note: The reason why articles by women do not regularly appear in these columns is that women do not write. Why they do not write may be another matter. Perhaps they will explain. We certainly have no thought of discouraging anyone.

### HERE AND NOW.

Our introductory remarks are short this time but, as will be observed, they are no shorter than our cash. We have no space in which to say more and that should be enough anyway.

Following \$2 each: Jim Cartwright, "C. C. W.," C. F. Orchard, H. J. B. Harper, L. True, C. O'Brien, J. Peterson, E. Rhodes, J. W. Jamison, P. Wallgren, Jim Lott, J. Meldrum, J. Fletcher, A. McDonald, J. Dennis, J. Kavanagh, J. G. Smith, C. Redusko, C. Thorning.

Following \$2 each: Jim Cartwright, "C. C. W.," T. Twelvetree, N. C. Nelson, R. Burns, J. Glendening, E. Gillett, Wm. Thomas, Chas. Foster.

C. W. Mossman \$1.50; Joe Hubble \$3; S. Earp 50c; J. M. Wilson \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs from 13th to 26th April, inclusive, total \$43.50.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

### PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

APRIL 29th

Speaker: C. LESTOR

All meetings at 8 p.m.  
Questions. Discussion.

### THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

(Continued from page 3)

actual abandonment of the attempt to build up a great American mercantile marine, for it is quite realized that without such government assistance it is impossible for the United States ship-owners to hold their own against the more firmly established and infinitely more experienced British ship-owners. Here again we see the influence of this great house which, while controlling the International Mercantile Company and its great subsidiary lines, the White Star, the Red Star and others, sails them under the Union Jack as British ships.

On top of all this, we have the proposal in the part of the American President, that America, while not entering the League of Nations, shall appoint its judges upon the International Court established in the League.

This coming together of the American and the British financial oligarchy and the harmonious relations being established between the respective executive committees, are phenomena which deserve our most earnest attention. What is coming into existence is an alliance of bondholders, and alliance of creditors and an alliance of international owners of abstract property. The American Government and the British government will come together as agents of the mortgage-holders of the Continent. They both desire and will see that they get, tranquillity, however drastic the measures of repression which may be necessary. Together, they will guarantee the supremacy of the League of Nations, together they will formulate a code of laws to govern the hopeless millions who for the next eighty to a hundred years, shall have one duty, and one duty only—to toil ceaselessly to pay off a debt incurred in order to make the world "safe for democracy."

# A Review of the Plebs' Economics

An Outline of Economics. Plebs Text Book Number Three. Published by The Plebs League (for the use of classes run in connection with the National Council of Labor Colleges) at 162a Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

THE development of Science and the scientific method spreading from one sphere of human knowledge to another until the whole field of natural and social phenomena had been brought within its scope very early presented to the theologian the problem of how to preserve a Deity who was being rapidly shorn of his attributes and functions. Two courses were open. Some sought refuge in Pantheism but this, as Schopenhauer long ago pointed out, amounted to total extinction. Consequently the majority followed the progression from Deism to Theism and so to the concept of an Absolute located somewhere over the confines of the known universe. An Absolute, vague, indefinite, impersonal and functionless but yet serving as a peg on which empty theologies might be hung. In the meantime the functions of Deity were usurped by a crowd of animistically conceived natural laws in terms of which Science described and explained the universe.

Similarly, when Marx took over the Labor Theory of Value from the Classical School he was confronted with the problem of saving a theory which he needed as a basis for his exploitation theory but which had ceased to function, that is to say, it would no longer explain the facts. It, no doubt, had at one time done this, its existence cannot otherwise be accounted for, but the development of industry and commerce had been such that the theory was now at variance with the facts of the market. True, Ricardo had done his best for it. He got over the difficulty of Rent by his Theory of Rent and he elaborated the Cost of Production theory in which the raw materials and machinery figured as "past" labor and interest and profit appeared as the result of the efforts and sacrifices contributed by the financial and employing capitalists. Nevertheless the difficulties crowded thick and fast. They may be found set forth in detail in the "Critique."

At this point Marx takes up the problem. He makes a distinction between concrete or useful labor and abstract or social labor. Useful labor being expended on appropriate material effects a qualitative change and produces a useful object. In a society such as ours the production of goods is a social act looking to the satisfaction of a social want. Our producer, then, at the same time and by the same act incorporates a certain quantity of social abstract labor and creates Value. The useful object is a commodity. The value thus created, although only conceptually existent, is to be thought of as an entity, as a substance having actual existence in the commodity. It is created in the act of production and exists prior to and independently of the act of exchange. Being materialized undifferentiated labor it can have no quality other than magnitude and having been created in response to a social want no more can be materialized than the amount socially necessary, for the production of the commodity.

Marx therefore states the Law of Value in these terms:

"We see then that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor-time socially necessary for its production." (Capital, Vol. I p. 46)

"The value of a commodity, therefore, varies directly as the quantity, and inversely as the productivity, of the labor incorporated in it." (Capital, Vol. I, p. 47).

Marx further pointed out the distinction between labor-power and labor. The fact that, with appropriate instruments the worker can produce more in any given period than is necessary for his maintenance for that period when stated in terms of the Law of Value appears as the formula that the

value of the product of labor—allowing for the value of the constant capital consumed in the process—is greater than the value of the labor-power expended. The difference is surplus-value.

Exchange-value may be regarded as the phenomenal form of the substance Value. It does not appear, however, that there is any causal connection between the two nor is there any mechanism by which Value can make itself effective in the field of circulation. Now, it is precisely in this field, that is in the market, that exchange-value necessarily emerges seeing that it is the quantitative ratio in which commodities exchange, or in other words "the proportional quantities in which it (a commodity) exchanges with all other commodities." When one of the quantities to be exchanged happens to be the money-commodity, which is now invariably the case, exchange-value appears as Price. It is, therefore, the Law of Prices which is now in question. We may note in passing that the "Cost of Production and Marginal Utility theories are not now theories of Value in the Marxian sense of that term. They are theories of Price and as such do not necessarily conflict with the Law of Value.

If we take the market for any given commodity at any given moment we shall find that the supply of that commodity is for the time being a fixed quantity. Now, it is the business of the seller to sell; he will sell if he can and in many cases must sell. The goods, therefore, will be sold and at such a price as will make the demand equal the supply. That is to say at a price which will find purchasers for all the goods. We may observe in passing the influence of price in the determination of demand. If the price should rule so low as to cause a withdrawal of goods from the market this would show the influence of price on supply. In any case supply would equal demand.

Now this price is clearly arrived at without reference to the Value or cost of production of the goods. These, when once exposed for sale, are at the mercy of the market.

The production and sale of commodities is, however, a continuous process. If the goods are removed from the market by purchase others must take their places, and the price which is realized must be such as to allow of a continuous flow into the market. That is to say that the price must, on the average, cover the cost of production of the goods.

Prices are not, however, determined by cost of production. It would be mere tautology to say so, seeing that cost of production is itself merely an addition of prices plus, of course, the average rate of profit. By the way, the Cost of Production is the same as Marx's Price of Production. This question may be considered as finally disposed of by the statement, which is generally conceded, that prices, thus determined by the conditions of the market will, in the long run, tend to coincide with their respective prices of production. That is, for competitively produced goods. Commodities produced under monopoly conditions are, of course, subject to the law of monopoly prices which is, however, only a variant of the law of prices.

Further, the Price of Production, by reason of the fact that it includes the average rate of profit, cannot coincide with Value because (1) of the varying organic compositions of the capital employed; because (2) even in the case of capitals of average composition the constant capital employed may (probably does) include the products of capital of another composition; because (3) of varying rates of turnover and because (4) Merchant's capital must share in the average rate of profit.

Value can, nevertheless, be connected with exchange value and in this way: In any given period of time there is produced a given quantity of commodities; these have absorbed a given quantity of labor and, consequently, have a certain total value. The values of these commodities are expressed in gold prices. The total (gold) price must, of necessity,

equal the total value. Now, according to the productivity of labor and the intensity of exploitation a certain proportion of the total value will consist of surplus-value. The proportion which the total surplus-value bears to the total capital employed gives the rate of profit. The surplus-value is distributed pro rata among the various capitals employed, forming a given percentage called the average rate of profit. The total profit (including rent and interest) equals the total surplus-value, and this again is a part of the total value produced by labor. But the price of production includes as one of its elements the average rate of profit. Here, then, is the point at which the concept Value touches the percept exchange-value. As a matter of fact the Law of Value is only a roundabout way of saying that labor produces all values. But in respect of the influence of Value on prices the most that can be said is this, stated in the animistic language of last century, that "the general law of value enforces itself merely as the prevailing tendency, in a very complicated and approximate manner, as a never ascertainable average of ceaseless fluctuations."

All of which boils down to the statement that exchange-value and price are not to be explained by reference to the Law of Value. Incidentally it may be observed that if any student finds that the marginal utility theory is useful to him there is no reason why he should not use it as a serious contribution (albeit somewhat obsolescent) to the study of the formation of prices.

Value and exchange-value are therefore very distinct and separate things, and unless this distinction is recognized and emphasized the Marxian Theory of Value appears to do violence to the facts of the case, and is indefensible. It cannot even be made intelligible.

Instead of which I find in the latest publication by the Plebs League—An Outline of Economics. Textbook No. 3—this statement:—

**Exchange Value.** The amount of something else for which a commodity can be exchanged. When expressed in money it is called price. The exchange value of a commodity is the amount of human abstract socially necessary labor needed to reproduce it. Price oscillates above or below value under the influence of a varying supply and demand.

And that is one reason why this text book will not do.

The book, however, is not, as is the case with so many similar publications simply so much kail rechauffe. It contains much new and valuable material and could be safely recommended were it not so lamentably and inconclusive on fundamentals.

It is also to the credit of the producers that they recognized the problem involved in the question of Value and Prices but, like so many Marxists, they have not sufficiently studied their Marx. I have also a suspicion that they are suffering from an uncritical acceptance of the absurd position concerning the identity of Value and Exchange-Value taken up by Mr. Louis B. Boudin in his book "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx." Certain it is, however, that the dire necessity which has been so long apparent for a text book of Economics from the Socialist point of view still remains unfilled.

It is sufficiently apparent that the intentions of the editors were of the best, even if their execution was poor, and I have no hesitation in endorsing to the full their concluding statement:—

"It must be remembered that Marx started where the Classical economists of his day left off: there is no reason why we should not make similar use of the orthodox theories of our time. All new ways of looking at facts are fruitful of understanding. The value of Marxism lies in its analysis of the dynamic processes in society; that of the marginalist school in its analysis of the superficial phenomena of price changes and the balancing of the comparative advantages of different forms of activity. For understanding the nature of the Class Struggle the first is necessary; for carrying on efficiently the detailed processes of production and distribution of goods the second is also necessary. Let the student seek knowledge candidly wherever it be found, and let his motto be Marx's own: Follow your own course and let people say what they will."

"GEORDIE."

# Revolutions : Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON.

ARTICLE NO. 5.

WE left eastern Europe in the throes of a famine. One incident will suffice to emphasize its severity. A widow in Vienna killed one of her children to serve as food for the others, while the same day a Viennese banker gave a banquet at which strawberries were served, the cost of each single strawberry being sufficient to keep the widow and her family for a month. When people become so desperate that they kill their children for food, they require little urging to shed the blood of those they deem responsible for their troubles.

At this time, when all the wage workers and serfs were destitute of the common necessities of life and when all the professions, the merchants and the industrialists were but little removed from destitution, when for years a cumulating load of petty annoyances and regulations had exhausted their patience as a long list of repressive measures had weakened their loyalty, at this very time, characteristic of all governments Austria drew up a new College of Censorship under which booksellers found it impossible to do business. Austria, France and Prussia threatened Switzerland with a blockade if she instituted her reformed constitution. And Austria framed one of the most stupid and intolerant laws possible. Death without appeal for rioting, imprisonment for hissing, applauding, or wearing distinctive badges or colors were among its provisions. All in January and February 1848. In Germany the situation was not quite so bad, but bad enough to cause all classes, except bankers and land owners and the immediate hangers-on of the monarchy to desire an immediate and drastic change. Marx sums up the situation in short as, a "heterogeneous mass of opposition springing from various interests, but more or less led on by the bourgeoisie, in the front ranks of which again marched the bourgeoisie of Prussia, and particularly of the Rhine province." And on the other hand he continues: "In Prussia a government forsaken by public opinion, forsaken by even a portion of the nobility, leaning upon an army and a bureaucracy which every day got more infected by the ideas, and subjected to the influence, of the oppositional bourgeoisie." That will be enough to show the line-up, by "Marx himself." The same line-up in every successful revolution, no matter where it occurs.

In the midst of all this turmoil, two young men of this same bourgeois group were building the foundations of a new science. As Marx points out, in countries where the State and Church are team workers the inevitable point of attack is religion. And religion here came in for some whacks. The first medium then, chosen by Marx and Engels, the young men referred to, was "The Holy Family," a review of Bauer and his followers who had maintained an attack on religion and autocracy under the umbrage of philosophy.

Engels then wrote "The Condition of the Working Class in England," material for which he had collected while engaged in a branch of his father's factory in Manchester, and in which he forecasts an early revolution. Marx became interested in Political economy, a subject to which he gave more and more of his time until his death. These tasks brought them both into the labor movement.

The Communist League, a secret revolutionary organization soon attracted them. Previously known as the League of the Just, with headquarters in Geneva and London, it had in 1847 stepped from secretive conspiracy, a condition unavoidable in Europe under the Metternich System, to open propaganda, this largely through the influence of Marx who had been approached by an old time member, Moll by name, but who with his supporters thought secrecy no longer necessary and conspiracy foolish. Accordingly at a convention held in London in 1847

Marx was commissioned to write a Manifesto. The result was the Communist Manifesto, "wherein the Communists disdain to conceal their aims and views. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Marx then, not to make too long a story about it, though had we time we would prefer covering this point more fully, became editor of the new Rhenish Journal.

This new scientific method of labor agitation, however, was not destined to have sufficient time to have any determinant influence in the East. On Feb. 24th, the Paris mob tramped with muddy feet and sodden garments through the Tuilleries and Legislative Chambers, knocking off the hats of the mighty and otherwise setting an example which almost immediately became the fashion. On March 3rd Kussoth made a speech in the Presburg Assembly which today would not even call for comment; he scored the bureaucracy and called upon the Emperor to follow a more enlightened policy; "The bureau and the bayonet are miserable bonds," he declared. But the March days of Paris were in full swing, and although news from the Hungarian Diet, which was but a half day's journey from Vienna, usually took a week to reach the home of the Court, the speech was translated into German and circulated through the city next day. The government was thoroughly alarmed and considered an answer necessary at once; that answer might have been written in Canada in 1918 so closely does man parallel his fellows at all times. **It pointed to the anarchy existing in Paris.** The extremely moderate demands couched in language in which, one writer declared, servility passed into blasphemy, that had every where sprang up and been circulated and debated previous to Kussoth's speech, now became matters of cherished principle to be obtained at any sacrifice. All classes became insistent. In Germany much strong talk was heard, and the students in Vienna sent a deputation to the Emperor on March 12th. The answer was—their demands would be considered. The students—God help them—laughed uproariously, "like the neighing of all Tattersals" no doubt.

However although Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" had been written just 70 years, the Vienna Bureaucracy were to learn that the loud laugh does not bespeak the vacant mind, if they ever were inclined to stretch poetic instances into psychological generalities. The students decided to march from the University to the Landhaus (The States' Assembly). On the 13th they assembled; the professors who had formerly prompted their activities now became alarmed and counselled a few day's delay while the demands were being considered. Not an hour, not a moment; to the Landhaus! an appeal had been circulated to all good Austrians to assist in freeing the Emperor of his enemies, the bureaucracy. The crowd became dense, when a medical doctor hitherto unknown outside his profession, Dr. Fischhoff, was hoisted on the shoulders of some students and uttered "the first free word" in Vienna, as it was long called. The character of the demands made in this speech are illustrative of the entire conditions of that period. Freedom of the Press, of religion, of teaching, an elective ministry, connection with Germany (Vienna was a German city) and an armed people. "He who has not courage on such a day as this is fit for the nursery," he declared. The members of the Landhaus, all of the privileged classes, ceased their deliberations as the sound of Fischhoff's voice reached them; some wished to decamp, more sought to make the occasion an opportunity for forcing reforms from the government. The impatient crowd, not minded to wait their decision, burst open the doors and presented a petition in boots.

A petition of this kind has many advantages. The Landhaus leaders agreed to do almost anything in their power, but they asked for room and quiet. Fischhoff prevailed on the crowd to withdraw. The result of this quiet and roomy discussion was a feeble and worthless compromise, which was torn to pieces after being read. While this wordy struggle proceeded troops were approaching, but instead of pacifying—this aroused the crowd to fury and they commenced to arm with every available means, determined to give battle. Meanwhile some representatives of the Landhaus had hurried to the Castle by a circuitous route to warn the government of the danger. Even while Metternich with his pals were, with the stiff-necked stupidity of all their tribe and all their generations declaring that the whole affair would blow over in a few days, and was but the work of a few foreign agitators and lazy loafers, the battle in the streets broke out, war shortly raged within hearing of the Castle itself. Cannon and the Citizen Guard composed of the merchants were called out to quell the riot. The Citizen Guard joined the revolution, giving them a real armed force; the wealthy students were also alarmed; they too took their arms into the rebel camp. The depredations of the mob in destroying property led the government to hope that the property owners would fall on the mob and exact a summary vengeance; the hope was built on sand. The gunners, when ordered to fire on the mob, stood in front of their guns saying they would sooner be shot than fire on the people. A lordly archduke rushed to the Castle wringing his hands in despair at this altogether strange and confounding situation. Metternich, of course, had to be sacrificed; it was planned that he go to his country seat there to await the abating of the storm, but cruel fate determined otherwise. His villa had already been burned to the ground and he himself made such a shameful exit from Vienna as Falstaff did from the house of Mistress Page, and thence to England where Louis Phillippe had preceded him by scarce three weeks. By nightfall the government had fallen, a committee of safety formed, the workers and students had organized a mobile and somewhat disciplined army, with Metternich and all he represented swept away.

The revolution had of course dislocated whatever trade there had been, and the workers had to be fed, as this could only be done from the treasury it meant heavier burden of taxation which, looming up at a time when trade was particularly bad caused the bourgeoisie to long for the paths of peace and plenty which their ascent to power promised, for the revolution had given into their hands political supremacy. They now commenced to heed what heretofore they had regarded as Metternichian lies, the cry of anarchy. An attempt was made to restore the Press and speech restrictions and otherwise make the world safe from democracy by dissolving the Committees' delegates, etc. This was met by the May insurrection. The government retreated. They did more, they fled.

At this point we will close, and turn our attention next time to the Berlin revolution.

## CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Progress 25 cents; "C. C. W.," \$3; Harry Grand \$1; P. Wallgren 50 cents; J. M. Wilson 50 cents; "B. L. J." \$5; "A Friend" (per Jim Jenkins) \$1; I. True (per Sid Earp) \$1; Chas Foster \$1:

Following sent by J. Knight, literature secretary, San Francisco Labor College:—S. F. Labor College \$5; F. Evans \$2; J. Knight \$2; J. A. McDonald \$2; M. Inglis \$1.50; Will Tavernia \$1; John Lohleit \$1; M. Wallerstein \$1; John Field \$1; J. P. Lord \$1; C. Pakerman 50 cents—total per J. Knight \$18.

Above, C. M. F. receipts, from 13th to 26th April, inclusive, total \$31.25.

# The Farmer's Delusion

BY DONALD MACPHERSON,

**N**EARLY a score of long years since the weary pilgrimage westward started in real earnest. It took years for trekking immigrants from various parts of the world to sparsely settle the last great and glorious west. The insatiable cravings of capital to find a secure haven of rest and security enticing a multitude of wage slaves and peasants to a virgin soil, has met with some measure of success from the Capitalists' point of view. But many were lured from their happy homes (such as slaves have) by the voice of "160 acres free." Their dreams have not come true.

These were the good old days, when the master's voice echoed in the remote corners of the Old World, awakened the vigorous young manhood with aspirations and visions of becoming budding capitalists in a land abounding with all the good things. The dreaded alarm clock, the pick and shovel and a lot of other instruments of torture such as inflict injury on the working class could be eschewed in the happy home of their dreams, across the vast ocean and prairie.

Young dames thought of the free roving life in the promised land, with her chivalrous beau singing to her sweet beautiful love songs; yes, these were the days of great expectations and happy dreams, gone forever. What a tragedy!

Sturdy Teutons, Slavs, Latins and Saxons alike heard the rumbling sound of capitalists' voices chanting the weird songs of freedom, security and the title deeds of 160 acres free in the land of plenty, where lay hidden vast resources waiting the physical energy of brawny slaves to win everything into mountains of real wealth. And they hied forth westward.

Nor is this all. Cities were built, and towns grew overnight, mushroom like. Railroads were laid, elevators built in which to hoard hundreds of millions of bushels of the golden grain. The soil was ploughed and homesteads were dotted throughout the length and breadth of the land, everywhere you could see evidences of great slave activities going on also you could discern evidence of misery and incessant struggle, wage and farm slaves broken down, and worn out, cast on the human scrap heap of wrecked lives.

And the fair sex—they shed their tears, and suffered through the frozen cold winters, half-clad with cheap shoddy, and half fed, broken down mentally and physically before they reached 30 years of age. You can see young girls in their teens, with old, pinched, weather-beaten faces, and round shoulders advertising their miserable condition of general farm slavery.

In the slums of great industrial centres we could expect to see gruesome specimens of the human animal, because they are isolated from the grub supply, but here even today in the midst of plenty one hasn't got to travel far on the prairie to see horrible sights among the farm slaves of both sexes.

The farmer here today has become discontented, thousands of them are leaving for other countries. The immigration authorities quote that, for every one settler placed on the land ten pull out to other countries. Can we wonder at this state of affairs when we know that the farmers in the Western Provinces are bankrupt? Can we not understand that they were in the first place, brought into this country to be fleeced, and used as beasts of burden to develop and build this country for the Capitalist class of this country, the U. S. A. and Great Britain, who really own Canada. The farmer does not understand that a Title Deed in the hands of a farmer slave is only a joke, i.e., a mere scrap of paper, neither does he understand that his chattels and all forms of private property which he thinks he owns do not really belong to him. If they were his property, nothing could take them away from him. It has never dawned on him that the

class he belongs to have built this vast country, cities and towns and has produced all forms of wealth that are here which were practically not in existence 20 years ago. Also hundreds of millions of dollars worth of valuable food that has been produced by them has disappeared into the maws of those who own and dictate the control of this country. The skinning of the farmers by the parasites has been done so openly and with such intense greed that they have really paralyzed him, leaving him insufficient means wherewith to carry on the game of producing more wealth for his masters. Some of the shrewd masters are seeing the real danger in this and are sending an S.O.S. to their colleagues to call a halt, and help the farmer goose to lay more golden eggs. This is manifest by the recent order-in-council asking mortgage companies to give needy farmers seed grain, price of same to be added to the mortgage already on the land.

We also hear the wail of certain interests in the gab house at Ottawa, asking to investigate the financial system; to have a wheat Board for 1923; to bring plenty of immigrants into Canada to settle on the land. Already there are 200,000 of them coming, or rather being brought to this country from Europe. Yes, they also will have pipe dreams of making good on the land, but time is the great leveller of working class aspirations. Some of them will no doubt become disillusioned.

The farmer and wage slaves who settled this last Great West have not only accomplished the gigantic task of pioneering and developing this vast country into a veritable world granary and an inexhaustible source of other food supplies. They have at the same time fed the drones and other innumerable society parasites, such as priests, devil dodgers, real estate sharks, lawyers, politicians, bankers, grain gamblers and parasites of all shades, the sum total of which compose the Capitalist class and their retainers. Some of whom never saw Canada except on a map, draw their toll from the sweat of the workers. These gentry who wallow in luxury, and live a life of leisure live in warm, genial climates, and get everything they desire for the asking. They have for ages taken the products of labor, leaving to those who do the suffering and slaving, the bare necessities of life, on the average. The Western farmer is exploited of more real wealth on the average than the farmers in any other country in the world. They have at their disposal the most scientific and economical farm machinery and labor saving devices for producing wealth. Still every fall their commodities vanish as if they had evaporated into the atmosphere, leaving them wellnigh destitute of the means of subsistence.

The debts and burdens that are today levied against the farmer and their so-called property, makes it utterly impossible for them to ever free themselves from the tentacles which the capitalist system has woven around them. The farmers, as time goes on, will continue to get into a worse plight, until they become worse than .00 per cent bankrupt. As the system develops its contradictions throughout the capitalist world such conditions will reflect and add to the farmers untenable circumstances. All the reformers and U. F. A.'s can do is to advocate extension of credits, which means more debt and its concomitant 10 per cent interest levied against the farm slaves yet unborn. The future of farming and its slaves is dark indeed, as far as they are concerned. To us who know that wealth don't fall like manna from the skies, but is the product of the brawn and blood and sweat of those who toil, the case is different. We have no disappointments nor hallucinations or day dreams to shatter, or great faith or hope in regard to the system of capitalism. From now on it is a case of dog eat dog.

This is a very interesting time in the history of

man. It's good to be alive, doing our bit in the great class struggle. More power to the working class Revolutionary movement of the world! They have well-founded hopes for the future of all mankind, when economic freedom shall prevail.

Mr. Farmer, the Capitalist system has further enslaved you, a free grant of land did not emancipate you.

Read Socialist literature.

## Clarion "Mail Bag"

By SID EARP

**L**OOKING through the columns of a daily newspaper constitutes something of an adventure these days. You never know what you are going to encounter. Startling news and still more startling views interposed with editorial comments of many words and little meaning, makes up a budget which adequately expresses the conflicting views and confused thought of today. On page one an eminent diplomat informs a fashionable audience that the future looks black and how our civilization may be rocked to its foundations unless— Page three gives us the opinion of a business man of Rotarian persuasions. He states emphatically that business is looking up (on its back we presume), we have rounded the corner of depression and topped the peak of high prices. What we have to do now is to prepare for a great surge of prosperity; to grasp it as it were, with both hands, etc., etc. On the back page a medical man voices an opinion quietly and authoritatively. "The world," he says, "is rapidly going mad," (we suspected it) pointing to the remarkable and fearful increase in lunacy as evidence.

But we never get an expression of opinion from a working plug; he does not come within the scope of the limelight. The reason for why being that he is busy doing the world's necessary work. Inevitably the contradictions within the present social order must obstruct the doing of this necessary work; the effort to live by selling will prove futile—and what then? A policy meeting the needs of the situation will be sought. In the very nature of things, that policy to be successful must be progressive.

To be truly progressive means to be revolutionary, and whoever works towards the formation of a revolutionary movement is participating in the only real constructive effort of the age. Revolutionary thought is creative thought in line with the advancement of human welfare.

The Mail Bag is of slim proportions this time, but by no means discouraging. Two letters come from St. John, N.B., one from a "Clarion" subscriber and the other from M. Goudie, who along with an enclosure of twelve dollars, sends us news of the departure of Roscoe Fillmore for Russia to work in the Social Service Department of the Soviet Government. Com. Fillmore is to give instruction in farming and fruit culture, and will probably be away for two years. The comrades in St. John had a party for the occasion and gave him a good send off.

From Montreal comes a brief letter with change of address of Com. Exelby. From Woodstock, Ont., comes an order for literature and a proposal for advertising the "Clarion" in that district. The letter and the proposed advertisement are both excellent. A lone letter comes from Manitoba. Com. Roga of Lettonia, sends a sub, and a dollar for the Maintenance Fund. Subs. and kindly greetings come from Unity and Lafleche, Sask.

Alberta is to the fore again with subs., etc., from Hardisty, Coleman, Empress, Edgerton and Delburne. A very amusing and pithy letter comes from Com. Lewin enclosing a sub., also a brief letter of encouragement from Com. Hansen, of Botha, Alta.

Writing from Fernie, B. C., Com. Erickson sends a sub. and reports that the slaves in that district are very well content now because they are permitted to work three or four days a week for another year at last year's scale. Com. Orchard, of Kamloops

(Continued on page 8)

## THE UNITED FRONT.

(Continued from page 1)

tion, but appears provocative to the very class whose interests it seeks to promote. Because life and living are still observed through the traditional smoke-screen of opportunity and possession. It is the way of humans and it is the teaching of current history. Consequently that is our position as a thorough working class party. It is the line we must toe, and the hard fact we must digest, as best we may.

No organisation not ballasted with revolutionary understanding can weather the rough waters of revolutionary realities. The S. D. P. of Germany was pretty thoroughly organised, but it melted like a snow-man in spring, under the magic sun of nationalism. The I. L. P. had a bold following, but they are wedded in the house of liberalism. The A. F. L. is but a machine of party politics. And the great Triple Alliance—heralded with pomp and drum—went to pieces in the first stress of trial. All because they did not see the real sequences of capitalist possession. Because they did not know and could not expose the functions of class relationships and their necessary antagonism. Because they stood not firm on social realities. Because their ideation was not the figures of fact and revolution, but the figments of reactionary revisionism. The Russian revolution points the same moral, from another angle. It succeeded—and splendidly organised itself—not because it was brilliantly led, but because it clearly perceived. It achieved freedom from Czarist feudalism because it had grasped the nature of its bondage; and thought in the terms of that experience. And although its "leaders" strove with superb endurance to free it from the phantasies of philistine philosophy, they were successful only in so far as the giant hammer of world conditions, and the sequences of the revolution itself, drove home the lesson of their teaching.

So with the world's proletariat. When it thinks in terms of socialist society it will obtain socialist society. But not before. It may—and it probably will—rise to revolutionary activity and feeling before it rises to revolutionary thought and practice. But to establish and maintain the revolution it must possess and be inspired with its thought, as well as its sentiment. Its organisations are sufficient to the day, whenever its thought is perceptive of the fact. Its minorities will carry it to triumph but only when the mass has invested them with the issues of triumph. And its "leaders"—not the wavering pawns of officialdom and "sanity," but the lusty exponents of impregnable experience—shall be heaved up from the surging ranks of the revolution; and understanding the revolution, shall charge the flamboyant watch cries of practical politics with the snap and vim of revolutionary perception. And the same cause and condition which carries them clear of reactionary platitudes shall, at the same time, open their eyes to the solemn obligations and adamant necessities of revolutionary reality.

We may plan and organise, agitate and enthuse, but if our seeing is not the seeing of revolution, our thought must inevitably be tinted and dulled with the visionary of opportunism. And our activities will be accordingly. If we would act straight we must see true. When we know the cause of social stagnation, its concomitants of antagonisms and inequalities, we will very quickly understand the means of its rectification. That understanding is the magic touch to transform the industrial immediacy of labor organisations into the political sanction of proletarian revolution. There is no royal route to victory; no short cuts; no climbing in by the back stairs. "The kingdom of heaven" says the preacher, "must be taken by violence." Exactly. Not necessarily the bloody violence of riot and slaughter, but its no less acute struggle, the violence of critical thought.

The class struggle is not the froward gestures of passionate emotion, but the balanced fervor of an equally impassioned intelligence. The road is slow,

dark, dangerous, toilsome. But the proletariat must traverse it. For that way,—and that way only—lies freedom. But to win we must curb party impatience and scatter the seeds of social knowledge. We must wage the class war on the unequal ground of contemporary thought. We must take a just estimate of the material forces of society. Not alone the purely economic material, but the political and cultural as well. We must throw aside the last flower of cherished superstitions; the dearest illusions of desire. For so long as we nurture the blossoms of the political wilderness, so long as we divide on the issues of reality; so long as we bow to the "ghosts of King Tut," we will remain the despised slaves of despotic dominion.

Capitalist private property in the common means of life is the founded cause of our social troubles. Let us inscribe that on the lintels of the doors and on the (many) hems of our garments. Cry it in the highways and byways of life and action. And when in the gathering darkness and decrepitude of increasing social restrictions and political inhibitions its significance has fructified our thought, our organisations will be well prepared to take care of themselves and to handle, ably and certainly, whatever problems with which they may be confronted.

R.

## THE CLARION MAIL BAG

(Continued from page 7)

writes informing us of the formation of the new Local 112. They will hold a regular business meeting the first Tuesday each month, also propaganda meetings whenever possible.

Com. Cartwright sends a couple of subs. from East Wellington, Vancouver Island, and speaks in amusing terms of recent meetings which have been held in that district. Subs. and an order for literature come from Port Hardy, Nanaimo, and Cobble Hill. Com. H. S. Frampton, secretary of the Socialist Educational Society, New York, writes asking us to insert in each issue of the "Western Clarion"

## PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

a notice of their address, so that travelling comrades may know where to find them. (\*) He also informs us that they are going to publish an American edition of the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," by permission of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Subs. have arrived from Detroit and Chicago, also a letter from Com. J. F. Kirk, late of New Zealand, who is now in Chicago. In Vancouver things are going fairly well. Com. Charles Lester speaks at a street meeting every night and a lot of good work is being done by the local.

(\*) Socialist Educational Society, 127 University Place, New York City.

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