

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

Number 815

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1920

FIVE CENTS

The International Muddle

THERE is a close affinity between commerce and war. In fact, in modern times, the latter is merely a decisive point in the evolution of the former. Commerce, itself, is nothing more than a veiled form of war. Each competitor for world markets and routes of trade, must pursue a policy closely akin to that of the various contestants on the field of battle. Outwitting, outflanking, outbargaining, and outcheating its rivals is, obviously, the means adopted by each capitalist nation. Nor is this objective strictly limited to the commercial competitors of today. Ever since its inception the exchange of commodities has been accompanied by stealthy method and sharp practice.

The earliest traders of the historical period—the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, and Germans, all found it compulsory to ply their calling by means of piracy and plunder. From the frail and isolated barques of Mediterranean traders to the mighty mercantile fleets of modern nations is, however, a long step. Many changes have taken place during the intervening centuries. Numerous methods have been initiated, and a multiplicity of modifications have resulted, as the changing modes of wealth production rendered obsolete the manners and customs of previous times.

But, undoubtedly, the greatest distinction between ancient and modern exchange is found in the fact that in former systems the peddling of commodities was only a side issue, something engaged in by a small percentage of the population, and only possible, at all, when a surplus existed. Production for use was the predominant feature of other societies and, until the wants of the producers were satisfied, there could be no incentive to swap anything with neighboring tribes. Today, on the contrary, the wealth of the world which, economically speaking, consists entirely of the products of labor is produced essentially for exchange. The use-values of articles of food, clothing, machinery, etc., are almost completely lost sight of, and whatever importance is attached to such values, is because of the fact that they must satisfy human wants of some kind, else, no demand for them exists and consequently, no profit can be realized.

Such a situation as this could not be possible so long as society supplied its requirements through the instrumentality of the family, guild, or domestic systems. Not until the age of the great mechanical inventions, and geographical discoveries, had industry developed to a stage where merchant, manufacturer, and financier could be completely divorced from a productive capacity and left unhindered to pursue their course of exploiting wage-workers, and forcing a market for their products into the remote corners of the earth.

As the new factory, or capitalist, system developed its adaptability to every section where suitable natural resources, and a sufficient supply of labor power, existed was soon discovered. Europe was the first continent to experience the ravages of modern commercialism. Its soil, climate, mineral resources, waterways, geographical position, and other factors of a favorable character gave to the trading class of Europe a marked advantage over that of other continents. But Europe is not a unified or solidified whole. It is broken up into many states, or nations, whose rulers' interests are not identical, and who bitterly compete with each other in order to dispose of those exchange values extracted from the workers of every section.

This competition engenders malice, suspicion, and hatred to a degree unthought of among primitive traders. From the beginning of the factory system up till the present, history records some of the most

curious alignments imaginable between different nations, and groups of nations, so that they may preserve their positions and gain fresh advantages in the commercial race. With that "Uriah Heep" duplicity which has ever characterized the profit-seeker one campaign would be scarcely completed when a shifting of forces became imperative, and those who had been bosom cronies in the last war became, on account of changing conditions, the opposing forces in the next.

The present world situation, especially as it manifests itself among the Allied victors of the recent war, portrays very well the lack of sociability that exists amongst the modern crusaders for world democracy. The ostensible reason for Britain's entrance into the conflict was the desire to guard the interests of her smaller neighbors. A truly commendable reason to say the least. But her political bedfellows—Japan and the United States were not convinced that the grievances of little nations warranted their interference. Something more enticing appeared on the horizon. There was now an opportunity to grab those markets which Britain, in her altruistic endeavors, could not well attend to. Had the Allied governments been a little more successful in their laudable work of exterminating Huns it is, indeed, problematical what the commercial outcome would have been. Britain would at all events have found it necessary to start in to clean up her friends when the other conflict was ended. The markets of the Orient and South America were rapidly vanishing, while financial jugglery more mystifying than the "Einstein theory," was resorted to by the U. S. and Japan to ensure their success over their philanthropic ally.

Britain's enemies, however, came to her assistance when her friends had failed. The march of Teutonic hordes in the direction of Paris compelled the U. S. to throw down the gauntlet if they expected to receive compensation for the vast sums loaned their associates. Of course, at that time, no patriotic Englishman would have accused America of mercenary motives. Now, even Horatio Bottomley can see through it. The Huns did it. Their great display of strength saved Britain from commercial failure at the hands of her friends. Peace, of a kind, prevails in the Allied camp for which Germany should be given the credit.

The signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and the adoption of a League of Nations (or robbers) opens up the old commercial sores again. During the war enormous quantities of goods were exported from America to all parts of the world. Not all of this was sold on credit. Enough was disposed of on a cash basis to give the U. S. control of practically the world's supply of gold. With this great gold reserve on hand, the outlook for a transfer of the financial capital from London to New York looked bright. Gold reserve is the basis of credit, and, now, with a strangle hold on the yellow metal, and business rapidly expanding, American financiers were assured that they were on a solid foundation and could well afford to extend credit with a lavish hand. Due to the martial proclivities of their industrial competitors, the American capitalists enjoyed such a season of prosperity as to leave them the richest capitalist class in the world. They soon lost faith in the democratic aspirations of their European associates. The commercial character of the whole campaign was plainly revealed to those who only a few moons previously could see nothing but a struggle between "freedom" and "autocracy." The old speeches of Washington, Jefferson, and others were carefully overhauled to discover words of wisdom anent "our" keeping our noses out of

entangling alliances with foreign, and particularly European, powers. "We" could not exist independent of all others. "We" had the gold, and the business, "they" nothing but anarchy and financial liabilities, so why continue relations?

But this idea of the premier commercial place being usurped by her non-combatant side-kicker was not looked upon kindly by Britain. With the war deck cleared of its debris, more attention could be given to trade expansion, and plans formulated to restore her lost prestige. The beef-eating descendants of Vikings and sea-rovers could still be depended upon to give a good account of themselves when their pockets were at stake, and the weak spots in the American armor were subjected to a critical analysis.

Although most of the European countries were heavily in debt to American capitalists, there happened to be some in other parts of the world whose balance of trade was in the opposite direction. Large quantities of raw material had been imported into the U. S. from Japan, China, Argentina, Chile and other countries, as well as silk, tea, vegetable oils, beef, hides, and fertilizers, which heavily over-balanced American exports of manufactured goods. This was the opening desired. Nothing could be gained by a military tussle, but much through diplomacy and propaganda. Britain must first attend to the education of Japanese, Chinese and South American merchants, and show them the necessity of always demanding gold in payment of all purchases made by American capitalists in their respective countries. The trade balances to those countries were against the U. S. but, still, their raw materials were urgently required, and the demanded payments in gold were readily acquiesced in. Of the total gold exports in 1919 of over \$368,000,000, the great bulk went to South America and the Orient.

Britain, on the other hand, has long controlled the market in exports of manufactured articles in exports of manufactured articles to these same countries, extending no material credits but demanding gold in payment, which, of course, is only fair, considering that her customers are making the same demands, through her counsel, on the U. S. In this way nearly all the gold that leaves America finds its way to Britain, so that the financial controlling aspirations of the U. S. bankers has, even at this early stage of the game, been rudely punctured.

Not only this, but in addition most of the raw material purchased by Britain comes from the American market. So far it has been paid for, not with gold, but with promises to pay. Britain retains the gold, and when American capitalists protest against such unfavorable exchanges, and threaten to curtail credits, the financial magnates of Fleet Street coolly retort that in such a contingency they must go elsewhere to secure their raw material.

The American exporters are shipping much of their material to the other Allied countries as well as England, but, as these are all financially insolvent, England being still the custodian of "little nations," pays their bills with her promissory notes, but in every case where she is selling them goods she persists in demanding gold, and also receiving it, so that the world's supply of gold continues to move in one direction—to Britain. Every dollar in gold exported from the U. S. can only mean increased credit contraction and, already, the gold reserves are below the danger point, and tending to make ever more precarious the position of the erstwhile confident and independent American capitalist. What this situation is in regard to Europe itself, we shall investigate in a future issue.

J. A. McD.

Economic Causes of the War

SOcialists have always maintained that war was an effect of economic forces. As this is a general statement made by Socialists, I think the present time is ripe to substantiate it. This I will endeavor to do from a study of numerous books, written on the war from the capitalist's viewpoint, also other books on colonization.

Dr. Harris's book, "Intervention and Colonization of Africa," tells us (1914): "The rise of capitalist industry in the last 30 or 40 years has destroyed and rebuilt the old worn out towns of the old world, and awakened democracy, while on the other hand, largely as a result of these economic forces, European society has spread throughout the world. This expansion has come about by the way of enterprise of adventurous traders pushing their wares and gathering in the rich natural treasures of savage lands. This transformation is mainly responsible for those policies of imperial expansion, of commercial and colonial rivalries which underlie the past war."

The partition of Africa and Asia furnish us data for a survey of the economic and political forces of today. European states at first directed their efforts towards the acquisition of territory and the founding of colonial empires, in order to secure commercial power and the control of trade routes and centres. Their viewpoint has changed and has become economic and commercial instead of territorial. This was due to, the development of machinery in production and improved transportation facilities enabling in 20 years time that 600 men could do the work formerly done by 2,145 men. This industrial revolution brought what is called over-production, a production that exceeded the purchasing power of the workers. (The historian says exceeded the needs of the people). The facilities and improved means of transportation brought foreign markets which hitherto had been unapproachable.

In 1800 the trade of Europe reached 300 million people; by 1900 over 1,000 million were reached. The home population increased enormously, then we had in the eighties emigration of the workers of Europe to America and the various colonies of European countries. The home governments were anxious to keep this moving population under their own flag and control and became envious for colonial expansion. They began to ask themselves how this expansion could be accomplished, and found it was by means of the sword. Lord Roberts tells us in his Message to the Nation, when speaking of German ambitions: "Britain obtained her's, sword in hand." Read also Homer Lea's "The day of the Saxon," p. 12, and to those Henry Dubbs who are carried away with the League of Nations movement, I commend "The Day of the Saxon," p. 23, where Lea says: "There can be no retention of the British sovereignty without the repression of the territorial expansion of other nations, a condition that **must culminate in a war,—one war if the empire is destroyed,—a series if it is victorious.**"

Russia undertook a remarkable colonial expansion in Central Asia to secure trade and trade centres. Japan fought a great war to fulfil her economic destiny in Korea and on the Chinese mainland. When Japan whipped China in 1895 she proceeded to annex Chinese territory for Japanese capitalists until German, French and Russian capitalists said "hands off." Britain stood apart in splendid isolation and gave the Jap to understand that she was her friend: the result was the Jap-Anglo Alliance. The British capitalists secured a commanding position in the East. The Germans meanwhile seized Kiao Chau after they discovered the district was **rich in minerals.**... This is the part the Japs have captured during the past war. The dark continent of Africa is the part in which we find colonial expansion and where the various commercial interests of Europe clash. In 1870. European possession of Africa was confined to seaport towns and adjacent territory, which were used as ports of call and trading centres. The European interest in the Dark Continent as a field of commercial and industrial activity was aroused as never before. The number of explorers of the time had outlined at least the location of the great lakes

and waterways, and the possibilities of the various sections as sources of wealth and trade for Europeans was ascertained with a fair degree of accuracy.

The founding of the Belgian Congo by King Leopold II, of Belgium forming the "International Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa," was a start. It was soon noted that this region was rich in ivory and rubber, and various sections were parcelled out to trading companies. France became ambitious over this territory, but Belgium received the support of the other European powers to own it. We all know about the atrocities in this part of Africa, and it is time well spent to read E. D. Morel's two books: "King Leopold II. and the Congo," and "Britain in Congo."

The reason we saw so little fighting over the dividing up of Africa was because the powers partitioned it off from time to time with their coalitions, one time Germany and Britain opposing France, other times France and Germany opposing Britain, also France and Britain against Germany, according to the economic interests of the parties concerned.

Previous to 1870 Britain did not intend any more expansion, but the discovery of gold, 1869 and 1871, in South Africa, gave her a change of heart. The discovery of gold and diamonds brought in white settlers and Britain obtained possession of the chief diamond mines, the ownership of which was disputed by the Transvaal authorities. Then we have a beginning of the economic rivalries of European nations over colonial expansion, in an endeavor to obtain territory for emigration, also a monopoly market for the disposal of the surplus wealth of home labor, and also the exploitation of native labor and natural resources of the controlled territory.

Roland G. Usher, in "Pan-Germanism," 1913, says "the population of Germany has increased so rapidly and increase in industry has grown at a stupendous rate and is enormously in excess of the needs of the population; her prosperity will mean bankruptcy unless some outlet is found for her surplus production and an extensive market found for this surplus production. Germany to use the channel, forces her to expose her commerce to the assaults of the English fleet so long as the latter control the Channel. Even if she acquires colonies and a great market she cannot really possess them until she acquires a highway safe from the attacks of her enemies. Short of conquering France and England, she can never free her commerce from actual danger without a great fleet in the North Sea. To secure a world trade in some fashion which will not expose her to attacks from the English fleet an overland route to the East must be found. Pan-Germanism is therefore, in the first place a defensive movement for self-preservation. In the second place an offensive movement, directed against France and Britain its object is to capture English possessions in the Mediterranean and Asia. She expects thus to obtain an outlet for her surplus population and manufactures." (Pan-Germanism. R. G. Usher, 1913.) —The Copp Clark Co., Ltd., Toronto.

The "Daily Chronicle War Book" deals with this surplus manufacture and population and the scramble of European powers for opportunities of exploiting undeveloped estates, also the need of raw material and foodstuff for home market, and says: "Statesmen have had brought home to them the supreme urgency of the economic necessities to the modern state. The modern statesman has to think in terms of commerce, about raw material for his country's products, and markets for the manufactured goods. The security of overseas trade depends on a strong navy. Hence the appetite of colonies and trade goes hand in hand with naval ambitions. Britain with her colonies and naval traditions was able with ease to adjust herself to the new world policy. Germany on the other hand with a bad geographical position and the absence of coaling stations, was in a highly disadvantageous position. Therein is to be sought one of the root causes of the recurring antagonisms that have marked Anglo-German relations in the past 15 years."

Dr. Rose, "Origin of War," p. 75, says: "Germany coming last in the field of world policy could not ac-

quire a coaling station without alarming everybody."

"Daily Chronicle War Book," p. 10: "Germany had been left out in the cold, at a time when the new pressure of economic conditions, over sea possessions is more valuable than ever to a nation."

"Pan-Germanism," p. 49: "Belgium, Holland, whose existence Germany's rivals regard as necessary to their own safety," and the "Times," London, 8th March, 1917, says: "There are still, it seems, some Englishmen who greatly err as to the reasons that have forced England to draw the sword. They do not reflect our honor, and our interest compelled us to join France and Russia even although Germany had scrupulously respected the rights of small nations. We felt in honor bound to keep the word we had given, in keeping it self-interest had gone hand in hand with honor. They were not reasons of sentiment, they were self regarding and even selfish reasons." A. G. Gardiner in the "Daily News," "The riches of the Lorraine iron mines are the real heart of the war controversy."

So widely do the economic interests ramify, so completely are all the sections of the globe influenced by them, that the Boer War, Morocco, the strangling of Persia, the war in Tripoli, the Balkan crisis, were only incidents in the gigantic struggle in which the very pawns are kingdoms and the control of the globe the stake of the Imperialists. England gained her economic position because of her geographical position and her coal and iron resources. Being an island she was not torn asunder during the Continental wars, and was able to continue her industrial expansion with peace at home. The utilization by her rivals of all modern inventions has robbed her of this unique economic position she held in 1815.

Turkey, in the 70's, was a tool England used not so much to obey England's behests as to frustrate Russia's expansion. The Turkish-Russian war proves that. This aspiration of Russia for a trade route to the Mediterranean made the German and Austrian alliance, who desired this expansion for their trade in the East. When Germany attempted to colonize in Venezuela she was ousted by U. S. A. and England. Germany could not obtain access to such a colony in the Mexican Gulf while England and U. S. A. controlled the Atlantic Ocean, without their permission.

In "Pan-Germanism," p. 139-140, R. G. Usher tells us about an agreement to frustrate German expansion by U. S. A., Britain and France, and in p. 146, says: "At all costs, U. S. A. and Germany must be kept apart. Britain and France withdrew their opposition to U. S. A. ambitions in the Gulf of Mexico and the building of the Panama Canal, because it would be impossible to keep a sizeable fleet in the Gulf of Mexico and also concentrate their fleet in the English Channel. Usher in his chapter on the position of U. S. A. gives us the economic reasons why U. S. A. took Cuba, also the Philippines from Spain, to extend the coalition of France, England and U. S. A. in the Far East, and prevent the acquisition by Germany of colonies whose location or development would interfere with the control of Eastern commerce of these three countries. Usher also tells us if Germany should move on Holland this coalition will take possession of the Dutch colonies, the Celebes, and will then hold a position controlling the trade routes from India to China, Japan, and to Europe in general, which would be nearly impregnable as anything of the kind in the world.

When the question arose of the Allies taking over the Dutch ships early in 1918, the Wall Street Journal did not put up any sentiment about it and said: "It may sound cold blooded, but there is sound reason for believing that if Holland does not like the use to which the Allies put her ships and concludes therefor to enter the war, the Allies would much prefer she enter on the side of Germany . . . and there are reasons why Great Britain would be content to see Holland jump out of the frying pan into the fire. The entry of Holland would make Great Britain a present of Java, the whole Island of Borneo, and among other conquests, Britain would add to the greater part of her African possessions,

(Continued on page 3)

The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholomew.

ARTICLE 3. Wealth Production—Capital

WE have seen in the previous article, that the wealth of a nation is the products of human labor power, and that the exchangeable value of each and every one of the manifold commodities which go to make up that wealth is determined by the quantum of social human labor power which is essential to its production.

It is our business to take the process whereby a certain article is produced and to analyse that process before we can rightly ascertain the underlying causes of the economic problems which confront mankind everywhere today. For the purpose of such an analysis let us take the means whereby cotton is produced and try to trace the cause of the poverty of the operatives on the one hand and the riches of the cotton masters on the other.

It is patent, that in order to produce cotton goods, something more is needed than human labor power. We saw, in the last article, that labor, per se, possesses no value; that value is created and is determined by the quantum of social human labor power which is essential to production.

Human labor power can only produce use-values by application to the land and its products. As Sir William Petty said: "The earth is the mother and labor the father of all wealth." Or to quote Karl Marx:—

"Labor, is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms, and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adopted to his own wants."

Cotton, for instance, is a product of Mother Earth; and the finished cotton goods cannot be made by labor and placed upon the world's markets until such time as the cotton operatives have obtained access to land and to industrial capital.

Land—that is the first great essential in order that useful commodities may be produced by human labor power.

But it is patent that land in combination with human labor power would not alone suffer in the modern process of wealth production. If, for example, there are but these two essential elements to the exclusion of all others, the accumulation of wealth on a large scale is economically impossible. A dozen men, who possess nothing but their ability to work, placed upon the finest and richest soil in the world would not be able to accomplish as much as one man who tilled poorer land with a few implements.

Man, is, indeed, as the Prophet of Chelsea has ably pointed out, essentially a "tool using animal." Given tools and machinery, and the quantum of wealth produced by human labor increases by leaps and bounds. To again quote Marx:

"An instrument of labor is a thing, or a complex of things, which the laborer interposes between himself and the subject to his labor, and which serves as the conductor of his activities. He makes use of the mechanical, physical and chemical properties of some substance in order to make other substances subservient to his aims."

We find, then, that the production of any given commodity, in this case cotton, involves the employment of three essentials:

Land, Tools and Human Labor Power.

Let us examine the production of the cotton goods by a present day capitalist, bearing in mind what has just been said.

We find that the Cotton King is the proud possessor of land, machinery, mills—in short of two out of the three essentials to the production of cotton goods. He has invested a very considerable sum of money into those essentials, for he has paid for the land, for the buildings, and for the machinery. He is the sole possessor of the cotton mills and the whole of their contents. In other words, our Cotton King is a capitalist, and the cotton mills which he owns comprise his capital.

Once again we find it necessary to enter into a brief abstract disquisition in order that we may obtain a fair idea of the working of the existing social

order. What is this capital? In what manner does our Cotton King expend his capital.

In the first place there is his **money capital**, which may be taken as the starting-point of the whole process of producing cotton. With his money capital our Cotton King goes into the markets of the world in order to purchase all the raw materials which are essential to the production of useful cotton goods.

His **Commodity Capital provides him with the purchased commodities**, including labor power, that have been bought by his money capital and taken by him into the sphere of cotton production. Here their form is completely changed, for the raw cotton is converted into yarn and afterwards into clothes. Some of the articles disappear—for instance, coal and oil. Although some of these component portions of the commodity may disappear, their value appears in the finished commodity.

Our Cotton King's **Fixed Capital** represent those portions of his capital, whether buildings, machinery, tools or similar "instruments of labor" as only transfer a portion of their value to the finished article. They give over their value by degrees, the portion of their value which has not been embodied in cotton goods remaining "fixed" in them. All the value of this Fixed Capital is ultimately transferred to the commodities, but the transference occupies many years. Says Marx:

"Capital is not "Fixed" because it is fixed in the instruments of labor, but because one portion of its value embodied in instruments of labor remains fixed therein, whilst another portion is in circulation as a fraction of the entire value of the completed product."

His **Circulating Capital** comprises that part of the essential constituents of production which consists of the raw and incidental materials the whole exchange value of which is embodied in the finished article. The raw cotton, coal, oil and similar elements of the finished commodity, a coat, have either been transformed into a new use-value, or have disappeared altogether. In any case the whole of their value is expressed in the final value of the coat.

Again, we find that our Cotton King has his **Constant Capital**. Says Marx:

"That portion of capital, then, which is represented by the means of production, by the raw-material, auxiliary material and the instruments of labor, does not in the process of production, undergo any quantitative alteration of value. I therefore call it the constant part of capital, or, more shortly, constant capital."

Constant capital, in fact, represents the total expenditure of our Cotton King upon the production of the finished article, with the exception of that portion of his money which goes to reward labor in the form of wages or **Variable Capital**. Marx tells us that:—

"That part of capital, represented by labor power, does, in the process of production, undergo an alteration of value. It represents an equivalent of its own value, and also produces an excess, a surplus-value, which may itself vary, may be more or less according to circumstances. . . . The characteristic of variable capital is that a determined, given fraction of capital—a definite amount of value, is exchanged against a self-increasing, value-creating power—labor-power to wit, which not only reproduces the value paid for it by the capitalist, but likewise produces a surplus-value, and paid for by no equivalent."

Having, all too briefly, analysed the manner in which our Cotton King expends his money (capital) and the various forms which that capital takes, let us return to the actual cotton mill itself.

In that mill, we shall find a large number of men, women and children who are working hard for many hours a day—producing cloth from raw cotton. We see here, in concrete shape, the capital expenditure of the mill owner. Raw cotton, machinery, tools, coal, oil, packing—these are essential to the transformation, by these workers, of the raw product into a finished coat.

The capitalist's expenditure in other industries will, on close analysis, resolve itself into:

Iron Industry: Iron ore, flux, depreciation of furnaces and mills, coal and wages.

Farm: Seed, manures, wear and tear of tools and buildings, and wages

Thus shall we find with any and every industry.

It has been seen that the capitalist purchases his raw and incidental materials (his **Constant Capital**). By what means does he pay for this portion of his

produce, and what determines the value?

Here it is that we shall find that the abstract disquisition in the second article upon value was no idle one, but one which had far-reaching results, as then hinted, in the science of political economy.

We saw that the value of an article, coats or guns, ships or plows, is determined by the quantum of social human labor power which is essential to the production of that article. And that is the determinant factor in the value of the various commodities which are necessary to the production of the finished article of our Cotton King. We find, indeed, that his constant capital, represents the quantum of social human labor power which is embodied in the raw and incidental materials. In other words, he pays for his raw cotton, his coal, his oil, and his machinery at their exchangeable value as incarnations of social labor power.

We have reached the point, therefore, when we begin to gain a somewhat clearer view of the process of wealth production known as capitalism. Use-values, or useful commodities, can be produced only as the result of the application of human labor power to land and industrial capital. (By industrial capital I mean tools and machinery). There is no royal road to riches, no easy path which we can take in order to accumulate use-values. These use-values are the production of human labor power, and their value is determined by the quantum of that labor power which is embodied in them.

Our Cotton King is a capitalist. In other words, he has invested his money (or capital in land, in raw cotton, in machinery and in the necessary materials for keeping that machinery working, and he has paid for the raw and incidental materials at their market value. His constant capital represents his expenditure in the realm of cotton production, minus the payment of wages to his cotton operatives.

Those cotton operatives work for him in his mill, and in return for their services they are paid wages. These wages represent the capitalist's variable capital, and it will be in a close analysis of this variable capital that we shall find that cause of the many economic antagonisms which characterize modern society.

H. M. BARTHOLOMEW.

Next Article: Wealth Production—Surplus Value.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF THE WAR

(Continued from page 2)

and also those in the Far East. Holland may as well surrender her ships and hold on desperately to her neutrality, painful though it may be. Whichever side she takes, she stands to lose."

Java, besides being a great coffee producer, is the fourth oil region in the world.

I think I have shewn the trail of commercialism all through this article, and the Imperialistic aims of the various capitalist governments. If it is worthy of your consideration I will come again pointing out the economic forces at work in the Balkans, Turkey and Spitzbergen—the mining district which was seized by the British, reported October 2nd, 1918.

PETER T. LECKIE.

"CLARION" NEWS AGENCIES.

The "Western Clarion" is on sale at:—
W. Love, Hastings St. E., Vancouver, B. C.
Columbia News Stand, cor. Hastings and Columbia Streets, Vancouver.

John Green, Carall Street, Vancouver.
News Stand, B. C. E. R. Depot, New Westminster.
Alexander News Stand, 204 Eighth Avenue West, Calgary, Alta.

S. Feigleman, 421 St. Lawrence Blk., Montreal, Que.
Frierman and Baranowski, 12 Ontario St. E., Montreal, Que.

Onward Book Store, 196 Gold St., Buffalo, N. Y.
Raymer's Old Book Store, 1330 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

Viking Book Store, 264 Bay Street, Port Arthur, Ont.
Raymer's Old Book Store, 1317 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, Wash.

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.
Phone Highland 2583.

Editor Ewen MacLeod

Subscription, 20 issues \$1.00

816

If this number is on your address label your
subscription expires with next issue. Renew
promptly.

VANCOUVER, B. C., MARCH 16, 1920

EDITORIAL

THE FORECASTING SHADOW.

THE capitalist press again informs us that Russia is to be left to its Sovietism, is to be allowed to develop its own forces of regeneration, free of all hindrance and interference from Allied sources. Being incapable of understanding the advanced culture of imperial democracy, this barbaric east is, henceforth, to be free, to practice its atrocious devices in social anarchy and horror. With adept duplicity, born of its developed necessity, does capital veil its true end and purpose.

The lifting of the Russian blockade, both military and economic, is not due to allied generosity, but to capitalistic necessity, rooted in the foetid deep of the world mart. Not from choice have the Allies vacated Russia. They have been forced from its borders, driven in confusion to defeat before the gathering concord and vitality of a new social consciousness. Bolshevik Russia has been successful on all sides. On all fronts, victory, signal and decisive, has crowned its arms. More sagacious, because superior in knowledge, it has accomplished superior results, overwhelming Allied aggression with disaster; meeting political diplomacy with unshakeable fact; confounding guile with truth; confronting the sham democracy of commerce with the living reality of social unity.

Allied Imperialism has at last discovered the tragic folly of the Russian blockade. Unable to isolate Euro-Asiatic resources and peoples, without bringing its own industry to rest; unable to limit Germanic rivalry without whelming itself in the common ruin; unable to impose its dominion on the world without wrecking its vaunted civilization; it is compelled to yield to the inexorable law of its economic anarchy; compelled to voice the hypocritical subterfuge of an unwilling tolerance. Thus, is the blockade lifted, thus the attempt to restore commercial relations; thus is the supremacy of material condition once more made manifest.

And once more has diplomacy blundered. The re-opening of the wonderful east is, indeed a market, but it is not now a capitalistic market, regulated by monopoly control. It is a market of Bolshevik concessions, not open to the free play of capitalistic exploitation, but subject to the limitations of Bolshevik necessity, and conditioned by Bolshevik supremacy. The renewal of trade relations is the opening of a new world era, a new social consciousness. The prestige of Soviet Russia will be mightily augmented. Its principles will extend with its commerce, and its commerce will be world-wide. World contact with its reality, will unfold its purpose, clarify its meaning, and refute the studious lies of its capitalist aggressors.

And the net of capitalist intrigue will be spread in vain, to baffle it. For with new trade, will come fresh power. With new power will come a higher relation of social production, and with it a new ethic of social relationship, while the increasing intensities of capitalist production to meet its necessities on a vanishing market, will crush and defeat, both the intrigues of capital and the source from which it springs.

Let us be of good cheer, and go to our task with renewed vigor, confident of success, knowing that the stars in their courses fight for us. The victory of Soviet Russia heralds the triumph of the world proletariat, and indicates that the curtain has risen on the closing phase of that clay-footed monstrosity, capital.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

The last instalment of "Sabotage," by Prof. Veblen, appears in this issue, and the pamphlet is printed and may now be obtained from stock. See literature price list. Our next effort in the production of a five cent pamphlet will be "The Criminal Court Judge," and "The Odd Trick," both by Ernest Belfort Bax. These will be produced together under one cover at five cents, and their publication will commence in next issue.

Concerning our stock of literature, as time goes on we hope to be able to make considerable additions, but in the meantime, such titles as we have in any quantity appear on the Literature Price List, page 8. Many individual orders have come in during the past two months for copies of "The Evolution of the Idea of God," by Grant Allen. We have had an order placed with the publishers for over six months and have almost given up hope of ever receiving the books. Delivery of orders for this book is therefore uncertain, and we have not had it included in our Literature List since 15th January.

Congratulations are extended from all quarters to our contributor, C. M. C., for his able article entitled "Armenia," which appeared last issue. This has evidently attracted widespread notice, and has certainly elicited much favorable comment.

The C. M. Fund is sick and dying, but we have had a considerable increase in subscriptions, which, however, are mostly in B. C. We should like to see a better representation of the middle and eastern provinces in "Here and Now." Comrade Bennett heads the list again, this time totalling \$52.

A brief letter received the other day from C. M. O'Brien states: "We are to appear before the grand jury March 1st, and if they deem it expedient to commit us, the trial will be March 15th." We have no later information regarding Comrade O'Brien than this.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 will hold their ninth annual celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871, in the Lester Court, Vancouver, on the 18th March, 1920, at 9 p.m. Supper and dance, tickets \$2 each.

The Paris Commune

IT is about half a century since France was defeated by Germany. The government of France at that time was, without question, the most corrupt, and its members the most contemptible of modern times. The French people had been forced into a war for which they were totally unprepared, because this government thought by such desperate measures it could maintain the Empire and its degenerate hangers-on.

During the war it had given out victory after victory when crushing defeats were actually occurring, and when the Germans invested Paris and Louis Bonaparte lost his crown, what remained of the government conducted a feigned defence in the hope of having a disheartened people, starving and cowed, whom they could continue to rule and ruin.

But the despatches which carried the news of the capitulation of Paris after almost five months of siege, contained brief notes that all Paris had not surrendered. The London "Graphic," of March 18th, 1871, states: "The Prussian entry into Paris created a great sensation amongst the Parisian Radicals." It describes how the denizens of Montmartre assembled their artillery and declared no Prussian should enter their quarters, and finding no one pay any attention to them, they fought among themselves, and many were giving up their arms.

Next week, the issue of the 25th, we find an account of "the Reds" decorating the July Column with Red flags, and a party of sailors incensed thereat tore them down and raised the Flag of the Empire. They were arrested by the Reds and placed in gaol. These "handful of Reds" were very amusing to the newspaper despatch writers up to this point,—but their tone changes from now on.

On the 27th February, the news spread through Paris that the Prussians were to enter the city Hanotaux, who was French Minister of Foreign Affairs some years back, and author of "Contemporary France," says: "The great wave of wrath gathered definition around this deepest shame." Then

came the reports that the artillery had been left so that the Prussian might take it. The alarm was sounded, and the crowd rushed for the guns, 227 cannons, dragging them to places of safety. "Of this beginning, great events were to be born," says Hanotaux.

Paris was armed. The government, which Marx has characterized as a "cabal of place-hunting lawyers," was sitting at Bordeaux. The Germans entered Paris on March 1st; everywhere they found evidence of deepest resentment; the stores were closed, and placarded "on account of public mourning;" the statues were draped in black; the streets were deserted. On March 3rd, Emperor William abandoned his grand review in the Champs Elysees and entered with his troops from Paris. Thus, the bully who had stamped on the face of the French government, was reprimanded by the people of Paris.

Bismark now insisted that Paris be disarmed. Ferry, mayor of Paris, wrote the government on March 8th that all might be well if they returned to the city. The government replied by appointing monarchist generals and lickspittles to prominent places of power, by enacting that all debts and back rents must be paid within three days; that the government of France should henceforth sit at Versailles. On the night of the 17th, an attempt was made to seize the cannon. The troops sent by the Government revolted and two generals, Thomas and Tecomete, were shot. The stage was now set for the great working class tragedy. March 18th saw the Commune victorious over the herd of lawyers.

The issues at stake, or rather those which lead to this point of war were not working-class issues. The degradation of Paris, the payment of debts, the removal of a crowd of speechmakers might concern the small-fry capitalist and business man, but they do not concern us. However, the workers of Paris made these middle-class troubles their business, and war was declared. Even then they failed to digest the full significance of their acts. Instead of proceeding to conduct war on its proper footing, they attempted to carry on business while the government, weak and impotent, was organizing an army for their overthrow. What few thousand soldiers had not openly revolted were treated with the greatest consideration, being housed and fed on the best. Thiers, head of the Versailles government, said that Bismark offered to pacify Paris. But Bismark publicly denied any such offer.

The despatch writers now mention that Paris is dangerous, and that Germany was making great efforts to return all prisoners of war, and was arming them as they passed the border.

So Paris blundered along, playing at government, while Versailles was gathering strength. When at length the Commune decided to march on Versailles, the plan was shouted aloud for days, and all the strategic points had been occupied by the enemy. The attempt was completely overwhelmed.

Within Paris many factions fought for control, Socialists, Anarchists, the International Republicans alternately dominated. But there was no set policy, much talk and little action. Outside Paris a dozen towns or so made demonstrations, and Marseilles for thirteen days maintained a Commune.

The forces outside were directed by a single principle and by the same men throughout; those inside the city were directed by several different groups, having widely different concepts. Action on the part of those without talk on the part of those within, till on the 21st of May, while the Communards were holding picnics in the parks, and the Committee of Public Safety was trying for treason Chiseret, one of its most active members, the news reached them of the entry into Paris of the Versailles troops. Then came the Battle in the Streets. For nine days the fight continued, the last three in a city on fire.

When the enemy entered Paris, Delescluze, Minister of War for the Commune, issued the famous parchment "Make way for the people; for the combatants of the naked arms," etc., but wars are not won by words, and many of the Commune leaders seem to have harbored that concept. The end, after so much heroism and suffering, saw one of the most frightful and shameful massacres of modern times; nothing happened during the war just ended to compare with that foul atrocity.

J. H.

On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage.

(Continued from last issue)

At the present conjuncture, brought on by the war and its termination, the case stands somewhat in this typical shape. In the recent past earnings have been large; these large earnings (free income) have been capitalized; their capitalized value has been added to the corporate capital and covered with securities bearing a fixed income-charge; this income-charge, representing free income, has thereby become a liability on the earnings of the corporation; this liability cannot be met in case the concern's net aggregate earnings fall off in any degree; therefore prices must be kept up to such a figure as will bring the largest net aggregate return, and the only means of keeping up prices is a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency in these staple industries on which the community depends for a supply of the necessities of life.

The business community has hopes of tiding things over by this means, but it is still a point in doubt whether the present unexampled large use of sabotage in the businesslike management of the staple industries will now suffice to bring the business community through this grave crisis without a disastrous shrinkage of its capitalization, and a consequent liquidation; but the point is not in doubt that the physical salvation of these peoples who have come through the war must in any case wait on the pecuniary salvation of these owners of corporate securities which represent free income. It is a sufficiently difficult passage. It appears that production must be curtailed in the staple industries, on pain of unprofitable prices. The case is not so desperate in those industries which have immediately to do with the production of superfluities; but even those kept classes to whom the free income goes, are not feeling altogether secure. For the good of business it is necessary to curtail production of the means of life, on pain of unprofitable prices, at the same time that the increasing need of all sorts of the necessities of life must be met in some passable fashion, on pain of such popular disturbances as will always come of popular distress when it passes the limit of tolerance.

Those wise business men who are charged with administering the salutary modicum of sabotage at this grave juncture may conceivably be faced with a dubious choice between a distasteful curtailment of the free income that goes to the vested interests, on the one hand, and an unmanageable onset of popular discontent on the other hand. And in either alternative lies disaster. Present indications would seem to say that their choice will fall out according to ancient habit, that they will be likely to hold fast by an undiminished free income for the vested interests at the possible cost of any popular discontent that may be in prospect—and then, with the help of the courts and the military men, presently make reasonable terms with any popular discontent that may arise. In which event it should all occasion no surprise or resentment, inasmuch as it would be nothing unusual or irregular and would presumably be the most expeditious way of reaching a *modus vivendi*. During the past few weeks, too, quite an unusually large number of machine guns have been sold to industrial business concerns of the larger sort, here and there; at least so they say. Business enterprise being the palladium of the Republic, it is right to take any necessary measures for its safeguarding. Price is of the essence of the case, whereas livelihood is not.

The grave emergency that has arisen out of the war and its provisional conclusion is, after all, nothing exceptional except in magnitude and severity. In substance it is the same sort of thing that goes on continually but unobtrusively and as a matter of course in ordinary times of business as usual. It is only that the extremity of the case is calling attention to itself. At the same time it serves impressively to enforce the broad proposition that a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency is the beginning of wisdom in all established business enterprise that has to do with industrial production. But it has been found that this grave interest which the vested interests always have in a salutary retardation of industry at one point or another cannot well be

left altogether to the haphazard and ill-coordinated efforts of individual business concerns, each taking care of its own particular line of sabotage within its own premises. The needed sabotage can best be administered on a comprehensive plan and by a central authority, since the country's industry is of the nature of a comprehensive interlocking system, whereas the business concerns which are called on to control the motions of this industrial system will necessarily work piecemeal, in severalty and at cross-purposes. In effect, their working at cross-purposes results in a sufficiently large aggregate retardation of industry, of course, but the resulting retardation is necessarily somewhat blindly apportioned and does not converge to a neat and perspicuous outcome. Even a reasonable amount of collusion among the interested business concerns will not by itself suffice to carry on that comprehensive moving equilibrium of sabotage that is required to preserve the business community from recurrent collapse or stagnation, or to bring the nation's traffic into line with the general needs of the vested interests.

Where the national government is charged with the general care of the country's business interests, as is invariably the case among the civilized nations, it follows from the nature of the case that the nation's lawgivers and administration will have some share in administering that necessary modicum of sabotage that must always go into the day's work of carrying on industry by business methods and for business purposes. The government is in a position to penalize excessive or unwholesome traffic. So, it is always considered necessary, or at least expedient, by all sound mercantilists to impose and maintain a certain balance or proportion among the several branches of industry and trade that go to make up the nation's industrial system. The purpose commonly urged for measures of this class is the fuller utilization of the nation's industrial resources in material, equipment, and man power; the invariable effect is a lowered efficiency and a wasteful use of these resources, together with an increase of international jealousy. But measures of that kind are thought to be expedient by the mercantilists for these purposes—that is to say, by the statesmen of these civilized nations, for the purposes of the vested interests. The chief and nearly sole means of maintaining such a fabricated balance and proportion among the nation's industries is to obstruct the traffic at some critical point by prohibiting or penalizing any exuberant undesirables among these branches of industry. Disallowance, in whole or in part, is the usual and standard method.

The great standing illustration of sabotage administered by the government is the protective tariff, of course. It protects certain special interests by obstructing competition from beyond the frontier. This is the main use of a national boundary. The effect of the tariff is to keep the supply of goods down and thereby keep the price up, and so to bring reasonably satisfactory dividends to those special interests which deal in the protected articles of trade, at the cost of the underlying community. A protective tariff is a typical conspiracy in restraint of trade. It brings a relatively small, though absolutely large, run of free income to the special interests which benefit by it, at a relatively, and absolutely, large cost to the underlying community, and so it gives rise to a body of vested rights and intangible assets belonging to these special interests.

Of a similar character, in so far that in effect they are in the nature of sabotage—conscientious withdrawal of efficiency—are all manner of excise and revenue-stamp regulations; although they are not always designed for that purpose. Such would be, for instance, the partial or complete prohibition of alcoholic beverages, the regulation of the trade in tobacco, opium, and other deleterious narcotics, drugs, poisons, and high explosives. Of the same nature, in effect if not in intention, are such regulations as the oleomargarine law; as also the unnecessarily costly and vexatious routine of inspection imposed on the production of industrial (denatured) alcohol, which has inured to the benefit of certain business concerns that are interested in other fuels for use in internal-combustion engines; so also the singularly vexatious and elaborately imbecile specifications that limit and discourage the use of the parcel post, for the benefit of the express companies and other carriers which have a vested interest in traffic of that kind.

It is worth noting in the same connection, although it comes in from the other side of the case, that ever since the express companies have been taken over by the federal administration there has visibly gone into effect a comprehensive system of vexation and delay in the detail conduct of their traffic, so contrived as to discredit federal control of this traffic and thereby provoke a popular sentiment in favor of its early return to private control. Much the same state of things has been in evidence in the railway traffic under similar conditions. Sabotage is serviceable as a deterrent, whether in furtherance of the administration work or in contravention of it. In what has just been said there is, of course, no intention to find fault with any of these uses of sabotage. It is not a question of morals and good intentions. It is always to be presumed as a matter of course that the guiding spirit in all such governmental moves to regularize the nation's affairs, whether by restraint or by incitement, is a wise solicitude for the nation's enduring gain and security. All that can be said here is that many of these wise measures of restraint and incitement are in the nature of sabotage, and that in effect they habitually, though not invariably, inure to the benefit of certain vested interests—ordinarily vested interests which bulk large in the ownership and control of the nation's resources. That these measures are quite legitimate and presumably salutary, therefore, goes without saying. In effect they are measures for hindering traffic and industry at one point or another, which may often be a wise precaution.

During the period of the war administrative measures in the nature of sabotage have been greatly extended in scope and kind. Peculiar and imperative exigencies have had to be met, and the staple means of meeting many of these new and exceptional exigencies has quite reasonably been something in the way of avoidance, disallowance, penalization, hindrance, a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency from work that does not fall in with the purposes of the Administration. Very much as is true in private business when a situation of doubt and hazard presents itself, so also in the business of government at the present juncture of exacting demands and inconvenient limitations, the Administration has been driven to expedients of disallowance and obstruction with regard to some of the ordinary processes of life, as, for instance, in the non-essential industries. It has also appeared that the ordinary equipment and agencies for gathering and distributing news and other information have in the past developed a capacity far in excess of what can safely be permitted in time of war. The like is true for the ordinary facilities for public discussion of all sorts of public questions. The ordinary facilities, which may have seemed scant enough in time of peace and slack interest, had after all developed a capacity far beyond what the government traffic will bear in these uneasy times of war and negotiations, when men are very much on the alert to know what is going on. By a moderate use of the later improvements in the technology of transport and communication, the ordinary means of disseminating information and opinions have grown so efficient that the traffic can no longer be allowed to run at full capacity during a period of stress in the business of government. Even the mail service has proved insufferably efficient, and a selective withdrawal of efficiency has gone into effect. To speak after the analogy of private business, it has been found best to disallow such use of the mail facilities as does not inure to the benefit of the administration in the way of good will and vested rights of usufruct.

These peremptory measures of disallowance have attracted a wide and dubious attention; but they have doubtless been of a salutary nature and intention, in some way which is not to be understood by outsiders—that is to say, by citizens of the Republic. An unguarded dissemination of information and opinions or an unduly frank canvassing of the relevant facts by these outsiders, will be a handicap on the Administration's work, and may even defeat the Administration's aims. At least so they say.

Something of much the same color has been observed elsewhere and in other times, so that all this nervously alert resort to sabotage on undesirable information and opinions is nothing novel, nor is it peculiarly democratic. The elder statesmen of the great monarchies, east and west, have long ago seen and approved the like. But these elder statesmen

(Continued on page 6.)

At Last!

At last the high cost of living, insofar as the U. S. is concerned, seems to be due for a jolt.

For a considerable time the problem has caused much discussion among not only "experts," but also it has been the topic for much argument among the masses of the lay members of society.

Professors of economics—the usual University brand, amateurs and armchair spittoon philosophers have aired their views on the subject, and many pet theories have been advanced in the press columns advocating methods to be adopted in regard to manner by which it could again be brought within the range of vision.

But just as in the days of yore, when critics of Marx, in attempting to prove where Marx was wrong, simply proved their own lack of knowledge and inability to understand, so is it today among the wiseheads who have come forward with their own pet theories as to how the deed should be and could be accomplished; they have shown their own denseness.

The organizing of housewives to boycott milk, butter, eggs, bacon, etc., the forming of co-operative "consumption" societies, increasing production, and last, but not least, the ingenious idea of introducing the composite dollar, have all been advanced in all seriousness, but needless to say, little has been accomplished by such theories and suggestions.

The growing baby still continued to thrive in a most alarming manner on such treatment, much after the fashion a human baby is supposed to grow when fed upon some patent food, as depicted by alluring advertisements.

After the complete failure of these several nostrums, it seems as though we are about to see it felled to the ground if the financial situation is any criterion to go by.

As is well known, some short time ago, America advanced huge loans to her Allies to enable them to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. Now she is going to try and get a little of the interest accruing from the loan, back, by taxing the exports to her beloved ancestor, England.

England is under suspicion. She is accused of building up her foreign trade at America's expense, and America is determined to try and put a stop to such despicable and unladylike actions on the part of the mother country, and to accomplish this they have taxed goods which England was importing, such as cotton, food, etc., to such an extent that the pound sterling has dropped from a pre-war basis of \$4.87 to the low figure of \$3.19, thus making it unprofitable for England to do business, and of course as profits are the objective, Britain threatens to retaliate by cancelling orders on such goods.

What does this mean? It means that the law of supply and demand which has been working one way will now reverse its working order, and that food which has been kept in cold storage with a view to business will now be thrown on the market in an attempt to sell and realize on it.

Already the effect of such a move has made itself felt. Cold-storage eggs have slumped in price, not value, from 45c to 11c per dozen wholesale. In the Chicago market the price of hogs has taken a turn in the same direction, and the packing houses have quit buying, as they too wish to dispose of the surplus on their hands. Grain, which has been stored up in elevators for years is to be let loose on the market. That which the President and his war on "profiteers" could not accomplish has been accomplished by an economic law.

What will be the effect on the dear long-suffering public? Clearly the proletariat will gain by such a move, that is, from the viewpoint of the purchasing power of wages, but such gain will be only momentary, for the same economic laws which forced down the price of the commodities will eventually locate in the vicinity of his pocket and his wages will soon become a shrinking quantity. Our stout-hearted, horny-handed son of the soil, the "backbone of the nation," will likewise have a few troubles of his own.

The outlook for him is anything but rosy, for he also stands to lose financially from such a move. Stock will be left on his hands which cannot be gotten rid of unless he hies himself to some local

market and attempts to get rid of it there. Again, feeling himself hit in the pocket, he will have to retrench, and the maxim of "cut down expenses" will be cruelly thrust upon him.

He is liable to adopt the "ca' canny" system by limiting his activities on the farm, cut down on many essentials, such as machinery, etc., which he procures from the city, and form some kind of agricultural society in an effort to stem the tide.

If such action on the part of the rural worker should take place, its effect upon the conditions of the city dweller will have far-reaching consequences. Several industries relating to farming supplies would begin to feel the pinch, entailing the curtailing of production within that sphere, the laying off of "hands," which in turn would be thrown upon the unemployed list, and so form an army of competitors for the jobs of those working within other industries, and bang goes the high wages.

Clearly, we have arrived at a position where the proletariat is worse off than formerly. Low prices or cost of living, and less to busy them with, will not have improved matters any, not to count the growing unemployed army, swelled from the ranks of the small tradesman, who is doomed to be squeezed out by the bigger interests.

But if the cost of living be reduced in America by such methods, what will be the result over in England?

If England hasn't huge supplies on hand of raw materials and food, the effect over there arising from such an action is fraught with disaster to somebody.

Workers engaged in the cotton industry will be thinking the end of the world has arrived for them. Not only will he be unemployed, but the little satisfaction that may be his American brother's will be denied him. As to the cost of living being reduced, just the opposite will be the case, and one will need an aeroplane to keep up with them. Verily a bright outlook.

But there is an old proverb which sayeth, "Necessity is the mother of invention," and another which says "Necessity knows no law," and if the masters of finance are not very careful how far they go with their little squabbles, they are very liable to start something to which there can be but one ending. Anyway one looks at it, the prospects of England opening up trade-relations with Russia are very bright indeed, as there is no other course left open to her.

Regarding the farming elements of this country, any pet scheme they may foster in the line of forming organizations at the expense of the city worker are doomed to failure. There is only one way out, and the sooner we become acquainted with it the better it will be for all concerned. Capitalism has nearly reached the end of its tether. The contradictions which are inherent within the system are unsolvable on a capitalistic basis. Nothing but a complete overthrow of the whole shebang will benefit us in the least.

Let us realize that the farmer and the proletariat have one interest in common, and one common enemy, and that they must unite with one common object—the overthrow of the capitalistic system.

J. CONLAN.

Here and Now

J. B. Parke, \$1; Sid Earp, \$6.50; R. M. Alexander, \$1; H. Schlinso, \$2; Jack Shepherd, \$1; O. Erickson, \$2; M. W. Smith, \$4; W. Healy, \$2; Jack Hutson, \$10; W. Orr, \$1; G. Beagrie, \$1; J. Staples, \$1; T. Carr, \$1; A. R. Keeling, \$3; A. P. McCabe, \$3; S. Webster, \$1; W. Fleming, \$1; Mrs. Steen, \$1.50; F. J. McNay, \$1; Trevor Maguire, \$1; W. M. Bartholemew, \$1; Harry Roberts, \$8; W. K. Bryce, \$1; B. Pritt, \$2; Wiley Orr, \$1; H. Vindeg, \$4.50; A. H. Russell, \$1; Lucy Hyde, \$2; Sanford E. White, \$2; H. Robertson, \$3; Bob Sinclair, \$10.50; Geo. Paton, \$1; Nels T. Sachle, \$5; A. Mathieson, \$2.50; T. B. Wilson, \$1; Mrs. Swanson, \$1; George Schott, \$1; E. Falk, \$1; R. Zimmerman, \$1; J. R. Larson, \$5; F. Harman, \$3; F. Kissack, \$1; R. Inglis, \$4.40; J. Reid, \$1; W. Bennett, \$52.

From 26th February to 11th March inclusive—total, \$160.90.

ON THE NATURE AND USES OF SABOTAGE

(Continued from page 5)

of the dynastic regime have gone to their work of sabotage on information because of a palpable division of sentiment between their government and the underlying population, such as does not exist in the advanced democratic commonwealths. The case of Imperial Germany during the period of the war is believed to show such a division of sentiment between the government and the underlying population, and also to show how such a divided sentiment on the part of a distrustful and distrusted population had best be dealt with. The method approved by German dynastic experience is sabotage, of a somewhat free-swung character, censorship, embargo on communication, and also, it is confidently alleged, elaborate misinformation.

Such procedure on the part of the dynastic statesmen of the Empire is comprehensible even to a layman. But how it all stands with those advanced democratic nations, like America, where the government is the dispassionately faithful agent and spokesman of the body of citizens, and where there can consequently be no division of aims and sentiment between the body of officials and any underlying population—all that is a more obscure and hazardous subject of speculation. Yet there has been censorship, somewhat rigorous, and there has been selective refusal of mail facilities, somewhat arbitrary, in these democratic commonwealths also, and not least in America, freely acknowledged to be the most naively democratic of them all. And all the while one would like to believe that it all has somehow served some useful end. It is all sufficiently perplexing.

The Bats of Liberalism

TWENTY-FIVE hundred years ago, less or more, a gentleman by the name of Aesop, told a fable about a bat. We will quote the fable in full, not only because it is a good story in itself, but also because of a few remarks we intend to make later.

"Once upon a time there was a fierce war between the Birds and the Beasts. For a long time the issue of the contest was uncertain, and the Bat, taking advantage of his ambiguous nature—part Bird and part Beast—kept aloof and remained neutral. At length when the Beasts seemed to be getting the better of it, the Bat joined their forces, and appeared active in the fight; but a rally being made by the Birds, which proved successful, the Bat was found at the end of the day among the ranks of the winning party. A peace being speedily concluded, the Bat's conduct was condemned alike by both parties, and, being acknowledged by neither, and so excluded by the terms of the truce, he was obliged to skulk off as best he could; and has ever since lived in holes and corners, never daring to show his face except in the darkness of twilight."

Anyone who has ever read this fable of the bat, cannot fail to think of it, while he watches the antics and listens to the tale of woe, of our modern middle class Liberal. The Liberal resembles the bat in the fable in two ways. First, his inability to see in broad daylight. And, second, the conclusion that because of his ambiguous nature—part worker and part capitalist—he is neither one nor the other. Reasoning from this premise our friend the Liberal bat, arrives at the further conclusion, that human society is not divided into two conflicting classes, and that there is no class struggle. He looks upon the Socialist movement, and the Radical-Labor organizations on the one hand, and the imperialistic capitalist organizations on the other, not as the hostile manifestations of a class struggle, but merely as two greedy disagreeable groups, who have entered into a kind of conspiracy to make life as miserable as possible for the poor innocent long-suffering public, which is himself.

Once in a while we come across a Liberal of a pugnacious disposition, who advocates the extermination of both the Bolshevik and the profiteer, in the interest of the public, but this type is rare. The Liberal in general, is of a conciliatory turn of mind;

(Continued on page 7.)

THE BATS OF LIBERALISM

(Continued from page 6)

he is doing his best to promote peace and harmony between the unruly factions in society, and this he is convinced he can do in the course of time by a judicious application of various nostrums and reforms. Of course it is annoying to have a Socialist pop up now and again, and ask a question he cannot answer, or make a statement he cannot refute. But it is worse than annoying, it is exasperating, to have a capitalist, or a group of capitalists, pop up and say or do something that confirms the contention of the Socialists. To show how this last is resented by the average Liberal, we will quote from two different Liberal magazines.

In an editorial in "The Nation," of January 17th, 1920, under the title "Whom the Gods Would Destroy," and dealing with the refusal of the New York State Legislative Assembly to seat the five Socialist members, we read: "The followers of Lenin contend that Socialism cannot be achieved through the ballot because, even if a majority is obtained, the present holders of privilege and power will resort to force rather than surrender. Karl Marx wrote in the 'Communist Manifesto' seventy-five years ago: 'Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.' Is the Assembly of the State of New York determined to prove that Lenin and Marx were right?"

In the "New Republic" of July 2nd, 1918, appears an article by Mr. William Hard, under the title of "Anti-Bolsheviks: Mr. Lansing," dealing with the recognition of the Mannerheim Government. Mr. Hard says:

"Mr. Lansing's recognition of General Mannerheim's White Guard government was revolutionary. It announced Mr. Lansing's adherence to the analytical formulas of Karl Marx. . . . Karl Marx says to Mr. Lansing and to Mr. Wilson: 'You are bourgeois. The state, the international system of states, is the instrument of the bourgeois capitalistic class and will be used by you to promote bourgeois capitalistic class interests. You will recognize Mannerheim no matter how murderous he may be, no matter how anti-democratic, no matter how pro-German. You will refuse to recognize Lenin, no matter how impossible it may be for you to prove him any more murderous, any more anti-democratic or any more pro-German than Mannerheim. Proof in such details as murder is irrelevant. The pertinent and binding fact is class. . . . Mr. Lansing and Mr. Wilson listened and chose. They chose to act in precise accordance with the concept of class. Their method of fighting Bolshevism is to accept Bolshevism's analysis of the class nature of life and then hope to escape the cataclysm which an acceptance of that analysis necessitates."

And yet Mr. Hard, like the rest of the bat tribe, cannot see, or will not admit that there are classes in society, and a class struggle. At least not in America. Perhaps there may be something of that kind in Europe, but in the "land of the free and the home of the brave," never! If only Mr. Lansing and Mr. Wilson and the New York State Assembly could be persuaded to act as if there was no class struggle, there would be no class struggle.

If this is not the blindness of bats we would like to know what it is? But the time is past for such nonsense. It is obvious to anyone who has eyes to see, or wishes to see, that human society is divided into two conflicting economic classes. One class that does all the work of the world, and owns nothing. And another class that owns all the wealth of the world and does not work. The fact that along the line of demarcation between those two classes there exist large numbers of bats and hybrids, does not alter the classification, any more than the existence of a mule alters the classification of horses and asses.

It must also be remembered that the bat does not always call himself a Liberal. Sometimes he masquerades as a Socialist. Again he may be a prohibitionist, progressive, anarchist, radical, or reformer, etc. If you cannot locate a man by the name he gives himself, listen to what he has to say, watch his actions, and then read the fable of the bat, and you will have no difficulty in placing him.

Truly the Liberal is finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, and if he does not find out soon to which side of the fence he belongs, he is likely to resemble the bat in the fable in still another way, that of hiding "in holes and corners," and "never daring to show his face except in the darkness of twilight."

F. J. McNAY.

Winnipeg News

By Gordon Cascaden

(Special to the "Western Clarion")

Winnipeg, March 9th.

More than 1,000 exhibits were filed by the government in the trial of seven labor men charged with seditious conspiracy in connection with the big 1919 Winnipeg general strike.

Nearly all these exhibits were seized in the homes of men active in the organized labor movement, having passed through the hands of the best informed workers in every section of the Dominion. Most of them consist of economic works prohibited by the Canadian government at the time of the strike, but now let into the country because of a recent order issued following a general protest by both farm and urban labor men.

The other exhibits are made up of letters seized in the homes of these unionists as well as permit cards, copies of the Strike Bulletin, photographs, wage contracts and other documents in some way connected with the strike.

One hundred and thirty-five witnesses also gave evidence for the Crown, five of them, however, not appearing in person. They are in sunny California, balmy Florida, or sanatoriums outside Canada's boundaries, but each tells a story of the awful conditions which existed here when the workers decided they would all take a holiday at the same time.

The defence did not put on any witnesses or file any exhibits.

Following introduction of this mass of evidence, the jury retired while the Defence and Prosecution battled for more than two days regarding the subject matter of the appeals to the jury. The Defence fought strenuously for admission of everything within the covers of the exhibits, declaring it did not have anything to fear from a thorough examination of everything connected with the strike or the labor movement in general. It also wanted the scope of the trial broadened so that it might include an inquiry into every cause of the tie up. It charged that the employers' organization, which masqueraded under the sweet sounding name of "Citizens' Committee," really was the real instigation of any riots.

A. J. Andrews, K.C., one of the principal spokesmen for the so-called "Citizens' Committee" during the strike, and who has sworn as Crown prosecutor to see that "even handed justice" is received by the men on trial, and the battery of the legal fraternity at his command, fought successfully against admission of all this evidence, Judge Metcalfe upholding their arguments.

They filed certain books and certain volumes of the "Western Labor News" and the complete files of the Strike Bulletin, for example. But they marked only little parts from this article or that article and read them to the jury. They objected resolutely to the Defence being permitted to read other parts of the same articles or from other articles explaining the marked passages of the Strike Bulletin. "We are not afraid if everything is put before the jury," the defendants said. Judge Metcalfe refused, however, to let the defendants read what they desired, himself marking, with a black pencil, parts which they might use.

Efforts to settle the strike after it once began and any activities of the so-called "Citizens' Committee" would not be considered in this trial, Judge Metcalfe said, following lengthy arguments by counsel on both sides.

"We charge that another institution created those riots, and we ask the privilege of proving it," E. J. McMurray, of Defence counsel declared. "We are charged with the creation of violence, and in reply we say we did not do it, and that others did it. We say that an organization was formed here and that it precipitated this strike, and should be considered in this trial. We want to show who were the authors of this strike and the disturbances in Winnipeg."

"If we try to show that others, by newspaper advertising, set class against class, should that not be considered?" Ward Hollands, of Defence Counsel, asked. "Surely if we show everything we did to settle the strike that ought to be admitted in our favor."

"The Court of Appeal has already dealt with the matter," Andrews for the Crown, replied.

"We are not supposed to bring an indictment

against the "Citizens' Committee" or the newspapers, that surely should be the duty of our learned friend (Andrews) and of those in charge of the administration of the laws of the country," McMurray answered.

Metcalfe refused the application by the Defence. The addresses to the jury will take several days, and funds for the continuance of the work of the Defence Committee are needed.

Labor Defence Fund

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 1, 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, Man.

A Forecast

The essentials of a democracy, of the civilized commune, are with us now, are clamoring for acceptance: only a little vision and the dream were reality.

I have an idea (a preconception, maybe), harboured in spite of reasoned theories and pessimistic belief, that when the crisis comes the change may be sudden, and by its very unanimity put to scorn the idea of resistance.

Movement, change, adaptation, it is true is the necessity of social, as of organic evolution, and it may well be that when the need arises, the new social adaptation will reflect the orderliness of a potentially intellectual, machine-bred and machine-disciplined society—a factor hitherto nonexistent in the fabric of human association.

At the same time, hopes, beliefs and prognostications are not facts, and the play of mentality cannot be measured in advance. Economic forces will convey man with unswerving footsteps along the historic pathway he must needs tread to that goal for which he must aim, and must needs strive to reach—his emancipation from the curse and thralldom of property rights and wage-servitude.

R.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM.

WESTERN CLARION.

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy and Current Events.

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Canada. Issued twice-a-month, at 401 Pender Street, East, Vancouver, B. C. Phone: High, 2583.

Rate: 20 Issues for One Dollar. Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod.

For enclosed herewith, send issues to:—

NAME

ADDRESS

Clarion Maintenance Fund

Dick Burge, per W. B., \$1; Lucy Hyde, \$1; F. Donohue, \$1; Leonard Iveson, \$1; R. Inglis, Fort William, \$5.60.

From 26th February to 11th March inclusive—total, \$9.60.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Name has removed from to

BOOK REVIEW.

**THE BRASS CHECK: UPTON SINCLAIR:
PASADENA, CALIFORNIA**

OWING to the fact that the American working animal is beginning to show signs of being just about fed up with the dope peddled by the one hundred per cent. capitalist newspapers and magazines, and as there is grave danger that he may soon cease to absorb such high explosives altogether, and begin to study his own class literature, and his own class position, and as such a catastrophe must be prevented at all costs, it is suggested, by certain persons (whose chief function in life is that of leading wage-slaves down a blind alley), that the percentage should be reduced considerably, in order that the dose may be more palatable.

Upton Sinclair has written a new book entitled "The Brass Check," with the sub-title "A Study of American Journalism." Also an article in "The Nation," of February 7th, under the title "Building an Honest Newspaper," which is a kind of advertisement of the book.

In "The Nation" article, Upton tells us that after twenty years of experience with American journalism, he has at last come to the conclusion that the capitalist newspapers and magazines are not telling us the truth. But we will let him speak for himself.

"American newspapers and magazines are great capitalist institutions, operated under the capitalist system, and in the interest of that system, serving private and not public interests. . . . The masses of the American people are today fed upon capitalist propaganda in the guise of news. News is the raw material of thought, and until the people have honest news, they cannot be expected to do any intelligent thinking whatever."

Now this is a most remarkable and original discovery, and we cannot imagine how Upton Sinclair ever guessed it, even after twenty years' experience. It will undoubtedly go down in the pages of history as one of the great discoveries of the twentieth century. But great theories never come singly, so Upton has another bright idea, he has a cure for all this. He says:

"If I had an editorial staff, some trained investigators, and the names of trustworthy correspondents in strategic places, I could dig out stories of such sensational interest as would stir the American people to their depths. Ten years ago this was being done by a dozen big magazines, and now it is not being done by a single one. Why? The big magazines have been bought by the big interests, and the 'muck-rakers' have been turned out to silence or the soap box. . . . Now I make an appeal to my fellow men and women for a new standard of journalism: a newspaper which is published, not to make money, but to convey information. . . . For a start of the enterprise, I propose an executive board consisting of from twenty to twenty-five members, persons who have proved by life-long service that they believe in the truth, and are willing to stand by the truth. These people should belong to every shade of liberal thought. Purely by way of illustration, to show the type of person intended, I name twenty-three who happen to live in or near New York, and whom I should invite: Allen Benson, Alice Stone Blackwell, Arthur Bullard, Harriet Stanton Blatch, William C. Bullitt, Herbert Croly, Max Eastman, William Hard, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Hamilton Holt, Charlotte Perkins, Gilman, Paul Kellogg, Amos Pinchot, Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Ida Tarbell, Col. William Boyce Thompson, Samuel Untermyer, Frank A. Vanderlip, Oswald Garrison Villard, Stephen S. Wise."

Anyone who has followed the career of some of the individuals here mentioned, for the last three or four years, will have an idea of the brand of "honest news" we may expect to find in a paper published by them. We are willing to take Upton's word for it, that they represent "every shade of liberal thought." But to make sure that we get the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, we would suggest that Bill Haywood and John Spargo be added to the above list of twenty-three to make up the full twenty-five, then we will be sure to get the truth from all angles. But there is still one difficulty. He says:

"The question is: could such people work together? Would it be possible for any newspaper policy to be satisfactory to them all? The newspaper I am planning will publish no editorials. So it is not a question of getting these twenty-three men to agree upon a policy concerning Russia or concerning the I. W. W. The only policy they have to consider is the policy of the National news; and that policy will be a fair chance for every man to be heard."

There we are. Now where are we? In the first place the proposed name of the paper is significant. It gives us an idea of what the policy will be provided of course, that the executive board can agree upon a policy. It will be National Liberalism. There

will be no editorials, so there is no chance of a fight on the editorial page. With regard to the news, we are not sure that "capitalist propaganda in the guise of news," is any worse than "stories of such sensational interest as would stir the American people to their depths." Ten years ago a dozen big magazines were telling such stories. Yes! and how much good has it done the working class? Remember all, or nearly all, of the 100% capitalist newspapers and magazines are labelled these days. Now when we come across a bottle of liquid, labelled wood-alcohol, we do not drink it, or if we do drink it, we know what we are drinking, and what the effect will be. But when we get a certain percentage of wood alcohol mixed with our cider, we do not know what we are drinking, we do not know what the effects will be, consequently we are more likely to drink it, and that is precisely why it is mixed. Let the capitalist press remain 100% capitalist propaganda. Let the working class build up a press that will be 100% working-class education. Let the class lines be clearly drawn. And watch the result.

Upton tells us in his book (page 243) that the "Star," a Seattle newspaper, "was willing to lose thirty-five thousand readers in order to smash the Seattle strike." Very good, if "capitalist propaganda in the guise of news," is willing to drive away thirty-five thousand readers from one paper, in order to smash one strike, then what we require is Socialist papers ready to teach those workers their class position, as soon as they become disgusted with 100% capitalism. But we do not require an "honest newspaper" that will tell them stories of such sensational interest as would stir them to their depths, and lead them off on another wild-goose chase.

So much for Upton's theory of an "honest newspaper," now for his book "The Brass Check." In our opinion it would have been more appropriately, although less sensationally named, if it had been called "The Failure of a Reformer." It is 448 pages of proof that any attempt to reform the capitalist system, is an absolute waste of time. For this reason, and the fact that it contains a considerable amount of information regarding the tactics and methods of modern journalism, it is well worth reading. Let there be no misunderstanding. Although Upton Sinclair calls himself a Socialist at times, he is far from it, as the above quotations show. He is now, and always has been, a nationalist, a reformer, and a sensational muck-raker, as his own book proves. Before the war he was a radical. During the war he was a patriot, and wrote a story to "win the Socialists to the idea of supporting the war," (p. 207). After the war he "went back into the radical camp." (Page 206). There is not one sentence in the whole book that advocates sound scientific Socialist education for the workers. But there are many sentences that advocate an "honest newspaper" of the type mentioned above. On page 414 appears a paragraph that would almost lead one to the conclusion that he had at last seen the error of his ways, but his appeal to a bunch of freaks to help establish an "honest newspaper" proves the contrary. The paragraph we have in mind reads: "For twenty years I have been a voice crying in the wilderness of industrial America; pleading for kindness to our laboring-classes pleading for common honesty and truth-telling, so that we might choose our path wisely, and move by peaceful steps into the new industrial order. I have seen my pleas ignored and my influence destroyed, and now I see the stubborn pride and insane avarice of our money-masters driving us straight to the precipice of revolution. What shall I do? What can I do—save to cry out one last warning in this last fateful hour? The time is almost here—and ignorance, falsehood, cruelty, greed and lust of power were never stronger in the hearts of the ruling class in history than they are in those who constitute the Invisible Government of America today."

Such is the result of twenty years of reforming and much muck-raking. Now to show that there is no hard feeling, we would advise anyone who can spare the money, and who would like to have a line on reform tactics, and the corruption of American journalism, to buy the book and read it, the price is single copy, paper cover, 50c postpaid; cloth \$1.00, American money; published by the author at Pasadena, California.

In the publishers note, the author tells us that: "If the great mass of the people ever hear of the

book, it will be because you, the reader, do your part." We take this opportunity to announce that we have done our part to make Upton's book and his theory of an "honest newspaper" popular, and if they do not meet with the success he expects, our conscience is clear anyhow.

F. J. McNEY.

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.
Red Heart of Russia. (Bessie Beattie). Per copy, \$2.00.
Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, \$2.00.
Six Red Months in Russia. (Louise Bryant). Per copy, \$2.00.

(All above post free).

Ancient Society. (Morgan). Per copy (postage 14c extra), \$1.50.

Supplies to Locals.

- Dues Cards, per 100, \$1.00.
Letterheads, per 100, 60c.
Platforms, per 100, 50c.
Constitutions, per 100, \$1.50.
Receipt Books, Warrant Books, various prices.
Quarterly Report Forms, free.
Western Clarion Sub. Cards, free.

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

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.