

The Social Jig Saw

IS THE REVOLUTION really in sight? Many of us are of that opinion, and look forward confidently, eagerly, to the near future of success. How much of this hope is desired? How much fact? What is the bias of probability?

This hope of revolution rests upon the dreadful social conditions of Europe in general; on the disruption and disorganization of Germany in particular. The extremity of Europe is obvious and need not be dwelt upon. It seems an eminently reasonable proposition that torn and dismembered society cannot much longer tolerate the misery of its conditions, and the repressions of its rulers. Yet misery, although a condition of revolution is not a cause of revolution. Nor does repression, although it engenders conscious resistance, necessarily engender the resistance of social revolution. Misery and repression are in themselves but witness of a society whitening to the harvest, and the time of that harvest may perhaps be measured, not so much in the sufferings of misery, as in the power of repression. For, if that power be strong, it is weighty evidence of the vague conceptions of social realities. The forces of progress determine the direction of development; the direction of resistance is determined by the concepts of social affinities. Now, if the line of resistance does not coincide with the line of development, that resistance may nurture chaos and disruption, but not (at least not immediately) social revolution.

Social revolution is the proletarian ordering of the forces of progress; more especially in the stages of transition. If the organization of that movement is not inspired with the vitality of proletarian understanding, and therefore not ready to meet the onslaughts of repression, society in mass may suffer under the whip of dominion, and may in its struggles modify the ambitions of dominion; but it cannot take over the guidance of its own affairs, because it has not the conscious concept of its fundamental realities and necessities. Proletarian consciousness is a necessity, either before, or very immediately after the event. That is the darker side of the picture; an aspect of the situation not to be ignored, or glazed over, with the sweet icing of imagery.

Personally, I know not what is really transpiring in Europe; how much of fact and hope may exist in the middle of surmise and distraction. That there is some data for hope is evident. But how strong? On what evidence? Surmise is not fact. Information is scarce and unreliable, and deduction, no matter how logical, is valueless, if its premise is false. It is with such a dim rushlight that we look into the dark and darkening future.

Out of the great struggle in Europe La Belle France has emerged dominant. Not much may happen without the counter-seal of the grand Republic. And sub rosa, much is happening through the wiles of that august body. It is the post war struggle of France for the hegemony of Europe which has retarded and almost frustrated, the "re-adjustment" of capitalist spoilation, and reduced Germany to her present straits. It is the power of France that holds Europe generally to French ideas of "justice," and French ideals of progress. And the power of France is only to be broken by the robust force of war. The preparations for that war are going on apace, military, financially, politically. The British Empire is being girded together, with that possibility in view. British and American finance are of a mind in ending the European tangle; politically the governments have drawn closer together, while General Smuts has recently dotted the "i's" of the straight issue. When the British Lion feels equal to the tussel, i.e., when Britain has negotiated Dominion and allied assistance, the war drums will begin to beat. Still, although that fight is presumed—and contemplated—it is not yet imminent, because the means are not yet fully prepared, nor the board yet completely set.

The reason for the struggle is commerce; the

European market. Europe is the greatest market in the world. Naturally the confusion in Europe has dislocated the entire comity of trade. As naturally the greatest imperialism in the world has been "hard hit," Britain is waging a tremendous struggle for life. Her debts are heavy and pressing, her industries dormant, declining; her exchange falling. The only way of redemption is vast and increasing trade. Normally, Europe absorbs more than a third of all British products, and Germany was one of her best—if not greatest—customers. That has all gone by the board. As an offset to that trade loss, there is a great "putsch" for inter-Empire trade. But Empire trade is not sufficient to make the offset. Neither capitalist "prosperity" nor Imperialist rivalry can brook any such artificial restrictions. The Dominions themselves are commodity producers, requiring ever-growing markets, while the gathering volume of their obligations demands an ever-increasing commerce. Neither Britain nor the Dominions can live for and within themselves. They must extend their commerce and encroach ever more conflictly on the imperialist rivalries for the world market. Hence the grim struggle for European hegemony and the commercial supremacy which goes with it.

The same principles apply with the same force to France. But France is dominant in Europe: She has military status, political prestige and commercial potentialities. To transform them into revenue producing actuality is the issue at stake. It is for that reason that France now holds the Rhur—directly it has been detached from Germany. France, facing the deluge of bankruptcy, requires reparations. Reparations require trade, and trade bespeaks French interest. In other words that France, guarding the spoils of war, requires primarily the European market for its disposal. After French needs are satisfied, the other nations may come in. That is the fundament of the conferences held and impending.

In all the play of recent German politics, just who dictates, to what extent and for what complex of reasons, is difficult to say. Broadly speaking, the German capitalist class demanded a goodly share in Rhur production—in the eyes of France an excessive share—for a vanquished rival. In this invisible struggle Britain aided—or more properly speaking, through the gentle arts of diplomacy and the subtle magic of psychology—influenced the former in their demands and resistance. Because, to Britain, for her prestige and supremacy, not only was the German market and German trade a need in itself, but it was the point of departure for the stabilization of the wider field of European exchange. The desperate urgency of British need was plain enough in the British offer to cancel the French and Italian war debts, in toto, if only France would stay out of the Rhur. Alas, the happy entente exists only if France consents to play the bass.

During this struggle the German Reich subsidized the Rhur industries, because owing to market conditions and exchange depreciations, the Rhur could produce, but could not sell. And it had to produce anyway for reparation claims and domestic necessities. (Reparation claims, of course, have gone off color with the occupation). Under the increasing pressure of France and the deepening strain of "passive resistance," Germany completely collapsed, to the dismay of Britain: apparently to the joy of France. But with the gathering chaos of German disruption, the menace of riot and revolt, and the necessity of France for the formal aid of the German government for the operation of the Rhur, Germany and France reached at last a tentative conclusion in the division of the hoped-for spoils of industry.

In present-day Germany there are three main political movements: Separatist, Nationalist and Communist. To what extent Communism prevails we know not. Probably it is greater than appears. But, if the "news" is anywhere near the fact, it

is certainly eclipsed by the other two, and decidedly mixed with political aspirations and party contentions, which can hardly be classed as Communist. Nationalist is the expression of prewar unity and its prewar prosperity, mingled with more or less radical elements, finding, as usual, rapprochement of particular interests in the trend of general appearances, and, of course, colored and excited with the new wine of specific circumstances, yet altogether working, in effect, though not in intent, for the consummation of the central idea of bourgeois nationalism. The Separatist movement is an activity inspired by reaction, for monarchy or autocracy, or any ancient divinity of tyrann, used and connived at by France, either for the furtherance of her ambitions of political and economic aggrandizement, or as a bulwark against the "red terror," or a combination of both.

Be that as it may, the combined result is a social jig-saw that readily lends itself to speculation, but veils its actual solution in its own awesome darkness. The Communist movement is altogether hidden, perhaps overwhelmed, in a welter of tumult, riot, strikes, industrial degradation, nationalist hatred and social passions. Whatever of social understanding and proletarian unity exists is hidden under the clouds of strife. The nationalist movement wavers in apathy, suffering and hysterical excitement, stung into action by the iron necessities of trade depression, or aborted by the magic spells of corporate monopoly. While Separatism, panicky and ruthless, waxes and wanes with the political fevers of Berlin, or the industrial ague of the Rhur. Bavaria, the centre of monarchy and Facism, is in reactionary revolt. The Rhur, the centre of German industry, favors—or is forced into—the Republic of the Rhineland. Thus the Rhineland, the source of German wealth and power and prosperity, is in the hands of France, i.e., the Comity of Forges, in association with Stinnes and Wolff, the German ironmasters. Bavaria is ready to aid in the settlement of a White government; while on the other side of Germany, the eastern centre of coal and iron, Silesia is either a Polish acquisition or under Polish jurisdiction. In other words, under the dominion of the comity. And by what is known as the "Danzig corridor," Poland has access, somewhere along the valley of the Vistula, to the Baltic sea.

Take a map and look at the situation. What is now actually Germany is comprised within a line running from Danzig along the new Polish frontiers to Saxony; skirting the southern boundaries of Communist centres, Saxony and Thuringia; thence along the borders of the Rhine Republic to the Dutch frontier. At the same time, French influence, and to a certain degree actual control, is paramount in the great stretches of territory from Posen to Leuberg; to Munich; to Belgium and Holland; not to speak of what power of suggestion she may be able to exert on Italy and Turkey, and the reactionaries of Hungary. Clearly, France, by "peaceful penetration" has wedged herself between Bolshevik Russia and a possible Communist Germany. She has secured herself a goodly portion of economic power—the agricultural regions of central Europe, and a considerable market of exchange. She has clipped the spreading wings of Albion, and she has separated Germany from the prime sources of industrial prosperity.

The proposition, then, is: are the German omunists strong enough within the existing limitations of their conditions, to organize and entrench themselves in political power, against the disruptions of Nationalist counter-revolution within and Imperialist, anti-Communist aggression without? The Rhur as the key to German prosperity is, maybe, also the key to Communist vitality. That the Rhur is detached from Germany does not make any difference. For although that fact may alter its political destiny, it in nowise affects its economic unity. Capitalist trade sits four square on cap-

italist necessity; international exchange is inexorable. Until recently the Ruhr operated on subsidies. Now these have stopped. Stinnes—the voice of Stinnes—averts they should have ceased long ago. Stinnes says that coal production outside the Ruhr costs 22 gold marks per ton; inside the Ruhr, 38. His remedy is the abolition of union restrictions and the 8-hour day, substituting the capitalist paradise—no unions and no restrictions. The withdrawal of the subsidies has resulted in increasing unemployment; the further exhaustion of labor and the actual stoppage of some of the industry. Is that the hand of Stinnes to drive the workers to his terms? Anyway, the lying press propagated his terms, and he asked the French command for support to that end, which was refused, not because France favors the workers, but because France requires the assistance of the German government to secure the spoils of the Ruhr. Apparently the demoralization of the Ruhr industry grows. The railways are on strike—some of them partly destroyed. Hunger riots add to the chaos of “occupied” confusions, stocks are full and prices non-equivalent. Taxes grow and purchasing power disappears; everything suffocating in the “reparations tangle,” and until a political settlement is effected the resumption of industry for the world market is impossible.

Thus, in effect, famine presses on the Ruhr. With the Ruhr is involved the rest of Germany. The rest of Germany is partly manufacturing and commerce, partly agriculture. Owing to conditions in Germany and scarcity of food, the agriculturist has been “doing well.” He hopes to continue; but as industrial chaos and struggles adversely affect his hopes, he resents the aims and agitation of the red towns. He is a natural enemy of Communism everywhere, even in Russia. He is probably a more sinister enemy of Communism than ever the commercial bourgeoisie. He loves his property—by nature. He is knit to it by life-long and age-long traditions, and he will remain so until by nature he is made to realize the meaning of property and its implications.

The manufacturing and trading interests are being ruthlessly driven to ruin. The world market intensifies competition; competition concentrates production into fewer hands, centralizes authority in the vertical trust. The great middle class are no longer captains and directors of business industry; they have become the investors in the projects of a financial oligarchy, whose greater expansion volatilises the investments, the living standards and social status of their clients, which is a necessary prelude to socialist society. In Germany the reduction process is complete. Their poverty, penury, despair and suicide constitute a crying appeal to their class kindred the world over. But their property concept is not yet vanquished. With the bind culture of bourgeoisie “eternities” they vision redress in the reaction of the dead yesterday, prosperity in the stultification of progress. True to human perversity—or human necessity, as one looks at the matter—they fight the nearest effect. In the German case, the agitating Communist within—French dominion without; hence they unite on Nationalism, and the objects of their activities—the unity of German territory and the “opportunity” of German resource—holds diverse political elements in the common affinity of reaction.

Are those the conditions of a successful Communist coup? Misery and desperation will certainly drive a people to action. Will it organize itself in revolution? Will industrial anti-French strike; anti-French demonstrations; hunger riots; transform themselves into political supremacy? If it did, could it maintain that supremacy? Cut off from natural resource on one hand, faced with French terrorism on the other, and afflicted internally with political compromise. Where is its economic power against the farmers? Where its political power against nationalism? Where the organization of the means of life without the control of its resources? Where its powers of resistance disarmed and surrounded by its capitalist oppressor? Where its unity of strength, without common unity of vision?

But there is Russia, and the red army. Yes, and there is also France and the White Terror. Would you have war with Russia, then? Is the ruins of Germany the prelude to war on the issues of class? Is the hegemony of France to end in the armageddon of international carnage? For assuredly it will be no two power affair. Is Russia ready for such an issue? Has she the willing mind of common aim? Is she equipped with the modern means of warfare—planes, bombs, tanks, armaments, submarine, poison gas, disease cultures; lying propaganda, etc.? And the developed means which make those horrors possible? With no limitations of scale or time, except the limitation of capitalist necessity and human endurance? Russia at present is busy on defence of reconstruction. Her interests are peace and development. War is an issue she will neither force nor foster. Trade development, exploitation of her resources, rehabilitation of the havoc of war and famine; the remodelling of her working necessities; the strengthening of her power, the education of her millions; the concentration of practice and theory, all immediately for the supremacy of the Soviet Government. These are the aims of Russia. Whether she can carry them through is, of course another matter. But she will certainly not imperil them on any issue, or offence. She will not hazard her developing security of economy and the stability of political permanence on any romantic excursions of sentiment or false idealism. She understands the capitalist world too thoroughly for that. And what a Reuben is a nationalist working class. Communist Germany will be the work of German Communists. For the simple reason that not all the red battalions on earth could hold a chauvinist working class secure. If the trial of strength is to some, Russia will try to choose her own vantage of time and place. And if it does come, it will come, not as a sentiment of communism, but as the violence of French aggression.

It is a gifted imagination that sees in present conditions an advantageous situation. It is prolific in suffering and misery. It is lured with fire and death. It is black with wantonness and crime; foul with treachery and hate. But it shows little of class unity or social understanding. It has little defense in the organization of class consciousness. It grasps at the Momus of political freedom, and spurns the Pallas of economic reality. And though a faithful few are untiring heroes in the vanguard of the revolution, the social mass, who must accomplish the revolution, are a “people that walk in darkness.” Till that darkness is dispelled, and a true concept of social relations is obtained, there may be chaos, but not revolution; there may be struggle, but not triumph. The vials of a deeper wrath are yet to be poured out on man. It may be true that through war and death we go to revolution. But it is also true that only through knowledge of its cause can we obtain the victory. A ghastly Europe tortured by the Inquisition of Imperialism may be a ready subject for speculation, but it is a doubtful theme for hope. Europe will not bring us the revolution, Russia cannot present it to us. The mechanic of conditions will not adjust itself. We ourselves must achieve it. We can help Europe only by freeing ourselves from the traditions of property. We can conquer the battalions of force when we conquer the prescriptions of power. We can have Socialism only when we have—its concept. The henchmen of capital tell us that a people have the government they deserve. Probably they are right. It is up to us to apply the formula. R.

THE CLASH OF STEEL.

(Continued from page 1)

ing with Britain by means of a huge oil concession to Lloyd George's friend, Sir Basil Zaharoff. Lloyd George was, however, one too many for him, slipping a little clause about the price to be paid for coal and coke into the Spa Agreement. Millerand went, and in his place appeared Briand, who, in conjunction with the French edition of Sir Robert MacAlpine, M.Loucheur, set himself to get money from Britain, oil from America, and building material from Germany. He disappeared after Cannes, giving place

to Poincare, another lawyer to the steelmasters, who means to get the Ruhr coal for his clients, and with it the reversion of all the collieries, blast furnaces, and steel works. He dare not betray the peasants and the petty shopkeepers, who he knows will never receive the reparations, but will require to pay for the war themselves, until after the election next spring, when he can safely march his black troops back from Germany to keep France in order. Then he will be able to make a pact with Stinnes unless Britain makes one first.

George for England.

Here, in “this land of hope and glory, this Mother of the Free,” we have had the war-profiteers and shipowners' miracle-manager, Lloyd George, whose “crowning mercy” was that he took the iron ore from Germany and gave it to France, and the ships from Germany and sold them cheap to the British shipowners, who thereupon countermanded orders for ships from the shipbuilders, and they orders for steel from Motherwell. The immediate upshot of it was that Lloyd George's “pals” were selling coal and coke dear to the French and iron-ore dear to the Germans, and were carrying to them both at the shipowners' freight charges. It was just the sort of “smartness” you would expect of the slippery Welshman.

This kind of capitalist statesmanship—company promoter's statecraft—raised a hornet's nest—or rather to suit the metaphors to the mischief-maker—caused the waves of worldwide storm to sweep “the captain” off “the bridge” into the scuppers.

Andrew Bonar Law, formerly of Jacks and Co., iron-ore and metal merchants, took his place and, in a spirit of “tranquillity,” interfered just enough to keep Stinnes and the French coming to an agreement and having, so to speak, pushed the French into collision with the Germans, washed his hands of the whole business. “Tranquillity” meant leaving the French and German capitalists to emulate the Kilkenny cats. Unhappily, the process was unduly prolonged, and the trade of Britain suffered severely whilst the French were beginning to understand that “once a hawk of iron-ore always a hawk of iron-ore.” So Andrew had to go.

Piggie-Wiggie Wee.

In his place we had a man who, from his youth up, like his father before him, had been and still was a great steelmaster, Baldwin of Baldwin's Ltd., ex-director of Lloyds Bank, Ltd., a man who believes in selling Newfoundland iron-ore to the Germans, South Wales coal to the French, and lending money to the French state and the German capitalists. He has a deep interest in pigs—especially the kind that the “sows” litter at Coltness and Wishaw blast furnaces. In fact, his interest runs up to £190,000 in Baldwin's, Ltd. He does not so much mind the French Government winning the steel works and the coal of the Ruhr as long as, at the same or a shortly anterior time, the said French Government borrows, as it is expected to do, a very large sum of money from the British capitalists.

It is believed that Baldwin of Baldwin's Ltd., when at Aix-les-Bains, spent much time in sucking “soft drinks” through a straw and learned much concerning the principle of the syphon. When he went to Paris he set himself to apply the principle of the straw syphon to old man Poincare. Poincare is to tap the riches of the Ruhr for the French Government and the London banks, and the British steelmasters are, by lending money to that Government, to connect up their lips with the straw as the straw has connected up with the Ruhr.

Baldwin of Baldwin's Ltd. knows a thing or two. He knows how to suck, and how to do it without making a noise. In fact, he is a fine type of an English gentleman—he knows how to suck profits out of steel-workers at Port Talbot and how and when to suck even greater profits out of steel-workers on the Ruhr.

I have great admiration for Baldwin of Baldwin's Ltd., just as I have for all these class conscious steelmasters. I wish I could say that I had an equal admiration for the blast furnacemen, melters and rollers who submit themselves to be sucked.

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DOPE.

DURING the past few years in British Columbia the purity people, the church crusaders and the moral leaguers have all been engaged in the chase against the wicked dope peddler, the fellow who is so loose morally as to traffic in drugs—to the undoing of all sorts of innocents, male and female, of all ages and races.

Well, while the search has been going high and low for years past it has at length reached the point where it can no longer avoid noticing the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the activities of its secret agents. From the nature of the evidence given in court against the officers of that organization it would appear that the reputation gained by them in the Winnipeg strike trials as stool pigeon agent is well sustained, with the additional factor as a money making concern thrown in for good measure. The business of the narcotic squad of the heroic mounties we have on hand—not those of story book and movie fame of course—seems to be to smuggle drugs into the country, sell them to drug addicts and agents, then to arrest and send to jail the latter for having drugs in their possession. One of their secret agents, now under examination at the court of enquiry on charges of dealing in drugs, has been successively a first aid man in an industrial plant, a diamond merchant, and a would-be stool pigeon in various working class organisations throughout Vancouver, including the S. P. of C.

This is the work of the romantic mounted police, and it should not go unnoticed.

HERE AND NOW.

THIS issue's totals, Here and Now, bring us back again to the miseries of finance problems. Last issue and the one before our finances appeared to present almost decent totals, but here we are again back to the threadbare normal. The figures have just about enough strength to stand alone:

Following \$1 each: W. Scott, Sam Buch, G. D. McKenzie, W. Lyall, J. Cameron, P. Brown, A. M. Neelands, R. Brown, G. Alley, W. R. Lewin, J. MacKenzie, W. Mitchell, Wm. Morrison, G. F. Ritchie, R. Gill, J. Connacher, J. A. Untinen, C. R. Morrison, E. J. Miller, B. D. Smith.

M. Milliken \$2; J. M. Brown, \$2; San Francisco Labor College, \$9.60.

Above, Clarion subs received from 16th to 30th November, inclusive, total \$33.60.

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Following \$1 each: Tom Valentine, W. Scott, F. Neall, W. R. Lewin, W. Mitchell, G. F. Ritchie.

T. Muckle \$2; R. Gill \$3.

Above, C. M. F. donations received from 16th to 30th November, inclusive, total \$11.00.

Unemployment—Cause and Cure

THERE are now upwards of 1¼ million workers registered as unemployed in Great Britain. How many there are not registered, and how many are working short time, it is impossible to say, but we may safely assume that there will be, before this winter is out, more than 1½ million men and women, boys and girls, able and willing to work, but prevented from doing so. The present depression began at the end of 1920, and shows no signs of lifting, and it is no longer sufficient for Ministers to prophecy improvement; even the most credulous workers are now unwilling to believe in the early coming of the long deferred revival.

There is no lack of freaks, frauds and cranks anxious to gain attention for their fallacious diagnoses and quack remedies—free traders and protectionists, and advocates of imperial preference; deflationists and inflationists, Christians preaching Brotherhood, and others who want another war, bare headed Daily Mailites, and their ridiculous Liberal Labour opponents, who weep for the wrongs inflicted on the poor German capitalists, emigrationists, and last and most futile of all, the motley crowd of "Socialists," who have time for these and every vain scheme, but no time for Socialism. We, on the other hand, urge now, as we have always urged, that there is a solution—Socialism; that it the only solution; and that it is a solution for the present and not for the distant future.

The attempted explanations of unemployment are as varied as the suggested remedies, and it is necessary therefore to make clear a few important points. First, do not be misled by those who have tried to saddle Poincare with the responsibility. The widespread unemployment began in 1920 and had reached a point in 1922 higher than at any other time since; yet the French occupation of the Ruhr did not take place until January, 1923.

Do not believe that it is an "abnormal" after-war development. Apart from earlier times of special distress due to political and economic disturbances, unemployment has been a constant feature of our system since the industrial revolution at the end of the 18th century. There has during that period always been a mass of employable but unemployed workers; the number increasing enormously during trade depressions and decreasing with trade prosperity. It never wholly disappeared, in spite of the big drain of emigration to America and the Colonies. Dr. Macnamara, M.P., speaks of a normal prewar unemployed army of 200,000 persons ("Times," 11th September, 1924). Unemployment is a normal feature of capitalist production. And what of the future? Macnamara promises that:

"That even if the unsettlement of Europe were ended and normal trade returned, the permanent unemployment in this country would be three or four times as big as in pre-war times."

While Sir John Norton Griffiths, M.P., a Tory, tells us ("Daily Herald," 11th April, 1923):

"We have now got, and always, apparently will have . . . trade boom or no trade boom . . . a million or more unemployed men who cannot be absorbed in industry."

Neither Macnamara nor Norton Griffiths seems greatly perturbed, but it may be worth your while to consider carefully the prospect before you.

Refuse to be drawn by the Labour leaders into the free trade-protectionist controversy, for it does not concern you. It is no question of principle, but one of capitalist interests, and will be readily scrapped by those who teach you to worship it, when profit-making demands a new policy. The sudden conversion of the traditionally free-trade Bradford woolen industry illustrates this. Moreover free trade is

an illusion in the modern world. What does free trade mean to a cotton or soap combine which has a practical monopoly of raw material and the home market? What does free trade mean to an international meat or steel combine, which allocates to its members certain geographical areas and a certain percentage of the sales in the total markets? And remember that the inquiries instituted by the Government immediately after war brought to light the fact that there is now hardly any important industry which is not controlled in some direction by a federation or central organization.

Protection is in effect the state support of one industry at the expense of those who pay for the whole cost of administration, that is the capitalist class. Protection or direct subsidies cannot in the long run overcome the world conditions governing the whole mass of a country's trade, or better the position of the working class. A subsidy for agriculture, or a bar on the import of agricultural produce (advocated by a section of the Labor Party) will, it is true, stimulate the agricultural industry, and lead to the employment of more workers there. But that is only one of the results. The production of more food at home means a decrease of the import of food products from abroad, and a corresponding decrease in coal or manufactured goods which would ordinarily have gone to pay for those imports. A mere transfer of some miners or cotton operatives to the ranks of the unemployed and the corresponding employment of a number of out-of-work agricultural laborers does not solve the problem of unemployment.

It resembles the emigration schemes which appear to rest on the notion that one can remove unemployment by migrating the unemployed from one country to another. It takes no account of the fact that the problem is a world problem, because this is obscured by certain temporary factors and local peculiarities.

Protectionist U.S.A., which two years ago had six million unemployed, strictly limits immigration, but this has not been the means of fulfilling the late President's fatuous wish that the boom of last year should be an era of "permanent prosperity." Depression is beginning there once more, and during 1922 alone no less than two million farmers and hands had to leave the land and resort to the industrial towns, to swell the unemployed army. Their chief immediate trouble was that there is too much wheat in the world for the capitalist system to dispose of, and yet some of our Labor men still believe that the panacea for agricultural stagnation at home is to grow more wheat!

Canada has its own problem to face, and cannot even find work for all of a few thousand men who were enticed out there for the harvesting. Unemployment is acute and growing in South Africa, where it is also complicated by the racial hostility between the relatively highly paid (and out-of-work) whites, and the low paid blacks. The South African unemployed actually asked to be migrated to Australia to join the ranks of the unemployed there, many of them want to come "home" to England. South Africa is also asking for immigrants—"with £2,000 capital!"

France has but little unemployment, because she has remained largely an agricultural country, with a land system of peasant proprietorship. There are relatively few wage-earners, the only ones liable to suffer unemployment, and for some time past French industry, especially textiles, has been doing big trade abroad at the expense of English exporters, owing to the depreciation of the franc. This has led to an amusing clash between one brand of currency-mongers, who want to save us by raising the £ sterling to par, and another brand who can see the

millenium in lowering it until Bradford mill owners can undersell French cloths. However, to the extent that French trade prospers and stimulates development of industry (including the Ruhr industries) France, too, will become more and more dependent on the state of world trade, and her growing army of factory workers will be drawn into the pool of, potentially, surplus labor.

It is also quite wrong to suppose that unemployment is a product of over-population. Sir William Beveridge, at the British Association, dealt with this, and quoted elaborate statistics to show that

"Man for his present troubles had to accuse neither the niggardliness of Nature nor his own instinct of reproduction."—"Daily Telegraph," Sept. 18, 1923.)

Unemployment, he said, was "a function of the organization and methods of industry, not of its size."

The British Government has announced its policy of authorizing the expenditure of £50,000,000 on relief works for the coming winter. This, in face of the evident hopelessness of expecting any important trade revival in the near future, is merely an admission of the failure of the capitalist class to solve the problem. It is just a form of relief without, what is from their viewpoint, the drawback of idleness, leading to a loss of the habit of work. The capitalists as a whole, and their thinkers and apologists, are in the same fatalistic state of mind as one individual employer who was recently declared a bankrupt. He ascribed his failure to his anxiety not to dismiss some old employees, although he had no work for them. He just "hoped" that "something would turn up." It didn't for him, and it won't for the system as a whole. Nor is there any hope from Labor Governments. Labor Governments in Australia (including the one still left) were just as helpless as any other; they used precisely the same methods to reduce wages when prices fell, and treated the resistance of the workers with the usual brutality. Unemployment is as rife in Queensland as in any other capitalist state, and as little is done for them. In fact the unemployed are better off under our own government.

The Australian Capitalists, like those here and elsewhere, continually have one consideration in mind. At all costs the workers must be kept from determined discontent. First promises, flattery, or the illusive benefits of Labour Governments are tried, then the paltry bribe of relief and doles, and finally, if nothing else will serve, the open violence of the armed forces of law and order.

Our explanation of the problem is simpler than any of these. It may from one aspect be summed up in the statement that the inability of 1 1/2 million British workers to find work although they wish to do so, is due to the frank determination of another million persons not on any account to spoil their

pleasant lives by painful toil. You work because it is your only means of getting the means of living. The things you need are the result of the application of your labor to the natural resources, but because these natural resources, along with the railways, the factories and steamships, etc., are privately owned by a small class of wealthy persons, they can and do live without having to work, and they possess the power not only to appropriate the proceeds of your labor, but also when they think fit to prevent you from working at all. In the early days of capitalism these people justified their rents and profits by the services they rendered. But by now they have, as a class, long ceased to render those services. Landowners are no longer the pioneers in agricultural science, they do not lead the way in raising the technique of the industry, or in encouraging their tenants to better methods of production. They lost 35 years ago their last semblance of being a necessary part of the machinery of government, when in 1888 the Justices of the Peace were all abolished and their powers handed over to the elected county councils. Industrial capitalists do not now bring brains, enterprise or directive ability to industry; these functions are mainly exercised by salaried officials, members of the working class. Far from promoting economic development, the growing tendency is for the controllers of the chief industries to restrict production in order to save themselves from the world shrinkage of markets. As for the so-called "risks" of capital, it is a commonplace for big business when in difficulties to get the State to help them out and take the risk from their shoulders.

The problem of permanent unemployment arises out of this one fact of private ownership. The owners return to the working class as wages an amount which will purchase only part of the total product. The balance cannot be consumed entirely by the owners and must in any event first be sold. The manufacturer of cotton cloth, for instance, might as well be propertyless as to have on his hands a great amount of unsaleable goods.

—Socialist Standard (London).
(To be continued).

ATTENTION, LOCAL CALGARY.

Local Calgary, Alberta, of the S. P. of C. has moved from 27 Central Bldg., to 134a—9th Avenue West. This is the headquarters occupied by Local Calgary during the past few years until recently. History class is held on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

LETTER FROM MOTHER TO SON.
No. 2.

Dear Son:—

In my last letter I tried to trace shortly the evolution of political parties for your consideration.

When you presented yourself at the polls, you were required, if in New York State, to read a part of the Constitution of the United States to prove that you were not illiterate, literacy as so used, being merely an ability to read and write the English language.

A little more knowledge of constitutions in general, as well as the one in particular may not come amiss in order that you may know how they came into existence and also the purpose for which they function.

The subject is not irrelevant, especially as the American Bar Association recently made an appeal to the people of the United States to celebrate a "Constitution Week."

Constitutions are framed by groups for the purpose of serving the particular interests of those who comprise those groups. One has not only to study the constitution but also the previous history of the particular group instrumental in framing it in order to know just what or whose interests are being served by it.

National constitutions usually proclaim in a preamble that they serve all the people within their national boundaries. But as all society, no matter in what political subdivision, is divided into two opposing classes, a class which owns and a class

which does not own and as the latter is absolutely dependent on the former for the means by which it lives, the question as to who constitutes the "people" resolves itself into one of ownership.

Ownership in the means of wealth production is the fundamental basis upon which all governments rest. Sometimes it has been ownership in land and slaves, sometimes land and serfs, and sometimes, as at present, it is ownership in land and the tools of production and distribution.

This ownership, in whichever way it may be vested, brings into existence certain groups of people other than the actual producers whose business it is to help serve and conserve that ownership. Among these groups are the lawyers; who have their professional existence as a result of private property ownership and who are naturally interested in its preservation as an institution from which they derive their advantageous position. Seeing this institution attacked they fly to its defence, as in the case of the American Bar Association.

When the constitution of the United States was framed, the workers, with the exception of a sprinkling of artisans, who, by the way, were not enfranchised until 1820, were black slaves and indentured white slaves or bond servants as they were called. They were not people, but property, and as such were listed as chattels. They had no say in framing the Constitution; it was only their masters who voted and it was to the interest of those masters to so frame a constitution that would perpetuate their ownership.

However, "Man proposes but social forces dispose." In course of time ownership in the tools of production gained the ascendancy over ownership in land and slaves which precipitated a civil strife in which the ownership in tools negated the ownership in slaves. The constitution is amended again and again in order to eliminate old forms of ownership and to serve the newer ones.

Now, as I have said before, we, as workers, do not own anything but our labor-power. Constitutions belong to the owning class and serve their interests well. That is why we see the constitutions dragged out like pieces of porch furniture when convenient to its owners, and stowed away in the attic when they might be in the way. But as we do not belong to the owning class they concern us principally as a means of study which explain to us some of the things which puzzle us as a result of our previous training in bourgeoisie ideals. As this has become over long, will close.

Lovingly,

MOTHER.

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OF WAR

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Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Eighteen.

THE development of the machine had one very marked consequence, which, aside from every other consideration, had a prodigious effect upon society. We saw in the last issue how the Thuringian peasants were thrust into industrial life. The peasant, we hardly need reminding, is a solitary worker for most of the year, and, generally, almost a hermit; scattered over a broad expanse of country, having no auxiliary aids against the impositions of the seasons, such as saloons, concert halls, cement streets, public lights. A considerable part of the year is spent practically with a dozen or so fellow creatures. These he knows intimately, and within this small circle, he lives, marries and dies. Napoleon could march from one end of Europe to the other, and providing his army did not enter his little valley, the peasant would not know it. Crops might fail, dynasties come and go within fifty miles of his straw thatch, without furnishing him with sufficient cause to raise his head. His nearest neighbors he knew better perhaps, and at least as well, as the members of his own household. Take him ten miles from his hut, and he was among strangers, if not enemies. Not one in a hundred had an idea beyond his simple tasks, or any interest beyond them, except perhaps a tentative glance at heaven. For a few years after the advent of the steam locomotive, the German people comprised almost eighty per cent of these peasants. Before the child in the cradle had reached the age of twenty-five the rural population was barely sixty per cent, and ere that child had seen another twenty-five winters over one half of the people lived in towns, while at the last census, 1910, the rural population was only forty per cent of the people.

These towns-people were in almost every respect different from their rural grandparents. They might very well live for years within twenty feet of another fellow creature without exchanging a single word, or even knowing his name, while being most intimate with another living ten miles away. Their acquaintances were formed in industry, not in locality. Nor was his entire time occupied with his labor. The nature of his occupation called for a general knowledge no peasant was ever required to possess, which furnished his mind with the means at least, for preoccupation, apart from his toil. And in many instances interested him more exclusively than his daily task.

The figures we give might indicate that the country was being deserted, so we remark that the rural population remained stationary, and the increase in population, enormous as it was, appeared in the towns: not only did the people of Germany present in these figures the appearance of a rush to the towns, but side by side with this phase we have a great emigration movement.

In this matter the development of Germany took place in a much briefer space of time than in the other great powers of Europe.

It might assist our imaginations if not our apprehensions, to estimate this advance by a few figures. In 1871 the output of coal in metric million tons was:

Britain	118
Germany	38
France and Belgium.....	27

While in 1913 the output was:

Britain	292
Germany	280
France and Belgium.....	63

Iron and steel give like results, Germany far behind Britain, France and Belgium had an amazing development following the Franco-Prussian war, so that by 1880 she was equal to France and Belgium and less than a third of Britain. In 1910 the figures stood in metric million tons:

Britain	17,172,000
Germany	17,943,000
France and Belgium.....	8,599,000

In shipping we find an unparalleled development. When in 1870 Napoleon III. took the field against Germany he had a very respectable fleet: Germany had none, and had the smallest mercantile fleet of any power in Europe, much smaller than Spain. In 1880 the other nations had added materially to their steam equipment, while Germany had scarcely more than doubled her tonnage; before the end of the century she was second to Britain, and by 1910 assumed the proportion of a dangerous rival, both in naval and mercantile tonnage, while in respect to efficiency Britain was behind. Such tremendous development in the three basic industries of modern life could not be achieved by the Germany of 1848, a country of petty states, each jealous of the other, each regarding any gain by the other as so much loss to itself. Ready to combine, whenever one threatened any degree of superiority, and by whatever means the situation required, to drag it back to their level, and each one always willing to call in reactionary Austria to maintain their subjection.

The development of Hamburg on the Elbe was out of the question as it lay in Holstein. Bremen on the Wesser was in Hanover, and not yet in the Customs Union, and closely allied to Britain in historical and commercial kindred, could hardly interest Saxony through which the Wesser flowed. Stetter on the Oder, lay in Pomerania closely allied to Prussia, but in no way interesting to Brandenburg or Silesia, which it watered almost their entire length. Yet these three ports became the centre of the greatest ship-building and mercantile development the world has ever seen. Nor could the canal which placed all Germany on the North Sea, in direct contact with the ocean, have been conceived by these petty and contending states, as the site was not yet within the national boundary of the German people. The Kiel Canal lies in Schleswig, and beyond all this lay the great Southern provinces, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, on the banks of the lordly Danube, with a market and more than an economic interest in Austria. Mannheim in the Palatinate, more northerly than Paris, was farthest south on the Rhine for navigation. Today, Basle sends her commodities from the boundaries of Switzerland, down the Rhine to Rotterdam and the sea. And had the Great War not intervened perhaps Lake Constance would have docked the boats which entered the Dutch port. Agreements and plans were already drawn for the canalization which would have made this connection practicable. We realize in its fullness this economic development and transportative energy in the fact that commodities are shipped from the Danube basin down the Rhine to Rotterdam, through the Mediterranean sea, the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, the Black sea, and up the Danube delta to Roumania. Quite evidently pious wishes and patron saints are not sufficient to develop economic and geographical resources.

We have already seen that a desire coincident with the need for a united Germany existed, and an extraordinary amount of energy and much blood had been spent toward its accomplishment. How that effort grew out of a swelter of ignorance, and was crushed because contending factions could still see, at the feast their imaginations had conjured forth, across the table, the faces of their traditional enemies. The delicate nostril of a Prussian became offended at the presence of a Bavarian, a German could not abide a Magyar, nor a Magyar a Slav, for historical reasons. The marvel of this stupidity is abated for use when we view the imbecile grimaces that Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists cast upon each other today. God help us and give us grace to laugh at our own folly, we are a daft lot!

But we are to see this jealous and contending

multitude welded together for a common end and a national benefit. May we yet see these latter day saints, so pure in their own righteousness, drop their self-pity long enough to realize self-interest. We, too, in case some Hottentot should chance to overlook the fact.

At the risk of being charged with advocating the great man theory we must now take a survey of a few men.

The first of these is not very often met with. John Dreyse, a locksmith's son, born in Saxony, was taught his father's trade. As some men are born with an intense desire and appropriate mental gifts to master music, this boy applied himself to his trade with what amounted to an artist's passion. Arriving in Paris at a time when the greatest soldier of modern times was conducting the greatest war, he found ample opportunity for his genius to expand in the munitions plants of Napoleon the Great. When this warrior was finally ensconced in St. Helena, our young friend returned to Saxony where he opened a small arms plant. At this time the old musket was being subjected to some criticism, and was faithfully defended by all the great soldiers of the day. Several improvements had been made, and but one even considered. This was the substitution of the percussion cap for the flint lock.

Dreyse had an order to make a number of these. And when engaged upon the problem of the mechanism by which this might be best effected he conceived the idea of uniting the charge and percussion cap, and igniting by a small steel rod, struck by the gun hammer. The cartridge was still charged at the muzzle. Not content with this, he continued to labor for nine more years, until in 1836 he produced a breach loader, the famous "needle gun."

It was this weapon which played such havoc during the South German revolution in 1851, where a few Prussian regiments were armed with it, but it was yet a mighty task in the then state of metallurgy to equip an army with them. This was effected by 1860.

Next we have Von Bismarck, a man of tremendous energy and courage, who could apply himself to a task with a devotion which excluded every other consideration, and who lacked every inconvenient moral interrogation which a conscience is likely to inspire. No complex, awry and distraught, disturbed the even flow of his libido. He was another Swartzenburg, minus the solid personal greed and cruelty.

Challenged to a duel to death at a distant spot and date, he calmly remarks that tonight and the palace grounds would be accommodation enough, and proceeds to set all his business in order without a sign of emotion, and with the utmost speed and exactitude.

He had met, measured, and mastered every diplomat and official on the continent, and was at length after the most thorough-going training possible called to the Head of Prussia. Carlyle says he had intellect, will and force beyond all other men.

Next comes Von Moltke, a genius of strategy. The disposition of armies was his life's work, and little else interested him. We are not strategists, and the full extent of his powers are best realized by the wars he conducted. Not a single factor appeared to have been overlooked, and almost from the declaration of war to the end, his plans went through on time.

The third member of this trinity, was a soldier who had made a name as a geographer, and possessed an extraordinary intellectual activity. His work as lecturer and author on all matters of military character soon attracted attention. He had functioned in every branch of army life, and his extraordinary mental activity had noted all its deficiencies, and made practical proposals for their remedies, so that when he became War Minister in 1860, he was es-

(Continued on page 8)

The European Unrest

THE economic and political unrest, which is at present manifesting itself in Europe, and of which Germany is the centre, is a direct product of Capitalism. The magnitude and the seriousness of such, correctly reflects the development of Industry and the corresponding conflict of contending groups engaged in producing the same line of commodities on the basis of capitalist competition. The stage drama now being enacted between the French bourgeoisie and the German bourgeoisie, is the logical sequence to the real life tragedy of a few years ago, when the proletariat of Germany, France, England and in fact, of virtually the whole of the world took the leading part and valiantly slaughtered each other at their master's behest, while under the intoxicating influence of the spirit of patriotism.

The past war and its magnitude fully measured the gigantic interests at stake of the different competing capitalist groups of the world, and their determination to ruthlessly slay their most dangerous opponent at their own game of competition. That they did not quite accomplish this slaying was due to the rising up of a new force, which threatened to engulf them all. This new force was the rising proletariat, who managed to gain ascendancy in Russia although crushed elsewhere for the time being. In order to deal unitedly with this new danger, a compromise was effected 11th Nov. 1918. It is known officially as the Day of Armistice, and the mummery is still carried on in the form of a sentimental appeal, at such an hour for the Unknown Soldier. A skilled manifestation of applied psychology, when one considers the vast amount of dead and their still living relatives.

Thus, instead of accomplishing the killing of the German bourgeoisie, they only succeeded in winging him, although they made a much better job of many of their brave sons, whose ill-luck had placed them in the ranks of the proletariat.

The winged prey began to show rapid signs of full

convalescence, so, under the guise of the Versailles Treaty, the resort of plucking their prey alive instead of killing him has been resorted to, and the prey is putting up a considerable squeal over the painful process. Probably after he has been stripped of a few fine feathers of his gay and gorgeous plumage, by the French Chanticleer, he will be quite contented to join Chanticleer's barnyard stock, provided no one comes along dressed in the habiliments of an American Eagle, or a dull, stupid, ugly-looking Bull-pup.

A linking together of the heavy industries of the Ruhr and France bodes ill for England, and the joint consolidation of these powerful factors of production marks a further step in capitalist concentration to be followed by an equally pronounced political change in the alignment of new capitalist inter-relationship of the powers whose interests will be menaced by such a unification.

Not only must there be changes of this nature, but there must also follow new political programmes of the affected groups in the different countries as the struggle to gain political ascendancy within their own geographical confines proceeds. A careful watching of the reaction of the proletariat in the different countries, especially England and America, when their intelligence is appealed to, will be very instructive in portraying what a vicarious factor—knowledge—of an economic political nature is.

The German working class seem at the present moment to be the most severe sufferers from their own ignorance and the quarrelsome proclivities of Herr Stinnes and Coy. Just how he is reacting to such rough treatment it would be interesting to know. Phillips Price, in the Labor Monthly for July, '23, assures us that the resistance to the Ruhr invasion is not due to mystic nationalism, but a complex series of motives, often conflicting in different sections of the population of the Ruhr. Events since the writing of this statement seem to bear full witness to its truth. The "complex series of motives" seem to be

fully sufficient to so weaken a "united front" of the workers, as to allow the different contending factors of the German capitalist class to still carry on their squabble, serene in the knowledge, that though so divided, they are yet much stronger than the mass of workers, due to this same "complex series of motives."

We stated in the opening premise that the unrest manifesting itself in Europe, was a direct product of capitalism. That the magnitude of this unrest correctly reflected the stage of development reached by capitalism. If this is true, and it can easily be proven by an appeal to the facts, then it logically follows, that any settlement arrived at on a capitalist basis will only prepare the way for newer, larger, and more frightful disturbances in the near future.

We have reached the stage where the reaction is loudly calling for its creator to own the product of his brain and brawn, and to use it in conformity with its power for producing on a regular and systematic scale. But the process of owning it is not that which seems to be the most direct, i.e., "seizing the factories." Italy bears full witness to this syndicalistic folly.

Between us and the factories stands the ruthless "shadow" of the State, waiting to severely punish any such foolish attempt. The workers will have to, sooner or later, constitute themselves "The State." The intelligent method points to a more comprehensive knowledge of Marx on the part of the chief sufferers of the present system, and this in turn means a much more active part taken by those shouting for a change, to clear up a few misconceptions of their own, ere they try to convert others to their ideas.

If we wish a "United Front" let us do away with the ignorance that leads to a Complex series of motives and its necessary concomitant, a complex series of organizations, a complex series of moves, and a corresponding number of "Wanderers into the Void." (With apologies to Radek.) J. C.

What We Study---And Why

AS WORKERS—as members, that is of the organized workingclass movement—we need a specialized education. We are not interested—we have not time to be interested—in culture for culture's sake. Our movement has certain definite aims. Therefore, the education we need is an education which will fit us to realize those aims; an education enabling us to assist, as effectively as possible, in the emancipation of our class. "The problems of the Labor Movement are social in their character—that is to say, they arise from the relations of men with other men, and from conditions which men have made. What men have made, men can unmake. It is the task of the working-class of the 20th century to transform those existing relations which are the source of the oppression of the mass of mankind, and to establish a new form of human association. For this, a knowledge of the existing social system, and of the laws which govern its development, is indispensable."

The Development of the Tool.

"If man is always dependent upon the earth (which is to-day, broadly speaking, what it was when man first appeared) why has there been historical development at all? What is the course of change in man's mass activities?" We find the answer in man's power of consciously modifying natural conditions by his own increasing understanding and his own increasing skill in the invention and use of tools and processes to supplement his efforts. And the steady development of the tool has made man, who at the very beginning of history lived in groups, more and more a social animal; more and more dependent upon the other members of his "group." It has caused the group itself to become ever larger and more complex, with a greater number of interdependent specialized parts, until to-day the whole world is

a great group, bound by economic ties, each part of it to an increasing extent dependent upon every other part.

Man's effort to secure greater and greater control over "nature," to become more and more "the master of his fate," has resulted in this steady improvement in tools and processes.

But—

This improvement, and the consequent subdivision of labor, has had another result—a result which primarily concerns us as workers. It has resulted in two separate and distinct classes of men—tool-owners and tool-users; the first, a small class, exploiting the labor of the second. The tremendous progress in the development of tools—the instruments of wealth-production—has not resulted in greater prosperity for the mass of men, the tool-users. On the contrary, it is they who are poor—poor in spite of the fact that the art of producing wealth has reached a higher point than ever before in man's history. Why?

The Economics of Labor.

To discover why, we study Economics, the science which deals with the production and distribution of wealth. "A scientific view of economics"—as distinct from that of the "official" economists whose aim is but to defend the existing economic system—"discloses the fact that Labour is the beginning, middle, and end of economics, the substance of all value or capitalist wealth; that Wages are not the equivalent of the labor expended by the actual producers, but merely a part of the value produced by them, a part just sufficient to keep the working-man in working order from day to day; that profit, interest, and rent are merely quantities of unpaid labor, the surplus of the value produced over the value returned to the producer as wages; that, finally, 'capital' itself (instruments of production—ploughs, looms, steam-engines) is

nothing but past unpaid labor, utilized by those who own and control it, for the purpose of appropriating more unpaid labor."

The Modern Working-class Movement.

And bound up with our study of Economics is the study of the historical development of the working-class, and particularly its modern history as an organized movement aiming at freeing itself from this capitalist exploitation. "It is the task of the modern working-class to change society radically, to substitute the economics of planned associated production for the planless and oppressive economics of capitalism." Our historical studies have enabled us to see that only thus can the course of historical development be completed—by securing the use and benefit of the highly-developed tools of production to the mass of men, to all men, instead of to a few; by ending the long struggle between the two classes of owners and workers, and putting in its place a class-less society based on common ownership and co-operative work.

A Means To An End.

This is a brief outline of our studies. In every branch of them it must be our aim to apply the knowledge they give us to the facts and problems of to-day. Thus, we shall apply our Psychology, our knowledge of man's mental processes, to the way in which men's instincts still react to their social and economic environment, and the way in which they attempt to reason about the fact of their lives; our Geography to those international problems which are becoming of ever-increasing importance, especially to the workers of the world; our Economics and our History to those actual problems of organization, of policy, etc., which every day confront the working-class movement.

We shall test the value of all our studies by the simple question: Do they help to fit us to play a more useful part in the work immediately in front of us—the Liberation of our Class from oppression and exploitation? Only as a means to that end does education concern us.

THE PLEBS' LEAGUE.

EDISON PREDICTS FOUR-HOUR DAY.

Thomas Edison, the well-known American inventor, speaking in New York recently, said: "The time will come when full automatic machinery will be so largely introduced that production will not require a man's working more than four hours a day. . . Then old men need never work. The young can work and support the family." Mr. Edison may know all about the productive power of modern machinery, but he evidently knows very little about the workings of Capitalism. Four hundred years ago, when machinery was unknown, Sir Thomas Moore, in his "Utopia," said that six hours' work a day would suffice for all the wants of the people. Benjamin Franklin said, about 150 years ago, that five hours' work would be sufficient. Now, with machinery increasing production a thousand-fold, Edison says we may look forward to a four-hour day. But he forgets, or ignores, one factor in his prophecy. The machines are not the property of those who work them. If the people who carry on the work of production also controlled the distribution of their products, we are certain that even less than four hours' work a day would provide everyone with all the necessities and many of the luxuries. But, unfortunately, we allow a privileged minority to control the enormous wealth produced today, and they return to the producers only just sufficient to keep them alive to continue production. Today we have fast motor vehicles and other "time-savers" and live in a constant hustle; but is our day's work any shorter since they were invented? They seem only to have got us into the "Through the Looking Glass" state of things—you remember when Alice and the Red Queen began to run. The Queen kept crying, "Faster, faster!" On they went, "they seemed to skim through the air, hardly touching the ground with their feet." And when, at last, they stopped, Alice said, "Why, I do believe we've been under this tree the whole time!" And we also are under the tree the whole time.—Freedom (London)

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.

Correspondence

MEETINGS AT THE GEM.

Editor Clarion,
Dear Comrade:

On Sunday November 4, we had with us Mr. Woodsworth who spoke on "Parliament Through the Eyes of a Labor M.P." His lecture was a resume of the seating arrangement in the House at Ottawa, and a description of the function of the different administration departments. He also supported the prohibition outfit during part of his discourse. In part, he said, that the labor movement stood for immediate demands, old age pensions, prohibition, unemployment insurance, minimum wage etc., the usual stock-in-trade of political hocus pocus. During the question period I put the following: "Does the political orientation of the progressive farmer and labor party group coincide with liberal bourgeois ideation." Woodsworth said: "I can't understand your question," and sat down. During speech time Blind Bill Nicolson started the ball rolling with a slashing attack on the A.F. of L., describing it as evolving into a Fascist for the preservation of capitalist rule. I then followed up with a slashing attack on labor parties.

On Sunday November 11, Mrs. Mallard held forth on the Minimum Wage Act, and was ably supported by Daddy Owens, who was followed in due course by J. East, of cheap money fame, to be followed by Walter Long, who demonstrated that by a process of evolutionary gradualism via the Workers' Party route into the nationalistic Canadian Labor Party, and thence on up to the community of interests of robbers and robbed, and that the workers would finally wake up and find themselves where they were before they went to sleep in the arms of their would be saviours, disillusioned, disappointed, rubbing their eyes and wondering what next—?

On Sunday November 18, we had Bill Irvine of Calgary who crucified us with an hour of oratorical flourish and sweet sentiment about, what "we" want and how to get it, and I have a hunch that the "we" circumscribed a school of bourgeois intellectuals, and a raft of lesser lights but equally ambitious labor skates whose greatest ambition is to get their feet under the political pie counter; with that accomplished they will then be in a position to make war on the hated reds. Of all the dirty low lived shysters the A.F. of L. political labor skates are the worst; they play on the cupidity and ignorance of the mass, and stab the revolutionary socialist movement every time they get a chance. I put the following question to Irvine: Can you reconcile the Idealist conception of history to the Materialist Conception of History? Irvine replied that you can't reconcile the Idealist concept with the Materialist conception, but dodged taking a stand on the position, and wound up by stying that he was not going to allow me to make capital on the point. When speech time came round I made a blunt criticism of the C. L. P. position which drew fire from Irvine and the secretary of the C. L. P. Yours for the International Socialist Movement
J. MACKENZIE.

A FOOL AND HIS MONEY.

At the end of the seventh week of the strike the solidarity displayed by the men seems greater than during the first week. This has been an excellent object lesson to the Labor Movement in this city; in fact, it has been the only thing during the last four years to prove that the Labor Movement really existed in this city.

The Shipping Federation, together with that small coterie which holds to their viewpoint, were greatly surprised (if not actually disappointed) by the almost unanimous vote of 1100 men cast at the Mass meeting, against returning to work. The method of voting, and the fact that an absolutely neutral scrutiny of the ballot was taken, with over 1000 men listening attentively to the scrutineers calling out the individual "yes," or "no," is beyond the ability of the Shipping Federation to either understand or explain.

Nevertheless, there is a reason, and that reason is not difficult to discover if we but examine the proposition that had to be voted on. Without going into the employers' offer in detail, it can be said that it amounted to a request from the employers to the longshoremen of Vancouver to take the organization they had so painstakingly built up through years of persistent effort, and proceed to bury it. Employers of labor have many times in the past succeeded in breaking up labor organizations but in this case they outbid all their predecessors by gracefully demanding that this organization function as its own undertaker. Probably the employers were of the opinion that since they had offered to put to work

immediately some 600 "former employees" this would guarantee to them a majority of votes for this so generous concession. Such generosity, it would appear, is only exceeded by their ability to spend money foolishly.

— Longshoremen's Strike Bulletin

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

(Continued from page 6)

pecially prepared to organize an army worthy of Moltke's strategy, and Bismarck's machinations.

So on the eve of the greatest industrial development yet known to man, Germany was organized and armed for that task which alone could enable her to reap the full fruits of that development. But that is a story in itself, and will have to await another issue of our family journal.

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