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# MAY DAY 1920

## WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

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### Labor's International Day

THE First of May this year of 1920, according to custom, will be celebrated by the advanced sections of the proletarians of modern capitalism, as **International Labor Day**.

From time immemorial the laboring class of Europe have held this day as a brand plucked from the burning, and have devoted it to demonstrations of working-class solidarity and recognition of their common interests against the rulers and oppressors.

Originally, in the dim historic past of our savage forbears, the observance of this festival had been religious in character, a day of rejoicing at the evidence of the survival of life in vegetation after the long winter, and for sacrificing and petitioning the demonic powers that the earth might yield abundantly its fruits in the year to come.

In the days of the Greek and Roman empires it was already an old established festival. The people gathered together to render placatory homage, through strange rites to Ceres (Greek: Demeter), Goddess of Agriculture and Fruitfulness, and to Minerva (Greek: Athena), the Goddess of Manual Labor and protectress of working women and working men.

The empire states of the ancient world accumulated their wealth and reared the mighty structures of their civil and military polity upon bloody rapine and conquest, and up the ill-requited labors of myriads of toiling slaves:

"Monarchs and conquerors there  
Proud o'er prostrate millions trod."

And such was the superfluity of human flesh and blood, it was recorded of Rome that slaves were "butchered to make a Roman holiday": butchered in the circus by fellow slaves. Immoral? No!—Priestly theology of the time conveniently maintained that slaves had no soul. Even Plato, the enlightened humanist, only conceded them a half-soul.

The introduction of chattel slavery on such a huge scale profoundly affected the course of Rome's history. The lower strata of the free citizenry—the small producers—were finally ruined by the competition of cheap slave labor and were reduced to a condition analogous to the propertyless proletarians of modern capitalism. The state was in the end compelled, in the interest of civil peace, to maintain them. Doles and circuses, doles and circuses until—Rome fell—fell to rise no more, having become economically inefficient, intellectually bankrupt and morally infamous. Tiberius Gracchus, one of the noble minded Gracchi brothers, in Plutarch's life of that Roman, gives this account of the condition of the poorer plebs. He says:

"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when at the head of their armies they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for among such numbers perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

There is a truth in the aphorism that "History holds up the mirror to life."

Rome fell, but prior to the fall, her agonizing decline during hundreds of years consisted of one long record of slave revolts, of savage suppression, of bloody massacres and exterminations, and also, in addition, of class struggles due to conflicting economic interests among the free citizenry.

It is said, it was as these conditions began to develop that the oppressed and toiling multitudes, proletarians and chattel slaves alike, appropriated the first of May as a day of special significance to themselves. Hope springs eternal in the human breast. After the long dread winter of their oppression, May Day would symbolize for them the pathetic hope that they were on the threshold of better days to come, when the earth and the fullness thereof should be theirs: A hope which down through the succeeding ages has been unextinguished—is unextinguishable while lives the spirit of man.

It is also said that white, in heathen mythology was emblematic of degree in rank. It was the color used by the gens or patrician families and by the priesthood, while that of the strictly laboring element was red and brown, dun and murk. White, and shining purple could deck the bodies of those who did not labor, and so these colors became a mark of distinction and could not clothe the bodies of those creatures smoked and smeared at the furnace and the anvil. The function of these creatures with no soul was to keep their masters white, clean—washed and fat.

White was the color of the aristocratic flags of military Romans and Greeks, while on the other hand, red banners flew over the labor communes. The sculptured images of Ceres, Goddess of Agriculture and Fruitfulness, and of Minerva, Goddess of Manual Labor and of Working Women and Men, were robed in flaming red. Flaming red became the symbolic color of the suppressed laboring masses and of struggle for freedom.

Since those olden times the ruling classes have frowned upon May Day: its class associations were too vivid, and attempts to stamp out its observance have often succeeded for a time.

Historical data on the observance of this festival during the middle ages is very meagre because bourgeois historians and chroniclers have suppressed accounts of it insofar as its exclusively class associations are concerned. Typical of their way of treating it, are their accounts of its observance in England. They report the entire population as going "A Maying"—gathering flowers in the country to decorate the villages; other features were sports and dances, chief of which was the "Maypole" dance. We are pictured a "Merry England," but to those who know the history of the working-class, it is a mythical England that is pictured.

Be that as it may, Puritanism came, and the gospel of salvation by work. Later came the machine age, when we have neither a merry nor a mythical England, but a very sorrowful, grimly realistic England for its underlying population. The machine age of the modern world in many features has similarities with the ancient world. The competition of machine production brings ruin to the small handiercraftsman, and a small number of propertyless

proletarians appear again in the world's history. They are the modern wage workers. And lo! A new social phenomenon appears which the historians and the editors can not hide: "A spectre is haunting Europe."

The revolutionary year of 1848 comes bringing English Chartism and other forms of proletarian political disturbances in France and Germany, with adumbrations throughout the rest of the world. The year 1870 brings another terrifying shock to the bourgeois world, in the Paris Commune where the Red Flag flamed again "o'er the embattled proletarians." But, again the revolt is stamped out, but— Let us quote Karl Marx on that matter, from his "Civil War in France." He says:

"That after the most tremendous war of modern times (the Franco-German, 1870) the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society . . . Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working-class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

And then, 1914 and the great suicidal war of capitalism. And then, Russia—Red Russia—and proletarian Communism, so often crushed to earth, now risen again.

Our minds have travelled the long gray years of working-class travail and struggle, back to the dawn of history. We have been with the victims of the hell of modern industrialism, with the villeins, the serfs, the bond thralls of feudalism, with the chattel slaves of "the grandeur that was Rome," and the helots of "the glory that was Greece." We have been with overwork and starvation, with hangings, shootings, burnings at the stake, crucifixions, the hiss of stinging whips and branding irons, massacres and exterminations—and yet—the hope deferred of the oppressed of all the ages at last draws nigh its realization.

Comrades! To pass in historical retrospect the agonizing triumphs and defeats endured by our class in ages past should, on this First of May, their day as it is ours, give us understanding and stimulate our energies for the great historic task of the working-class to free human society from class rule and exploitation.

In the year 1920, we are on the threshold of a new epoch. Let us set ourselves to our task with the enduring courage and calm confidence for the future which inspired the following words of Lenin to Colonel Robins:

"This system is stronger than yours because it admits reality. It seeks out the sources of daily human work-value and, out of these sources, directly, it creates social control of the State. Our Government will be an economic social control for an economic age. It will triumph because it speaks the spirit of the age that now is . . . . ."

. . . . . You may see foreign bayonets parading across Russia. You may see the Soviets and all the leaders of the Soviets killed. You may see Russia dark again as it was dark before. But the lightning out of that darkness has destroyed political democracy everywhere. It has destroyed it not by physically striking it but by one flash of re-education of the masses. C. S.

## A Problem In Credit Economy

ON behalf of the "Fight the Famine Council," Sir Geo. Paish visited America. His mission was to obtain 15 billions of dollars, in the form of credits, for the reconstruction of Europe. Four and one-half years of fighting had the effect of leaving the greater part of that continent in a crippled and helpless state. Without immediate, and material, assistance from the outside world, the whole social structure of Europe is in danger of a complete collapse. Only the speedy co-operation of America can ameliorate conditions and stay the cataclysm that daily threatens. What arrangement can be made between the banking interests of the old and new worlds in order to rehabilitate the famine-stricken, and war devastated, areas of the one, and provide an adequate outlet for the surplus commodities of the other?

This, in brief, is the problem we are called upon to solve. But, before plunging recklessly into the maelstrom of world finance, let us consider the line of demarcation between money and credit economy, and the reasons for the former giving way so completely to the latter.

Our authorities, on economics and finance, inform us that the past war was conducted almost entirely on credit. This information may seem a trifle confusing to our lay minds. In reflecting on the happenings of the past few years we are prone to conclude that the game was played through the instrumentality of men, money, guns, food, munitions, clothing, and ships, as well as chemical agencies, and mechanical contrivances emanating from human toil, skill, saving and endurance. This is how the situation would appear on the surface. But our economists, wise men that they are, have roamed extensively in the wonderland of finance and, consequently, have discovered that the whole affair was waged, and terminated, by means of credit.

A few centuries ago this credit proposition was of little importance. Fighting was strictly a cash business. The wars of the Crusades; the Wars of the Roses in England; the Peasants' War in Germany, and the wars between the Orleanist and Burgundian houses in France were fought only so long as the resources of the contending factions could be assembled in sufficient quantities to continue the struggle. When Richard I. required money to pay the expenses of his expedition to the "Holy Land," he disposed of every available asset in the kingdom for money, with which he purchased the equipment necessary for arming, feeding, and transporting his troops. As one chronicler has remarked: "He would have sold London itself if there was anyone to bid for it."

The sale of abbacies, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices supplied the church with the needed revenues to punish the infidelic possessors of the Lord's sepulchre and, incidentally, increase the landed wealth, and commercial privileges, of the most powerful institution of the middle ages. When Edward I. formulated his plans for the conquest of Wales and Scotland, and when Edward III. engineered a similar venture in regard to France, their mode of replenishing a depleted treasury was placing a tax on the export of wool, or else a levy of a stipulated weight of wool on the people of England. The arms that were forged, the cloth that was woven, the grain that was reaped, and the ships that were built had all to be paid for or confiscated before being utilized as war material. Promissory notes, bills of exchange, bank drafts, and other means of deferred payment—in short, the whole credit system was yet in its incipient stage, and its possibilities scarcely anticipated.

Before acquiring that confidence in each other that made possible terms of credit, merchant and manufacturer had first to establish law and order in the land. The conditions existing in the early parts of the middle ages, when mercenary barons, with armed retinues, continually clashed and openly defied the central authority were not conducive to securing cordial business relations between nations, or the various sections of any one nation. The centralized power must be capable of suppressing all insurrection and manipulating the military, judicial, administrative, and other institutions of the country from one base, instead of the numerous little groups

stable government was the first requisite for a development from money to credit economy.

But, even with this condition granted, only one step was made on this interesting journey. So long as the old guild system, or handicraft production, existed, things were produced essentially for use. Whatever goods found their way into the realms of exchange arrived there because there was too great a quantity for the producer to consume. One commodity was given directly for another with nothing to necessitate the suspension of payment till a future date. The gaining of a livelihood, instead of the making of profits, was the chief concern of medieval lord and manufacturer. Each state was able to supply the major portion of its own wants, and what was obtained from other centres was largely in the category of luxuries. The great incentive to change is found in the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, opening up hitherto unknown markets, and forcing the invention of labor-saving machinery to fill the increasing demand for manufactured articles.

The rising capitalists of Europe sought to extend their influence and control over the new markets. It was imperative that they should. Here was the opportunity to dispose of their factory wares among the denizens of undeveloped areas. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England, each in turn, assumed the star role in the great commercial drama. The rich natural resources of East and West were seized with ruthless severity and minerals, cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, and spices rewarded the efforts of maritime explorers who braved the dangers of uncharted seas.

The colonial system was by no means a stimulus to any "entente cordial" among the competing nations. The sight of profits arising from the transformation of colonial products into capital sharpened the wits, and inflamed the passions, of merchant and trader till soon the gladiatorial combats of ancient Rome, magnified a thousand fold, appeared in a world arena. The wars engendered through commercial competition formed the foundation of national debts. It became profitable, and consequently feasible, to borrow money and supplies on the strength of existing or potential resources, and these loans could be repaid out of the plunder obtained. This new system of public credits urged the introduction of banks to facilitate exchange and regulate credit. Soon the old method of buying and selling, with money as a medium of the transaction, was obsolete in international trading. The era of credit economy had arrived through a natural process. Markets, inventions, wars, debts, taxes, loans, these are the stepping stones from medieval to modern methods.

Today, then, "our" wars bear little resemblance to those of an earlier period. The individual who wields the sabre or faces the cannon sees the most exciting, though the least entrancing part of the game. Many factors have influenced the transition from the age of chivalry to the age of shovelry. The counting-house has usurped the glamour that formerly pertained to the field.

The organic nature of society has been well portrayed by the political, social, and economic events of the past few years. In theory the war was a struggle between groups of nations almost entirely confined to the continent of Europe. But, in reality, every portion of the civilized globe was directly or indirectly participating in the fight, as what affects one section of the organism likewise affects the whole, and today every capitalist nation is equally concerned over the formulation of schemes against the economic forces which threaten to plunge their whole establishment into bankruptcy and anarchy.

While two sets of allies—Teutonic and Entente—had monopolized the glory of originating and conducting the elevating campaign, still neither group was sufficient unto itself to play the game. Supplies of all military requisites must be obtained from the rest of Christendom. It would be an economic impossibility for any capitalist country to store up a supply of materials adequate for five years of continuous slaughter. As seen before, the production of the season is moulded by the needs of the season, and the stability of the pendulum swing—producing direction. To continue on an extended scale, sup-

port must be derived from the ostensibly neutral nations.

The contribution of the United States consisted of armaments, food, munitions, stores, equipment and, latterly, of men. Practically all of these requisites were sold on credit. The difficulty of obtaining those favorable terms was obviated by the sale in the U. S. of large quantities of British securities previously owned by British investors, and by the creation of credit secured by the deposit as collateral of huge masses of securities of all kinds and descriptions. In the early part of the war the kind of securities demanded by American bankers, as collateral for loans, was easily obtained. But, as hostilities continued and more materials were purchased, the supplies of suitable securities rapidly dwindled to such an extent that the prospects of "carrying on" looked rather shady 'till, at the Economic Conference at Paris, the Entente Allies threatened dire calamities against non-participants and forced America to join their ranks. With this acquisition, the problem of credits was solved by the issue of American Government Liberty Loans, mortgaging the future of wage workers, and guaranteeing supplies from the only source from which production is possible.

The loans from America to Europe, in terms of cash, totalled 10 billions of dollars, made up of copper, coal, cloth, cotton, trucks, planes, etc. Five years ago our economists insisted that the wealth of the U. S. was approximately 150 billions of dollars. Now, after a season of energetic destruction of wealth in human lives and commodities, they accuse us of being worth close on 300 billions. That we are unable to comprehend this vast augmentation to our resources in no way alters the result. One thing peculiar about the "science" of finance is that here we find the less a thing becomes the bigger it gets. The ruthless destruction of real wealth results in a great increase of financial wealth.

With the war partially settled the considerations that actuated America to grant financial assistance to her Entente colleagues are not so imposing as they were. American capitalists having reaped their harvest while the excitement was on, are willing to forget the aftermath of war. They desire to resume the peaceful vocation of exploiting their wage workers without interference from the outside.

But not so with Europe. She must depend on external sources. Her population has not sufficient food to tide them over till the next harvest, and the coming crop will not equal their needs. Again, the quantity of goods Europe can export in the meantime does not nearly approach in value the food and materials she requires to import. The problem of getting back to work is not so easy to solve when we consider that whole districts of Europe have been swept clean of all resources, and that over the larger part of the continent farms, mines, oil wells, and factories have been dislocated beyond the possibility of speedy recovery.

Capitalist Europe cannot "come back" without the assistance of Capitalist America. The former requires food and raw material, but, outside of credit operations, there are no means of payment in sight. America to remain in existence as a capitalist nation must dispose of the surplus wealth wrung from her wage-slaves in any market it is possible to find, so must assist in the reconstruction of Europe for her own salvation. The independent attitude assumed by the small politicians, and the yellow press of America, who cannot realize the *cul-de-sac* in which Europe on the one hand, and America on the other, are placed, must be avoided or commercial suicide is the speedy climax.

But in any case, whatever action the rulers of the world may take, at best it can only stay the impending collapse of the capitalist system. Fiscal readjustment, stock manipulation, philosophical controversy, borrowing or lending, fighting or loving, cannot do more than delay the change. Like all previous forms of society, that succumbed when they outlived their usefulness, the present structure is showing healthy signs of dissolution. Economic evolution is merciless in its method. The puny minds of statesmen and diplomats cannot turn aside its course. The law of change is immutable; the old order must give way to the new.

J. A. McD.

## From "Soviet Russia"

3rd April, 1920

THOSE who are convinced that "bolshevik propaganda" is the source of all evil and discomfort in the world find no difficulty in tracing to Russia all the revolutionary disturbances taking place in other countries. The chief task of such persons at present is to demonstrate the alleged origin of the revolutionary government set up in the Ruhr district in Germany last month, in the activities of "Russian agents" operating in Holland and Western Germany. The Naples uprising will of course find a similar explanation from these glib philosophers.

But others will wish to remember that propaganda does not produce social upheavals, but rather expresses them, formulates them, makes them conscious instead of merely impulsive. Such persons will not be able to forget the conditions that have made the recent events in Germany inevitable. And their position can be very readily stated:

By an ingenious social welfare system, the German people had become in 1914 the best fed and most comfortable in Europe, and an efficient educational establishment had labored hard and successfully to make them attribute their well-being to the Hohenzollern dynasty and its institutions. Willingly, even enthusiastically, they plunged into the war that was to make their country the master of the world and spread its institutions so that they would embrace most of Europe, and distribute the benefits of a new colonial exploitation over a great European population. Without dwelling on the horrors of war, of which all Americans have read, of which a number have had real experience, and the consequences if which Americans are bearing, together with the rest of the world, we merely point out to our readers that when the attempt inaugurated in August, 1914, broke down in November, 1918, it was as a result of a systematic impoverishment and starvation of the Central European peoples that left them the most undernourished, diseased, and desperate populations in Europe. A government was set up in Germany after the flight of the Kaiser to Holland, that was to secure to the German people the liberty they had lacked under the Kaiser, the liberty that would enable them to avoid in the future tortures like those suffered in 1914-1918. But it soon became apparent that while Germany now had a President named Ebert instead of a Kaiser named Wilhelm, the policy of the government remained chauvinistic and imperialistic, as it necessarily would so long as the capitalistic and agrarian classes still remained in charge of the policies of the nation;—many of the worst members of this set even continued to hold the bureaucratic positions that had been the expression and instrument of their power in the past. Of course all demands of the workers to control their industrial life were ignored.

At first, the opposition to the continued existence in Germany of the system that had brought its people to disaster in the recent past, was disorganized and ineffective. Uprisings took place before the end of 1918 in many cities; they were ruthlessly put down by the new "democratic" government; on December 6, 1918, machine guns were used in the streets of Berlin, and again in the early weeks of January, 1919; the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had always stood for a complete control of Germany by the workers themselves, on January 15, is still within the memory of all. Less definitely proletarian efforts were made all over Germany to unseat the old aristocracy, which still administered the various states on the old bureaucratic lines. Every time such a movement resulted in the formation of an even liberal government murder and violence were resorted to by the reactionaries to put it down. This is the fact, for instance, behind the assassination of the gentle Kurt Eisner at Munich (February 23, 1919). The unrest springing from such situations in several cases (as in March at Munich, as a result of Eisner's death) made possible the establishment of Soviet Governments (Räteregierungen). How they were put down is well known. The workers and their leaders had short shrift. The execution of Gustav Landauer is a typical case. In a word, Germany became a seething mass of repression and class hatred—a class hatred produced not by the

teachings of Marx, but by the fact that the reactionaries, who had no desire to carry out Marx's Doctrines, enforced and emphasized the truth of his position to the point where it became more than painfully evident. Every one knows that at the first opportunity the German people would seek to wrest the power from the unscrupulous clique who called themselves socialists and who were nevertheless administering the country in the interests of the powers that had been allegedly displaced on November 8, 1918.

It is one of the characteristic ironies of History that Luttwitz and Kapp should be the inauguration of open proletarian revolution in Germany, as Eisner's murderer had been in Bavaria a year before. It was the effort to restore monarchy and Kaiser, to whom would be assigned the task of organizing Germany for the campaign against "Russian Bolshevism," that was the opportunity of the German workers to rise all over Germany and establish governments of their own. What added contribution "Russian propaganda" could have made to this situation is not a question of great importance.

## From My Note Book

By H. M. Bartholomew

The Editor has been saying some kind things to me, and has suggested that I try and make this column of random notes a regular feature of the "Clarion." I have agreed to his suggestion, but the consequence of his rash act must be placed upon his shoulders.

The Socialist, in his criticism of the existing social order, points to the endless and senseless waste which is the inevitable fruit of uncontrolled competition. An instance of that waste can be seen in the recent report of the Health Commissioner of Chicago, who vouches for the figures which follow:—

During the year 1918 there were over two million pounds of foodstuffs destroyed in the great metropolis because of their total unfitness for human consumption. There were 312,068 pounds of meat, 148,969 pounds of fish, 68,233 pounds of poultry, 240,553 pounds of fresh vegetables, 102,227 pounds of canned figs, 369,912 pounds of other canned fruits, 527,493 pounds of canned vegetables and 19,572 pounds of eggs wasted by the commercial cold storage firms of Chicago.

And this prodigious waste in **only one city**, at the time when there was supposed to be a great shortage in foodstuffs.

The publication of secret Treaties and of diplomatic conversations previous to the Great War, bring to light convincing proof of the hollowness of the war cries current during the early part of the war. "War to end war," "A crusade against Prussianism," "War to make the world safe for democracy." How do our statesmen square these pious statements with the damning report of the Serbian Charge d'Affaires in London. That official reported to his government that:

"France and her Allies are of the opinion that the war . . . must be postponed until the year 1914-15." (Memorandum dated September 8th, 1911).

Moreover, on February 25th, 1912, the Russian Ambassador in London reported to Sazanov, the Russian Foreign Minister, a conversation with M. Cambon, which left him with the impression that: "Of all the powers, France is the only one which, not to say that it wishes war, would yet look upon it with great regret."

Last of all, upon February 21st of the fateful year 1914, a War Council was held in Petrograd "To elaborate a general programme of action in order to secure for us (the Russians) a favorable solution of the historical question of the Straits." And the view was then expressed that "the struggle for Constantinople will be impossible outside of a general European war."

No wonder the Allied Powers are no longer pressing for the trial of the men who were responsible for the war!

We must not forget that there are a good many Prussians in Canada who are ready and willing to pursue the same relentless policy attributed to the All Highest Wilhelm. Before me is a confidential letter sent to most of the manufacturers of Eastern Canada by G. M. Murray, formerly general manager of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. This Apostle of Capitalism desires to estab-

lish a bureau for the purpose of "a careful and systematic review" of all the newspapers published in this country. This review has, for its purpose, the "black-listing" of all those journals who dare to publish views and opinions which tend to "hamper legitimate business." Mr. Murray has especially in mind those journals who preach the class-war and advocate the One Big Union. He would, by means of his "bureau" supervise the "shepherding of advertisements," or as he himself tells us:

"If a paper persistently giving expression to such views were to lose the advertising patronage extended to it by Canadian manufacturers it would probably occasion no surprise. Certain it is that if all manufacturers were to withdraw from it, it would not long survive."

It is the way of the Capitalist that when he cannot answer an argument he tries to bludgeon the advocate.

And what an awful howl the aforesaid "Canadian manufacturers" would raise if the workers of Canada started a similar boycott of Capitalist newspapers on their own.

Moreover, it seems to me that those who so persistently state that there is no class-warfare in modern society had better read Mr. Murray's letter for themselves. It is the best fighting defence of Capitalist warfare which has come my way for a considerable time.

I read in a paper the other day that Sir Oliver Lodge (whom "Punch" once called Sir Gulliver Stodge) receives a salary of \$1,000 for every lecture he delivers upon Spiritualism. This is the answer to those well meaning folk who state that religion and commercialism are diametrically opposed. What is more, it seems to prove the assertion made by a "wag" to me the other day, that the cost of living in "spook-land" is as high, if not higher, than it is under mundane Capitalism.

In the village of Oust-Khoperesk, the local Soviet was arrested by Kolehak's army. After cruel torture on the rack, all five members were shot. One of them, a miner named Grachev, told his executors that:

"I am an old convinced Communist. I learnt Communism in the collieries, and death alone can part me from my convictions. If you offered me life in exchange for my convictions I should refuse. Only your bullets can force me to be silent. But don't forget that in the Veronekh Government I have four young boys, who will take a terrible revenge for my martyrdom. They will follow the same path along which I went for years in the fight against violence and evil."

The "Izvestia" commenting upon this dying statement, says:

"Not only Grachev's four sons will remember their fathers heroic death, but all the sons of Soviet Russia, all the sons of Communists."

And the journal might have added that Socialists everywhere will not forget, but will press forward in the fight against that system which answers arguments with the assassins bullet and strives to strangle ideas with the hangman's rope.

When I read of the courage of our Russian comrade, I could not but remember those famous lines of Lowell:

"When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast,  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,  
And the slave where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him rise,  
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime  
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of time."

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MAY 1, 1920

### EDITORIAL

#### INTER NOS.

"THE Searchlight," (Calgary) of April 9th, a capable advocate of the One Big Union, takes exception to a clause in our editorial of April 1st commenting on the verdict found against the labor men tried in Winnipeg. This clause was part of a statement of Socialist Party of Canada policy in regard to forms of industrial unionism.

We said, in part: "It is not our function to proclaim the superiority of one form of industrial organization over another, if any exists."

The last three words (they are italicised in our contemporary's quotation from our article), compose the clause it objects to. The objection is made on the following grounds:

"It is not to be expected," the "Searchlight" article says, "that the 'Western Clarion' would come out as an open advocate of the One Big Union, but it is to be expected that it would have the courage and honesty to point out to the workers, whom it is attempting to educate, that there is a superiority of one form of industrial organization over another."

Our reply to this rebuke will provide opportunity to again set forth the attitude of the S. P. of C. toward the organized labor movement in general, and also to state its own function as a Socialist Party.

To begin with, the writer of the article in "The Searchlight" reads a meaning into the interjection referred to other than was intended, and by putting the words in italics he has to a degree detached them from the context and given them a significance which the original did not contain. All that was implied by the complete statement of policy was that the comparative merits of various forms of industrial organizations did not come within the field of S. P. of C. activity, but that such matters were specific business for the organized labor movement to consider, decide and act upon as affecting its members in their immediate struggle over conditions of work and wages. Such matters are the business of the S. P. of C. only insofar as to take cognizance of for its own general purpose of bringing all social phenomena within the focus of a revolutionary socialist viewpoint.

As a party of revolutionary socialism, the S. P. of C. takes its stand upon, and advocates an uncompromising class struggle for the control of the State. It is not the comparative merits of forms of labor organizations that concern the Party, but that these organizations, whatever may be their forms, do, by the nature of their function become absorbed by and limited to the necessities of the day to day struggle against the downward pressure of the conditions of capitalism. This struggle results in a never ending series of what are in a degree demoralizing, because compromising, bargains with the capitalist class.

The writer of "The Searchlight" editorial elsewhere in his article says that craft organizations recognize "an identity of interest between capital and labor," while "industrial organizations declare there is no such identity and the struggle must go on until the wage system is overthrown."

We reply that we accept such declarations, and any activities which may conform to them thankfully as indications of a growth of class consciousness among the workers, but at the same time we remember that some British trades unions have carried sim-

ilar declarations for a generation or two; also there are other reasons, some already stated, others follow, which prevent us from being unduly elated.

Individuals do not become class conscious revolutionists by merely becoming members of an organization issuing a revolutionary declaration. A labor organization, craft or industrial, seeks to organize all who are employed in the industry irrespective of their economic and political convictions, and consequently must include within its ranks very many who are antagonistic to the social revolution, liberals and conservatives, republicans and democrats, as well as those opposed on religious grounds. It seems to us that an organization declaring against the wages system, with all the revolutionary correlations and implications attached thereto, for it to be dependable, must be a revolutionary association composed of those only who endorse that declaration without secret reservations.

Therefore, from the revolutionary standpoint, and from the foregoing considerations, the respective merits or demerits of labor organizations assume less momentous proportions to the revolutionary socialist on revolutionary business bent, than they do to either the spectre-haunted bourgeoisie or to the working class partisans, of different forms of labor organization, who do not realize or who are not concerned over the nature of the limitations which we have drawn attention to.

A form of labor organization structurally adapted to conform to the state of the physical organization of capitalist industry will be of value to its members when bargaining over work and wages with the employers. Its value, however, in a revolutionary sense lies but little in its specific form, but arises from the number of the class conscious workers within its ranks.

We assert that to the socialist, non-socialist and anti-socialist members of the organized labor movement must be left the form of that movement's responses to the immediate conditions in our present industrial and social life.

On the other hand, the business of a Socialist Party is the propagation of Socialism which is ultimately to emancipate the race from such conditions. The S. P. of C. best serves the interests of the working class by concentrating its energies exclusively in that business.

#### SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Our circulation is 8,000 this issue, and an effort has been made to produce the paper in time to reach points as far East as Winnipeg by the 1st of May.

We announced in our issue of February 2nd, that Local (Winnipeg) No. 3 had nominated Comrade R. B. Russell as candidate in the Manitoba Provincial elections to be held in or about June of this year. The nomination now further includes the names of Comrades Armstrong, Johns and Pritchard, and all comrades will do well to apply their attention to the notice elsewhere contained in these columns on the matter.

Local (Coleman, Alberta) No. 93, has come to life again, after resting up since last June or so. On behalf of the comrades there, Comrade Hansen, the secretary, sends \$25 to the C. M. F., and indicates that considerable interest is being manifested in their own affairs by the workers in that locality.

As will be seen in **Alberta Notes**, Comrade J. F. Maguire, secretary **Alberta Provincial Executive Committee**, reports the formation of a local at Camrose, Alberta, and says, the Comrades at Youngstown will apply for charter at an early date. Comrades throughout the country should bear in mind that wherever it is possible to form and maintain a working nucleus of members, the propaganda towards sound working-class education can best be formulated and conducted under charter, that is, with the co-operation of others throughout the country.

Comrade Charlie O'Brien, writing from Rochester, N. Y., April 12th, 1920, says: "The other two were acquitted, but I was indicted. As yet no date is set for trial." He sends \$20 for the C. M. F., collected by Comrade Barney Feld, literature agent for Local Rochester Proletarian Party. Comrade O'Brien's letter contains information also that the Proletarian Party of the States of Buffalo, Michigan, and Rochester, N. Y., with pledges of support from other places has been formed. Until otherwise provided "The Proletarian," now published in Detroit, will be their official organ, and its Board of Directors, together with one to be

elected by each local, will be the executive committee. In the meantime, the affairs of the party will be conducted by correspondence.

Lectures are being delivered each Sunday under S. P. of C. auspices in Victoria, B. C., Room 3, 1424 Government Street. The subject is "The History of Slavery," and all workers in and around Victoria will do well to hear Comrade W. H. Camfield deliver this series. The course will last from four to six weeks, and the lectures should be well attended.

The workers, men and women, of Vancouver and surrounding district, are celebrating **May Day at Mahon Park, North Vancouver**. Speeches, literature sales and children's sports will be the order of the day, and dancing will be conducted in the evening. Swell the throng.

From "FORWARD" (Glasgow), March 27, 1920.

Oh, the happy, happy worker!

The Lord Chancellor — what is it he gets? £20,000 a year, isn't it? The Lord Chancellor, Birkenhead (nee F. E. Smith, in adolescence, Carson's Ulster Galloper!) gnaws his nails as he sits in his ermine cloak and wishes he were a happy worker at £3 a week and behind with his rent, and a dose of rheumatics got by working in a wet clay-hole, and likely to send him on to ill-health benefits and to an early grave. Wishes he were a happy worker in a but and ben, and the man next door playing the bagpipes, and the chip shop aroma from the shop below rising like incense. And . . . . . listen to him, as he writes of his envy in the "Weekly Dispatch," March 21, 1920:—

"In all our big works, on the other hand, the men go there regularly each morning, find their work waiting for them, do it, and go home when the hooter blows, *with not a care on their minds*. . . . When pay-day comes their wages will be sure, for the law makes the workers' wage the first charge on the business.

"None of the anxieties of the master is shared by the worker. The whole risks of industry are taken off his shoulders by capital and put on the shoulders of the Capitalist.

The Capitalist has to find the money or the raw materials; he has to find the purchaser for the finished article, he has to bear the brunt if the purchased price does not enable him to recover his outlay with a profit.

"If we ran short of capital, therefore, we should run short of that without which the worker could not get his livelihood. For the important thing about capital is that it is constantly wearing out."

It is the loss of the Birkenhead!

#### ALBERTA NOTES

The year 1919 was full of "bumps" for socialist propagandists the world over, and Alberta was no exception. Early in 1919 we were faced with the trial and defence of Comrade MacPherson, whose home had been raided, and who had been persecuted for having a few "Clarions" in his barn. A few months later Comrade Paton had to be defended for daring to sign his letters "Yours in revolt." These persecutions cost about \$600. Then came the sabotage of the Post Office, when our mail was held up, opened and delayed. For many months we did not get a particle of literature, so strict was their vigilance. However, through all their suppression and oppression we succeeded in getting the following work done: 4,000 circular letters were sent out, and 2,000 communications received and attended to. 10,000 pamphlets and 75,000 copies of "Soviet" were printed and distributed, and \$1,572 worth of literature was sold. Many propaganda meetings were held, but these, too, were handicapped as theatre managers refused us the use of their halls in Edmonton, Calgary and rural towns.

The Alberta and Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee hereby ask all Socialists in these provinces to link themselves up with the Party in order to lengthen the chain for propaganda activities. Those desirous to become members apply to Box 785 Edmonton, Alberta.

The comrades of Camrose have started a local and secured a stock of literature.

Youngstown comrades will follow suit in the very near future.

#### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Wm. M. and Mrs. Brown, \$5; Oscar Motter, \$1; Local (Coleman) No. 93, \$25; Barney Feld, per C. M. O'Brien, \$20; Local (Winnipeg) No. 3, \$10.

From 13th to 26th April, inclusive, astonishing total, \$61.

## Peace

THAT wondrous vagary of capitalist expediency—the now notorious Peace Treaty—has been “ratified” by all the principal nations except America. And whether America ratifies it or not, with or without reservations, the result will be practically identical, since America cannot hold herself isolated from capitalist processes. American capitalist activities, like contemporary nations, will be determined by American capitalist interests. It would appear probable, therefore, that we shall soon be walking, in what the inspired Victoria “Colonist” in its abundant delusion, calls the pleasant paths of peace.” Alas! poor Yorick.

Just as the “great war” invaded all social departments, and occupied all social activities, so will the “great peace” inaugurate methods of adjustment, and conditions of life, reflecting the new vantage point of society. Thrust up from the depths of its unhalting development has come a new condition, a fresh thought, measurable not in terms of imperial ambition, but by the gauge of omnipotent social necessity. What the immediate future holds in store, is yet obscure, but there is no question that it will be increasingly inimical to capitalist society.

The burdens of capitalist society, incurred for its maintenance and progress, are patiently throttling capitalist activity. To develop and maintain itself, capitalist society must further burden its staggering necessity. To do this it must have room for expansion. But the capitalization of all countries, the bonding of future labor and resource, the potency of high power machine production prevents this expansion, because it prevents the very thing that capital exists to accomplish,—the further accumulation of capital. Huge debts, adverse exchanges, high costs, of themselves, are of no importance. They are but resultants of the main cause. All the machinery and paraphernalia of production and exchange are sufficient to their purpose, provided a market can be found. Unlimited credit (or debt) is no hindrance—indeed it is the basis of capitalist intercourse—if expansion also is unlimited. But the moment resources can no longer be clothed with the quality of capital, expansion ceases. Therefore is the market the prime necessity. Failure to find that, means the failure of capitalist production, the collapse of capital itself. In all countries, now, there are revolts, and insurrections, wars and rumors of wars, strikes and disorders, threats and mutterings of the volcanic forces of bonded society, pressing on to a new freedom of social organization. They are witness of the failure of the master class to find a market for its exploitation; the culmination of all slave societies.

But the capitalist conferees battled valiantly according to their lights for their system of “freedom” — to exploit. But the economic dice was against them; the ruin they thought to impose on their rivals boomeranged on themselves. The bluff of their petty subterfuges was called by social necessity; their vaunted idealism scattered to the four winds; their “acid tests of goodwill” violated at every point and turn. The triumph of Soviet Russia, the subjection (economic) of the German Empire, was ruin and disaster for France and Britain, the cause of dissension with America, while the territorial bayonetting of imperialism shattered completely what hope remained for capitalist unity of aggression and temporary success. Blundering on the fundamental of the market, they blundered on the fundamental of slave control, and so doing countered the irresistible economic of social movement. Not because their councils were of guile and deceit, or their motives ignoble did they fail, but because their expediencies were not of social necessity.

The armistice was concluded—with the implication potential in actual peace—on the basis of that travesty of democracy, the fourteen points. There were to be no annexations, no indemnities. There were to be self-determination of peoples, the rights of domestic control, and social cooperation for the

common good. And territory has been bartered and mandated for purposes of commercial aggrandisement, indemnities imposed that have ruined nations. Peoples have been shuffled hither and thither, like pawns on a chess board; wars engineered for the overthrow of foreign governments subversive of allied interests; and the “common good” has been bludgeoned and blockaded into famine, disease, suffering and death unspeakable. The most impassioned scorn is inadequate to express its despicable meanness, its callous hypocrisy its inept vision, its unparalleled savagery. Truly is the Peace Treaty: a fitting monument to capital in extremis.

But while capitalist conferences may declare peace, no conference can enact it. Political society is slave society, and slavery and peace cannot exist together. So long as one class shall dominate another, so long shall strife continue, so long shall be the insanity of war, the waste of “peace,” the duress of social misery and degradation. Class domination means class exploitation; means poverty, ignorance, infamy to the subjected: wealth and all wealth connotes to the rulers: means commerce, profits, markets, wars.

All those minor atrocities can be abolished only with the abolition or collapse of their parent atrocity — political society. With social organization resting on economic freedom, then only can peace be, and its treaty inviolate. R.

## The Battle of Life

THE world still moves around in a vicious circle. The clouds gather and the heavens darken, the storm breaks and precipitates, deluging the earth with murder, famine, and disease. Biscuits are still being fed to the puppets that bid fair to serve the roaring lion that seeks whom it may devour.

The home of the standard of Liberty and Freedom snatches the bloody thread of Churchill to lengthen and brighten the line with the lives of men and women struggling for conditions that will make Liberty and Freedom possible.

United States of America are reported to have en route for Danzig military equipment for 200,000 men, 80 locomotives, 4,500 cars for troops transport, 5,000,000 pounds of margarine, and 100,000 tons of flour, besides a considerable amount of grain and other materials. The “Labor Leader” of March the 18th still further comments on the delay of aid to Poland; protracted restoration as urged by Mr. Hoover would end in financial ruin.

Poland is a finger of the lash in the hands of the modern patricians that are bursting with indignation at the idea of proletarians having the audacity to establish a system of production for use instead of for profit.

The tyranny and abuses of the Roman Owl still hovers and lurks among the bushes of Christian civilization. Paganism saw the flower of youth strangled and bled, despised and tortured, gaoled and burned because they sought to free themselves from a hopeless servitude. Cruel and unbearable were the conditions under which men must work and live, crushed under the yoke of a powerful hierarchy 200,000 slaves rose in revolt against their masters. Eunus, Drimakos and Spartacus were leaders of three slave revolts that shook the Roman world to its very foundation. The ruling class of the old Pagan world were horrified and insulted at the impudence of slaves striking for freedom. When the revolutionary armies were crushed and thousands of the slaves made captives a lesson must be taught to prevent any future uprising. 7,000 of the bodies of men branded by the taint of labor dangled upon the Roman Cross that decorated the Appian Valley. Roman aristocrats mounted their chariots and rode daily through this valley to witness the decomposition of the bodies of slaves that had the nerve to attack the privileged class. A Patrician bribe resulted in the betrayal of Drimakos by a jealous rival of his own army. Drimakos was tried before a patrician judge and condemned as a traitor. He was cast into a

dungeon and devoured by lice; thus ended the life of a thinking member of the working class.

The Roman highway of Paganism is still travelled by the divine, the noble, and the intelligent worker.

Central Europe is bathed in the blood of those striving to wrench themselves from the bonds of servitude. Poland the puppet, bribed by modern financiers with a morsel to keep guard and bark occasionally, might prevent the fire of Bolshevism from spreading to other little puppets that the capitalist refused to feed any longer. The “leg” of Nations has been pulled and stretched a little bit too long for the pants they have to wear, showing promiscuously the ugly foot that tramples on self-determination of small nations. Armenia may be a wall built to blind the masses to the east, but the live wire between European Bolshevism and Capitalism is Poland.

Roumania has been the patrician club cunningly used to batter the life out of the Austrian Socialists. The Allied plot to crucify the forces erecting a new social system has decorated the modern capitalist class with shame not one degree behind the slave persecutors of the old Pagan world.

The demand of France and Britain for German military officials for trial is no doubt a subtle effort to restore the monarchy when birds of a feather will flock together and restore order in Russia.

“The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley.”

The economic world has been moulded into a new pattern, and according to Mr. Hoover and the chief of the Liverpool corn exchange, there is in the world only one per cent. less of wool and wheat than the average for the five years previous to 1919. The European unemployed army is recorded to be 17,000,000. Wheat surplus is said to be 20,000,000 quarters over and above the world's requirements. Yet we have famine, disease, and death for the workers, with gaol, deportation and in many cases murder for those having the audacity to inform the workers they must unite to break the chains that bind them.

GEO. PATON.

**SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA**  
Local (Winnipeg), No. 3

**MANITOBA PROVINCIAL ELECTION**  
1920

**CANDIDATES:**  
George Armstrong, R. J. Johns, W. A. Pritchard,  
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# The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholemew.

## ARTICLE VI.—THE NEMESIS OF NATIONS

A complete understanding of the Science of Socialism necessitates a knowledge of the social and economic systems which have prevailed before the rise and growth of modern Capitalism.

Now, history is a science, to be written scientifically and to be studied scientifically. In conjunction with a close and reasoned study of economic institutions. When the history of any past epoch is studied in this manner, we are enabled to discern the more closely the path which must be trod in the days that are to be.

The Socialist approaches any historical epoch armed with what is termed "the materialist conception of history." Engels tells us that:

"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to the production, the exchange of things produced; is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society is divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the *final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch.*"

That is to say, the political and juridical institutions existing in any given historical epoch are determined by, and can only be explained through the system of production and distribution of wealth which prevails during that historical epoch.

Let us, very briefly, examine the history of the human race from the viewpoint of the materialist conception of history, in order that we may accept the past as our future guide and gain some idea of the historical origin of modern Capitalism.

It is a commonplace among historians that mankind, in the earlier stages of its mundane existence, lived under a system of Communism. All great investigators of that historical period of history known as "Savagery" are agreed upon this fundamental point. Such unquestionable authorities as Tylor, Lubbock, Spencer, Morgan, Bachofen Maurer and others, tell us, in very decided tones, that early man lived and had his social being in a rude form of Communism.

Lewis Morgan, in his great book "Ancient Society," assumes that 100,000 years covers the life of the human race on the earth. Of this period, fully 95,000 years have been lived under forms of Communism. He says that during Savagery and Barbarism the essentials to the production of wealth are possessed in common. Speaking of the first period, he tells us that:

"The property of savages was inconsiderable. Their ideas concerning its value, its desirability and its inheritance were feeble. Rude weapons, fabrics, utensils, apparel, implements of flint, stone and bone and personal ornaments represent the chief items of savage life."

Even during the higher social order known as Barbarism, when "it is evident that a large increase of personal property has now occurred," we find that "the territorial domain still belonged to the tribe in common."...Indeed Morgan says:

"That any person owned lands or houses in his own right, with power to sell and convey in fee-simple to whomsoever he pleased is not only unestablished but improbable. Their mode of owning their lands in common, by gentes, or by communities of persons, their joint-tenement houses and their mode of occupation by related families, precluded the individual ownership of houses and of lands."

Needless to say, during this long period of time when Communism existed, there were constant and fierce struggles between man and the terrible beasts of the jungle, and just as terrible struggles between man and man. Indeed, for the greater part of this historical period wars occupied a very prominent position. The captives taken by the victors, were, at first eaten at huge festive feasts, but it was later discovered, that these captives were much more profitable alive than dead. In other words, we find the rude start of slavery, although it is certain that for a very considerable period of time, the slaves, thus enslaved, were the property of the whole tribe of gentes.

With slavery the accumulation of wealth grew apace, the rude laws of inheritance expanded, money as a medium of exchange was introduced, and a primitive division of labor established. Mankind, thanks to the discovery of the stockade, began to gather into communities for purposes of protection and, as the population increased and the number of slaves grew, the old "gentile" families formed an aristocracy. **We find the genesis of classes.** For it was not long before the laws of inheritance developed so that the slaves, once the possession of the whole gentes, became the property of the "gentile" aristocracy.

It was upon this basis of slavery that the great empires of Egypt, Athens and Rome were established. The magnificence of the free republics of Athens have excited the admiration and inspired the verse of poets and of philosophers. It was Shelley—was it not?—who, in one of these moments of inspiration wrote:

"Let there be light! said Liberty,  
And, like sunrise from the sea,  
Athens rose! Around her born,  
Shone like mountains in the morn,  
Glorious states."

but the poet forgot that this liberty of these "glorious states" existed upon an elaborate system of chattel slavery. In Athens, at the very zenith of its power, there were 90,000 free citizens (which includes men, women and children) 365,000 slaves and 45,000 slave police.

The Roman Empire, at the height of its glory, was divided, just as sharply into opposing economic classes. And what glory! History does not give us a finer spectacle of imperial greatness than the Empire of the Caesars. The magnificent roads, the lasting aqueducts, the completeness of the military machine, the far-flung boundaries of its power, the stately edifice of Roman jurisprudence—here is an impressive picture.

And this magnificence and power had its being because the overwhelming mass of the people over whom the Caesars held sway were chattel slaves. The economic history of the Roman Empire reveals to us the great and growing wealth of the patricians and the increasing poverty and misery of the plebians. The huge slave-worked estates which characterized the closing decades of Roman greatness increased the gap between these two great classes. The tribute levied from slaves increased the luxury and wealth of the aristocracy. Luxury and debauchery, unequalled perhaps in all history, reigned in "the seats of the mighty," while the direst and most hopeless poverty festered below.

**But the Nemesis of the Roman Empire was at hand.** The great empire fell before the attacks of the barbarians from without and the discontent of the masses from within. The polarisation of wealth resulting from pitiless slavery sowed the seed and reaped the whirlwind.

With the fall of Roman glory, we come to the close of a long and important period in economic evolution. The knowledge of Egypt, the splendour of Athens and the power of Rome existed because the basis of these empires was chattel slavery. No longer were slaves owned in common, they have become the exclusive property of the possessing classes. And the whole of the wealth which those slaves produced was the property of the patricians.

It must be borne in mind that chattel slavery, no matter how much we may deplore its multifarious evils, represented a distinct advance in economic evolution. With those evils, can be found a tremendous increase in man's power to produce wealth, a distinct advance in the machinery of exchange of wealth.

The collapse of the Roman Empire brings us to a period of transition and disruption. Roads fell into disrepair, markets almost disappeared, and there is apparently chaos everywhere. From this period of transition there gradually emerges a new and, in many important respects, a higher economic and social order—Feudalism.

The stern necessities of the age demanded a stern and well-nigh relentless autocracy to evolve order from chaos. We find, then, the rise of a military dictatorship based upon force of arms. Castles, of

tremendous strength, appeared in all directions—the stronghold of the Feudal baron. The possession of land is the reward of military service, the tie which binds baron to king.

The serfs of the Feudal baron, although very much at his mercy, possessed certain definite rights. In the majority of cases they were permitted to work a certain number of days for themselves as against a similar (sometimes greater) number of days for their lord. Moreover, they were required to swear allegiance to their lord and to fight for him in times of war.

In the growing towns, we find, *pari passu*, the serfs, a large body of workmen and free artisans. No matter what dues they might pay to the feudal lords, they were economically free. Organized into democratic guilds, they grew in power and were able to defeat many of the tyrannical inroads of the landed aristocracy and military caste. Thus organized, controlling his own tools and his own products, the artisan, secure in his privileges and safe to rise from journeyman to master-craftsman, was in comparison, economically free.

The power of these guilds increased, trade flourished and political institutions broadened. **It was the age of Individual Production.**

And what a power these guilds of free artisans became! William Morris has told us of the advancement of learning and the development of art which resulted from the endeavors of these gallant fellows. The stately cathedrals and magnificent monasteries of Europe stand as silent witnesses of the skillful architects, decorators and builders who lived in the towns of Feudalism.

Never before nor since, has man had such a glorious opportunity. Owning his own tools, controlling his own product, working in his own home, able to rise from apprentice to master—these men achieved in the domain of art and letters far more than could be accomplished in Shelley's "glorious states."

As above stated, it was an age of individual production. The bootmaker made the whole of the boot and the cotton-spinner the whole of the cloth.

But individual production, no matter what its achievements were in the realm of art, could not long satisfy the new markets opened up by the bold seamen of Devon. Slowly, but gaining impetus with each fresh conquest, **social production displaced individual production.** At first, and very slowly, there is the introduction of a higher division of labor, the recognition of the greater productive power of co-operation over the older individualism. Trade increases, first in the national market, then in the international market. The new markets and the desire for world empire hastens the process, and greater impetus is given to the process of industrial change by the inventions of machines by Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright and Hargraves.

The new machines spell the doom of the old individual production of wealth by the craftsman in his own home. Instead of the spinner weaving his cloth with his own rude tools in his own home, we find a larger and larger number of men and women spinning cotton by the aid of complex machinery in a factory. A man no longer creates a thing, he is reduced to a machine-slave and makes only a small part of a thing.

Expansion of trade and the growth of markets demand the employment of more machinery, the building of more factories, the expenditure of more capital. The new method of factory production means the employment of larger and larger aggregates of machinery, which in turn spell the employment of more and more capital. In other words, we have reached the time when the individual production in small homes gives place to social production in large factories and workshops.

Capitalism, in short, is the highest plane in economic evolution reached by man. He has succeeded in producing wealth beyond the dreams of Fortunatus, of building up a system of wealth production which results in tremendous aggregations of riches. He has almost solved the problem of the social production of wealth, and it remains for him to solve the still greater problem of the social distribution of wealth.

(Continued on page 7)

# The Farmers' Forum

## A PLEA FOR THE FARMER.

It is not the purpose of this brief article to deal with and explain the fundamental basis of the farmer's poverty and misery while producing superabundantly. Possession of existing knowledge of agricultural economics would solve all his problems, but a point of contact forms an apparently unsurpassable obstacle.

Extant literature proves scientifically that under Capitalism the farmer like the worker undergoes exploitation, differentiated only in subtlety of method which coming into action at a later date in its growth becomes more indirect, more complex and consequently more efficacious,—on the other hand less easy to understand.

The higher intellectual grasp of economics by the Socialist, clarifies the situation for him. He knows how to act. But the farmer with a lower potential, finds the solution enshrouded in mystery. Metaphysical arguments and conclusions follow. The "hayseed" envelops himself with a policy of useless temporary reforms and feels aggrieved at the resultant poverty of his efforts.

Savagery produced the stone axe, modern civilization the keen, quick-cutting, steel tool, but comparison would serve no useful purpose. Both are products of the aggregate intelligence of their historical period. The same is true of the Socialist and the farmer, the latter being a product of an older civilization extending into the present day.

When, therefore, many Socialist writers from their superior vantage point hurl their keen, barbed arrows of reason and ridicule at the farmer, they forget that things have both a time and place utility. They overlook the fact that feelings, not reason rule the world; that feelings drive humanity blindly onwards to avoid the unpleasant and seek the pleasant. Reason only guides these feelings on their course. "Necessity is blind."

The farmer, in consequence is perfectly justified in requesting from the Socialist a sympathetic attitude towards his present temporary position not from abstract but concrete hypothesis.

Occasionally assumption is made that mental deficiency forms the cause of the lower intensity of farmer intelligence. On the contrary his average brain power is equal to that of any other worker-group—no more, no less. Rather should it be explained on the basis of opportunity—the possibilities are many but the opportunities are few! The difference between individuals in general lies not in their "gray matter," not in what they are capable of knowing, but on what they actually do know.

It may, again, be shown that this low intellectual intensity may be attributed to economic reasons.

The historical development of the farmer's machinery of production which in the last decade has remained almost stationary, and his limited means of communication including his newspapers, magazines, etc., not only tend to retard progress, but give him exaggerated notions of existing social relationships. In addition, his rural school system of education has not only left him ignorant, but has saturated his mind more than the others of the proletariat with wrong standards of life, false statements of facts, sordid ideals, monstrous unrealities.

Contact with continually improving new and huge machinery, in conjunction with other influences has enabled the industrial worker to rapidly discard these hallucinations, to reason from causes to effect, and to fill his mind with positive truths. With the farmer, the process of demolishing the old and building anew is on the contrary correspondingly slow. He lags behind, a product of the older civilization of belief and individualism.

Similarly this retardation is aggravated by his means of communication — intercourse, language, books.

The ability of the individual mind to acquire knowledge through individual experience is limited; that of the human mind unlimited. Further, the desire to acquire knowledge varies in direct proportion to the amount of pleasure derived there-

from and the fluency of communication. A distinction however must be made between quantity and quality.

Having greater intercourse with his fellows, easier access to scientific books, good papers, periodicals giving 100 per cent. labor viewpoint, the wage-worker with a greater appetite for useful information far outstrips his agricultural brother, content for the most part with 100 per cent. capitalist newspapers and periodicals, or with sentimental rubbishy books from the rural school library.

Even the farm papers—most of them heavily subsidized advertising media — think "discretion the better part of valor." They dislike the sound of Socialism and Revolution, not apprehending the value or true meaning of either. They carry on a campaign of what may be termed sabotage with the stated though hopeless aim of preserving unity between a quick-moving vanguard and a slower-acted rear.

Occupying an unenviable and untenable position in "No man's land," they continue an open flirtation with both Capital and Labor. Aesop's fable of the Bat contains no lesson for them.

Tariff Reform, H. C. of L., Soldier Settlement, Nationalization of Industries, State Control, are to them fundamentals. Group organization, and the "closed door" a panacea for all ills. And on analysis what does it all amount to but a repetition of what has been recognized for the past century—the evils and injustices and anomalies of our social system.

How can the farmer protect himself amongst all this cross-firing? How can he be expected to progress when he is debarred from finding out the causes of these evils?

Yet the farm papers did their propaganda—progressive education! It is—but for the Capitalist. It is an education with a downward thrust to reaction instead of with an upward lift to freedom. For freedom comes with the understanding begotten of knowledge, and not with belief.

The divergence of opinion between the farmer and the artisan can be thus explained. The latter understands the theory of surplus-value, and accordingly endeavors to limit his working day. The farmer not having studied economics imagines that the longer the working day, the greater the chances for acquiring a competency to support him in his old age. Contrary to general opinion the acquisition of riches is not the farmers' aim. But while this mode of thought obtains, conflict of opinion between the two is unavoidable.

Though the "hay-seed" does not understand causes, he has an ever-growing conviction that things are not as they should be, and that he is predestined to set the world "right."

Let there be no mistake about apprehending his motives, mistaken though they be. His earnestness is terribly real, his lack but a guiding rein.

With such material to work upon, let us not attribute all the blame to the farmer for the thoughts and actions of those who would direct him; he has the brain power; incentive is not lacking. Let the S. P. of C. supply the knowledge, the raw material of the finished product—intelligence.

The Socialist Party has a surplus of this knowledge which on the other hand will not benefit the farmer unless he owns it. In addition, its possession in sufficient quantity will unify opinion and bring the farmer into line with the wage-worker.

To distribute—socialize this knowledge—educate the farmer—if it must be done, must be the work of the S. P. of C.

How can this work be accomplished? The farmer in general is no reader of books, nor is he an orator, but can and does appreciate a good speaker. This method of approach appeals to him as none other because it appeals to his feelings as well as his reason, while showing that outside of the profiteering interests, others are interesting themselves in his economic welfare.

The courses of lectures delivered by Huxley in England, and Lewis in America, may be cited as exemplifying the immense amount of benefit derived

by the workers by this method, the idea being to bring a live education to such a stage that the acquired momentum, with the aid of pamphlets and books, would accomplish its own salvation.

The way no doubt is rough and beset with difficulties, but to the Socialist mind which has solved the conventional with the unconventional, it means only another concrete problem to be mastered.

Our "horny-handed son of the soil" with the "back-bone" of Canada shall then emerge from the chrysalis hidden by the web of individualism and its attendant lacqueys, into the free social producer, and free social thinker.

Groups shall then cease; closed doors fly open; race-consciousness shall reign.

Speed the plough!

W. C.

## THE SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 6)

The clash between rival classes in society, the inexorable hostility between the possessing class and the dispossessed class—this has, up 'till today, been the Nemesis of the Nations. For the most part, this economic warfare between producers and possessors has spelt for progress, and has resulted in the evolution of higher economic and social systems. **We may rest assured that the class warfare which divides modern Capitalism into two great hostile camps, will result in the evolution of a new and higher social order.**

Article VII.—Trend of Modern Social Evolution.

## Literature Price List

Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.

Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.

The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.

Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.

The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.

Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, \$2.00.

The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.

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# Economic Causes of War

## ARTICLE NO. III.

**W**HY did Italy go into the great war? Because the Allies promised her a great territorial expansion. It was not to safeguard herself against the Balkan States, but for purely Imperialistic aims, that she annexed Carniola so that she might obtain possession of the mercury mines of Idria, the caverns and grottos of Postojna (the world's greatest subterranean marvels), and her great forest areas. She annexes the Thousand Isles of Dalmatia, and Dalmatia itself for the famous fisheries. Italy will make the Adriatic Sea an Italian lake. Her own coast is sandy with shallow waters, while the opposite coast is high and rocky, easy to fortify, and has deep waters for dreadnaughts and liners. Dalmatia, with a population four per cent. Italian, does not look much like self-determination of peoples, but Italy was promised all this in the Treaty of London, so that the others could pursue their imperialistic lust in Syria, Persia and Mesopotamia.

The Albanians are the oldest people of the Balkans. They were granted their independence after the Balkan war of 1913, and guaranteed the neutrality of their country. By her geographical and strategical position on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, opposite Italy, Albania has long been coveted by Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Italy, ever since these nations decided on a policy of expansion. Albania interested Italy and Austria before the war, but as both powers decided to get the whole of the coveted territory, and as neither of them could be satisfied with a part, they were forced to conclude an agreement as early as 1900 by which they agreed to refrain from interference and to guarantee the independence and integrity of Albania in the event of a disruption of the Turkish Empire. This secret understanding explains why no action was taken by Italy and Austria when the Albanians won autonomy at the point of the bayonet, from the Turks in the summer of 1912, a time when a little assistance from them would have guaranteed independence. However, when the Turkish Empire in Europe was disrupted in the fall of 1912 by the Allied Balkan States, Austria and Italy hastened to intervene to prevent the partition of Albania among the several Balkan Powers. This was when Serbia won her way to the Adriatic, but she was forced to retire at the instigation of Austria, who was assisted by Britain at the Treaty of London.

So, again, we see that the independence of small nations is only possible when the Great Powers cannot agree as to who shall annex them. When the war broke out in August, 1914, the Albanians believed that the powers would be so busy fighting among themselves that they (the Albanians) would be able to manage their own affairs with peace. Their hopes were soon shattered, however, as Greece in November, 1914, occupied Southern Albania at the request of the Entente Powers, with the consent of Italy and against the wishes of the Albanians. The Italians later on in the game, landed at Valona. The ink was barely dry on the agreement which gave independence to Albania, by the powers who shouted about Belgium, when they secretly cut up Albania to Serbia, Greece and Italy in the secret Treaty of London, 1915, which bribed Italy into entering the war. The Albanians believing in the righteousness of the cause of the Allies, volunteered in both the French and Italian armies, and their faith in the uprightness of Britain was particularly strong. Valona, Albania's only good port, has been given to Italy. The Tyrol territory, given Italy in 1910, had a population of 537,374. Of these 504,458 were Germans, 19,578 Ladins, and 8,438 Italians. This is another striking illustration of the self-determination of peoples based upon nationality, and Austria now being helpless, Italy has practically no opposition to realizing her desires in Albania.

Italy was an ally of Germany and Austria because it was to her economic interest. It was about the '70's that she claimed Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria as her natural colonies, because they were opposite her along the Northern coast of Africa, but

France, also bordering on the Mediterranean, had cast her eyes on those countries. Italy was the natural enemy of France because she checked the National Movement of Italy. In 1870, not content with conquering Rome, many Italians had the idea of occupying Tunis, but Britain to placate France at the Peace of Berlin, after the Russo-Turkish war 1877-78, hinted to France that she had no objection to her taking possession of Tunis should an opportune moment present itself. Britain did this because France would be tolerant to British occupation of the island of Cyprus.

As many Italians were colonizers in Tunis, the French occupation of Tunis, 1881, drove Italy into the German-Austrian alliance in 1882. This bitterness of Italy against France remained until the middle of the '90's. The reappraisal between Italy and France was brought about more by circumstances than through any feeling of goodwill. Tardieu, in his book "France and the Alliances," says: "On 28th September, 1896, Italy gave us a first pledge—by accepting a revision of the Tunisian treaties, which implied an official recognition of our situation in the Regency. On the 1st October a Franco-Italian treaty of navigation was substituted for the one which expired in 1886. Last of all, on the 21st November, 1898, was signed the Treaty of Commerce which had long been desired at Rome. The Italian commercial balance sheet at once showed an increase of 100 million imports and 200 million exports. Our French banks in Paris intervening just when the German economic crisis of 1900 put an end to the financial aid that had previously been obtained in Berlin, saved the Roman market from veritable disaster. But for the 100 millions of Public Debt purchased in 1901 by the Paris market, Italy would in that year have been unable to obtain her economic equilibrium. . . . At this juncture Italy was induced to draw nearer to France by the tightness of her economic situation."

Tardieu then quotes an Italian writer in his book "The Financial Reasons for the Franco-Italian Friendship," thus: "The German economic crisis rendered it necessary that Italy should seek a political reappraisal with France. Italy would have been (in any case) forced to inaugurate a policy altogether friendly to France. If, through a political blunder, such as the visit of the Prince of Wales to Metz, the patriotic sentiments of the French had been wounded, and the Paris market had again begun to sell the Italian Consols, Italy would have been obliged sooner or later to reimburse the French money invested in them. The exchange would again have advanced to its highest rate, Consols would have declined to their lowest ebb, and Italy would have found herself in an economic crisis like the one she had such a terrible experience of in 1893. The powerlessness shown by the German money market to act as Italy's banker, the need of the latter young country's continuing her economic development, and having the aid of other nations richer than herself, together with the fact that the Paris money market has once more assumed the role of banker to Italy, imposed on the government a policy which shall be in perfect accord with that of France."

So it is quite clear that the financial and commercial interests of Italy determined her friendships with France, and Delcasse said in the French Chamber when Italy renewed her alliance with Germany and Austria in 1902: "Neither directly nor indirectly was Italy's policy aimed against France by reasons of her alliances." Then France gave Italy to understand that she could step in and take Tripoli if she did not oppose French designs in Morocco, which also drove another wedge between Italy and her Allies. French writers did not count on any defence against Italy in case of war, and Bernhardt says in "Germany and the Next War": that Italy may be left out of consideration as an ally. The Turko-Italian war was over Tripoli, is believed to have been instigated by France and Britain in 1912 for the purpose of driving the wedge between Italy and her Allies further, yet it would make a horse

laugh to know that Britain encouraged Italy to renew this treaty of 1882 when it expired in 1887, 1891 and 1902 because the Italian fleet might be necessary to check France in the Mediterranean should the need arise. The truth must inevitably force itself to the surface, and E. D. Morel, in his paper "Foreign Affairs," December, 1919, quotes an Italian paper thus: "The fundamental character of the European war has been misconceived. It has been a war between two imperialisms for the conquests of the seas and of raw material, in other words, for the hegemony of the world. One of the parties was credited with idealism and the other with cupidity, the fact being that both were fighting for their interests. In fact, France was no less militaristic than Germany, nor was England less grasping. This universal lust could have been defeated only if neither party had been strong enough to annihilate the other, but had found in what power remained to its adversary a check upon its own cupidity; self-interest would then have compelled the belligerents to listen to words of moderation and to agree to a peace of compromise, which compared to the present peace would have been an ideal peace."

A few days after this statement appeared Viviani repeated once more that "This war was a collision between the forces of Autocracy and Liberty, between the dark powers of Evil and Violence and the powers of Right and Law."

Of course, fellow workers, might being right, the Allies are right, no matter what the Albanians or the Dalmatians may think of Italian expansion on the Adriatic Sea and self-determination.

PETER T. LECKIE.

## HERE AND NOW.

R. Sinclair, \$8.50; F. Harman, \$1.50; T. Twelve-tree, \$3; A. A. McNeill, \$3; K. Dengg, \$3.24; G. Schott, 50c; H. Williams, 50c; Alex. Shepherd, \$4; F. O. Burke, \$6; E. D. Mitchell, \$4; following \$2 each, Alf. Emery, Harris Bennett, A. T., S. I. J. Knight, Following \$1 each, W. Bennett, W. B. McIsaac, Mrs. Martin, Wm. Donrey, Ed. Cohoe, Ben Sparks, Wm. Mitchell, Joe Hubble, E. E. Cole, A. Spencer C. C. Kennedy, Jake Olson, G. Wild man, C. F. Schroeder, Wm. Van Vliet, M. Goudie. From 13th to 26th April inclusive, total, \$58.24.

## 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 irrespressible 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 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.