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## Imperialism

By F. W. Moore.

THE following remarks of the chairwoman at the eleventh annual meeting of the Provincial Chapter, I.O.D.E., are quoted from the daily press:

"Our motto is, 'One Flag, One Throne, One Empire.' Surely to-day when we read in our papers letters saying Canadians do not wish to sing 'God Save the King,' and that we should not have it played in our theatres, it behoves us to stand shoulder to shoulder remembering the 'national anthem' is a prayer to God to save our king, etc. . . . Another way of helping this forward is to teach others all about our flag, and what it stands for—courage, purity and truth. We should study the problems which confront our empire. We should promote loyalty to king and country; should forward every good work for the betterment of the colonies and their people, and to assist in the progress of art and literature, and draw women's influence to the betterment of conditions connected with our empire, and to instill into the youth of our country patriotism in the highest sense."

One cannot but admire the enthusiastic earnestness of the I.O.D.E. in its determination to live up to what its membership considers the very high standard of patriotism and duty that is embodied in the excerpt above. The pity of it is that such wonderful patriotism and loyalty should be diverted into channels that make them instruments of devolution and retrogression—results diametrically opposed to that sought with such fervour by these estimable ladies.

Alas, how can we explain ourselves without being misunderstood. The subject requires the most meticulously careful treatment. Moreover, we ourselves are patriots to the core, if patriotism is estimated by love of country. Nothing delights us more than to see the men and women on this great continent of America acquiring a knowledge of their relations to humanity as a whole, since all humanity is struggling as we are towards the goal of world brotherhood. As surely as the sun is in the heavens so surely is the law of economic determinism forcing us in that direction. What then will be the result of inculcating the kind of patriotism that is concerned with the welfare of one country alone at the expense of all others? Our sentiments are expressed by Bertrand Russell in the Century Magazine of New York and republished in the Wide World, Montreal, for May 17th of this year.

"Those of us who do not wish to see our whole civilization go down in red ruin have a great and difficult duty to perform—to guard the doors of our minds against patriotism. I mean that we should view impartially any dispute between our own country and another, that we should teach ourselves not to believe our own country morally superior to others, and that even in time of war we should view the whole matter as a neutral might view it.

"This is part of the larger duty of pursuing; nationalism cannot survive without false belief. If we can learn to serve truth, to be truthful in our thoughts, to avoid flattering myths in which we wish to disguise our passions, we should have done what we can to save our world from disaster.

"For this creed it is worth while to suffer, and indeed those who have it must suffer, for persecution is as bitter in the days of the Spanish Inquisition."

That this wonderful patriotism of the I.O.D.E. is an instrument of retrogression we should hardly expect a class of people whose environment is such as theirs to believe offhand.

They are accustomed to hear conventional lectures garbed in the world-wide fashions of imperial sanction, upholding as truth a thesis quite disparate from ours. Nevertheless, that does not disturb our equanimity in the least, believing that the membership of the I.O.D.E. is as amenable to the dictates of logic as any other class of citizens in the Dominion, and on this assumption we shall presume, for the sake of argument, that one of the pink fairy godmothers will try to tease some of the sisterhood by flaunting this number of the Clarion where they can see that a "bould, bad man" had the awful temerity to criticise their ideals, and having presumed so much we shall proceed to prove that imperialism, in its initial stages, is a growth due to evolutionary forces incidental to economic necessity.

Its development is closely connected with the urgent need of markets and natural resources, a need that holds in its satisfaction almost unlimited opportunities to a few property owners for the acquisition of wealth and power at the inconceivable expense of the degradation of the whole population (indirectly including themselves) of the empire they would establish, as we shall try to prove further down—a degradation incidental to the necessity that in hard times urges a group of workers representing particular industries to labour for the lowest wage proximate to that which rather than accept, the whole population would prefer to take a gambling chance on that precarious wheel of fortune known as revolution; moreover, in the forced acceptance of this low rate of wages is involved so many daily hours of labour that there exists in so dreary an environment neither the time nor the inclination to prepare themselves mentally to grasp the opportunities that the development of industry and machinery has so generously placed at their doors, and so it naturally follows that the goose that lays the golden egg is paralysed while the foolish imperialists, not having sufficient understanding to see that "the riches of the commonwealth, are free strong minds and hearts of health . . . cunning hands and cultured brains" are in the habit of congratulating themselves on the mental superiority that is, in the main, bought as part of service from their class-unconscious victims; yet at its best it is a superiority/ridiculously inferior (founded as it is on slavery) to that superiority that the generality of men might attain, were the real wealth of humanity as expressed in the verse quoted, developed as it ought to be. Fortunately, at a certain stage of its growth imperialism becomes impossible; the human material through which the laws of nature operate becomes corrupt; its actions soon reflect its growing putrefaction; the metaphorical nasal organs of justice are grossly outraged; her scavengers, sometimes barbarians in search of fresh territory as in the case of Rome's invaders, scent an easy prey and straightway commence to rid the earth of the unnatural imperial carcass. "Carcass" may be a forbidding word. It may savour little of Chesterfieldian refinement, but surely nobody can deny that it is appropriate. Is it any wonder that nature revolts at the Procrustean methods of restraining human understanding until it fits the semi-petrified couch con-

structed from our political institutions? A feeble understanding it is, one not sufficiently strong in the masses to permit them to see the incongruity of wasting their splendid mental energies in the eternal struggle for the necessities of life, when the necessities might be almost as free as water, and when the powers of the mind might be enhanced by all the subtle methods now used to dwarf them; when these same powers that might be employed to bring that wealth, freedom and progress that poets and sages have dreamt of all through the ages.

That the necessities, under proper administration, might be almost as free as water is proved by such statistics as the following, relating to the increased power of production accruing to man as a consequence of the development of machinery. It is taken from "The Scientific Monthly" for June, 1924. It occurred in an article by Dr. W. R. Whitney on the vacuum:

"The power outside of his own muscles . . . he has learned to control, has grown to nearly twenty horsepower or one hundred man-power for every man in the country. Therefore it makes only one percent difference whether all men work like horses or not. But guidance of power is man-work, because there are no machine mentalities. Almost everything but thinking may be artificially done, but knowledge and understanding must be actively sought and used." Can imperialism develop that mental power? We can only assert that the day she does her own doom is sealed.

Rome, Egypt, Chaldea, Persia and other states all fell victims to the lure of imperialism, just as all nations must do, who forget that slavery, wage or chattel, contains within itself the seeds of self-destruction—the fatal death-ray that finds in imperialism the most ideal of its many affinities.

Having said so much we shall now trace the course of Britain's development from a very early stage up to the present. We particularly wish to emphasise the fact, that as a rule changes in institutions were wrought by what is called the law of "economic determinism," and that when it appears as if some great man brought them about, we shall find on examination that they were due to conditions of which the man himself was merely the offspring.

The empire had its origin in England, but if all the people who were energetically active during its evolution could be brought together in a great convention, each speaking the tongue of his forefathers, its present polyglotous characteristics would be enhanced to a large extent, and if the experiences of each were recorded chronologically on cultural lines, it would be as well to take the river-drift men as subjects for introductory comment.

They lived in a remote period of ethnological time of which the exact date would be as impossible as it would be unnecessary to ascertain. We shall concern ourselves merely with the relation that one period bears to another, and in this way we shall find that men have arisen in the scale of development in proportion to the number and importance of their inventions and discoveries, and that all their institutions, usages and customs, are affected more or less by the influence emanating from these sources.

How many ages rolled by before the indications denoted the presence of a new race in Britain, it is

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# Jurisprudence and Laws of the R.F.S.S.R.

BY J. BRANDENBURGSKY (Moscow).

**I**N contradistinction to the civil law of bourgeois countries, our civil law sanctions two systems of property: a communistic and a civil—and herein lies its characteristic feature. Where we have made concessions in our new economic policy, in order to call forth the private initiative required for a sound development of the productive forces of the country, and for the restoration of its economic power, our commanding positions are perfectly untouched, for we declare the ground itself, its resources, the forests, waters, railways designed for general use with their rolling stock, and aeroplanes, to be the exclusive property of the workers' and peasants' state, that is, to be communistic property. These things are categorically excluded from any free economic traffic. No trade may be conducted in these objects. They cannot be bought or sold. They cannot form the subject of a business or any other agreement. They are communist property, and the communistic character of this property is confirmed by the Civil Code of Laws of the R.S.F.S.R. The land, its treasures, forests, etc., remain exclusively in the hands of the workers' and peasants' state, in the same manner as all large industrial undertakings, all large factories and plants, remain in our hands.

On the other hand the necessity of restoring our whole economic force induces us to give private initiative a free hand in commerce, and in small and medium industrial undertakings. The Code of Civil Law thus first specifies everything which can be the subject of private property. The code is not limited to a declaration, and does not enumerate the objects of communist property, but gives a detailed list of all objects of private property with an exactitude excluding every possibility of ambiguity or false interpretation. All objects are named *expressis verbis*. These are: non-municipalised buildings, commercial undertakings, industrial undertakings, in which the number of wage workers does not exceed a number fixed by special laws, instruments and means of production, money, securities and other values, including gold and silver coins and foreign securities, articles of general household and personal use, goods, the sale of which is not prohibited by law, and other property not excluded from private commercial traffic. The code further adds that telegraphy, radio-telegraphy, and other institutions, possessing state importance may only form the object of private property by virtue of special concessions granted by the government.

We thus know exactly what can be private property under the new conditions. But what is the right of property in the light of our code? Is it that limitless, sacred, inborn, unapproachable right of property, the right of possession as understood by bourgeois law? By no means. The right of property is limited in two essentials by our code. The owner possesses the right—this is clearly and exactly stated by the code—with legally established limits, to possess, use, and dispose of property. Beyond this our code recognises no property, that is, it does not recognize that well known arrangement of the bourgeois world, by which under certain circumstances prescription changes automatically into right of possession. Our Soviet law does not recognize such a right of possession. Such rights it only recognizes to the extent of utilization, or, more exactly stated, to the extent of utilization on tenure.

In the second place, in the Soviet republic the rights of property, like every other private right, must certainly contain elements of conformity to social purposes. In certain cases the state power grants a right of possession to its citizens, but it fixes certain limits to the use of the property thus granted out of consideration for the interests of the development of the productive forces of the country. In exactly the same manner as the state reserves the

right, in accordance with the fundamental laws on the socializing of the land, to deprive a landowner of land which he systematically does not cultivate, the code of civil law gives the state the right to deprive property owners of the protection of the law in cases where civil property laws are being utilized in antagonism to their social-political aims.

All we need is a sound private initiative. We want to spur this on. But private initiative is only of interest to us if it is useful for the development of the productive powers of the country. It is solely with this object that we are restoring capitalist relations in Russia. Solely for the purpose of developing the productive forces of the country—so declares the code of civil law of the R.S.F.S.R.—do we grant to persons a civil right of possession, that is, the possibility of possessing civil rights and obligations.

Here it is proper to emphasize that the code of civil law permeated exclusively with the aim of furthering the rebirth of our economic life—does not concern itself in the least with the former owners of property "ill-treated by the revolution." Any possibility of misunderstanding is avoided by a paragraph of the code of law, which declares that the former owners, whose property was expropriated by revolutionary law, or passed into the possession of the workers before May 22, 1922, have no right to demand the return of their property.

After creating a suitable legal protection for communist property, after designating everything which can become the object of private property, after establishing the limits and conditions under which civil law is to be applied, the code of civil law grants the most favorable possible conditions to private initiative, to civil economic life, to commerce, and to small industrial undertakings, but invariably keeps the interests of the state in view, and defends these when they come into conflict with private interests.

The code of civil law establishes a number of points protecting the interests of private property and of civil economic life: thus for instance the building law, the law of inheritance, the law of mortgage, and the system known as liability laws; the laws pertaining to rents, sales and purchases, exchange, loan, deliveries, liabilities, powers of attorney, companies (simple, full, trust companies, limited liability companies, joint stock companies), insurance companies, etc.

The code of civil laws recognizes the right to build. In order to solve that sad inheritance of 7 years of war, the housing problem, the code of civil law grants private persons the right to enter into agreements with local organs entrusted with the disposal of land, for the purpose of building on ground belonging to town and country, for a term not exceeding 49 years; the right of possession of these buildings, that is, the right of using them and freely disposing of them, also of selling them, is granted for the same period. The code of civil law does not however grant the owners of the buildings any right to the ground on which they stand.

As a concession to petty bourgeois ideology, the code of civil law partially restores legal and testamentary rights of inheritance; but in the first place we limit the right of inheritance to a certain sum, a maximum of 10,000 gold roubles, so that any inheritance exceeding this sum falls to the state, and in the second place we limit permissible heirs to direct offspring (children, grand children, and great grand-children), surviving wife or husband, and persons unable to work and without possessions, who have been actually supported by the deceased for at least a year before his death. Besides this we impose a high progressive tax on inheritance.

As regards the standard of the so-called laws of liability, it is perfectly clear that if the new economic policy aims at introducing private enterprise in the place of the former principle of strict state regu-

lation, and if this private enterprise is to be granted legal protection, this naturally cannot be done in the name of any abstract principle of justice, but in the interests of the essential needs of the economic rebirth of the republic. Private enterprise, free economic intercourse, and the development of the money system, accompanied by the real rights granted to private persons, render it imperative that these persons are given the possibility of making agreements among themselves, and that these private agreements are under the protection of the state.

The characteristic feature of our liability laws lies in the fact that the protection of state interests is placed before the protection of the personal rights of individual citizens. Where the well-known Professor Duguy, the leading legal theorist of the University of Bordeaux, merely raised his hammer to destroy individual juridical personality, individual property, and the subjective rights of human beings, where Professor Duguy only laid down the doctrine that private civil law should not differ in any way from public law, our code of civil law created not merely a theoretical situation, but an actual one, in which relations based on civil law, as understood in bourgeois countries, do not exist at all.

And it is not possible for such to exist in a land under proletarian dictatorship. In our state, public law alone can exist. When Duguy says that private civil law, after passing through the metaphysical phase, reaches the positive phase, and from there passes swiftly and inevitably to complete objectivity, this signifies in our situation nothing else than the inevitable substitution of the subjective conception of individual personality by the objective conception of social function, the conclusion of social economic adaptiveness to purpose. The state shall not protect the rights of private persons so much, as rather the citizens are under the obligation to fulfil social functions.

In bourgeois science the whole conception of law is built upon individualism, consequently a contract between two persons is nothing else than a simple accord of two wills. But is it not true that this principle, arising from the depths of the French revolution, has been transformed in actual capitalist practice, into the fact that the stronger dictates his will to the weaker?

Civil law maintains the principle that all requirements of the law (requirements of public right) possess a complimentary character only, that is, they do not come into force until the parties (here private civil law is in action) have not been able to regulate their relations in any other manner. According to civil law the relations of private justice thus dominate over public justice, and in recent times many learned representatives of the capitalist countries have begun to recognize the obligatory character of some laws, that is, they admit that these laws (public law) must continue in force even when the parties have come to an agreement in a contrary sense.

Our code of civil law has decisively broken with the old standpoint, that is, with the standpoint of unqualified defense of that which civil law names "free will of the parties." The Code of Civil Law also gives the state the right to annul economic relations, based on agreements, which obviously do harm to the proletarian state, as an economic organism. The Code of Civil Law of the R.S.F.S.R. has also imparted a character of public justice to the private judicial relations of individual citizens.

I shall adduce an instance illustrating my assertion, and showing the deep chasm dividing Soviet law and civil private law.

Our code makes it a demand of public law that parties having made an agreement can apply to the

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# Should Workers Think?

BY "PROGRESS"

AS for Marx, although he observed phenomena and the economic facts of past and present society, it could not be said that he actually experimented with such gigantic processes, any more than an astronomer can with the stars. But by means of histories of the past and newspapers of the present he could let his experiments practically make themselves for him; and so arrive at his generalisations of the Class War, the theory of Surplus value and the Materialistic view of History. Socialism at present is struggling to supply a practical rather than a theoretical verification of itself.

From now on, the writer is obliged to rush readers through the Land of Logic by express observation car and only point out a few of the higher mountain peaks of thought that meet us as we speed along the tracks. To start with the old metaphysics, mentioned by Engels in his "Socialism from Utopia to Science," these were based upon three primary Laws of Thought: the Law of Identity—whatever is, is; 2, the Law of Contradiction—nothing can both be, and not be; 3, the Law of Excluded Middle—everything must either be, or not be. Examples are: 1, the earth is the earth; 2, the earth cannot be the earth and at the same time a ball of fire; 3, Socialism must either be revolutionary or it is not Socialism at all. It is at once seen that this logic is perfectly rigid and unchanging, and Aristotle considered it necessary to lay down the above laws because they were the first principles of dialectical demonstration. Neither proper argument nor consistent reasoning were possible, if they were not taken for granted. Hence, Socrates, in Plato's dialogue "Euthydemus" refuses to argue further with two brothers who, by claiming that the answer No, does not exclude the answer Yes, beat all their opponents.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new conception of the world began to make way, which culminated in the evolutionary theories of Darwin. This conception, already sensed by the ancient Greek, Heraclitus, considered all things as flowing, becoming, arising and disappearing; and not fast, firm and fixed; and gave support to the later Hegelian dialectic. Then, again, Aristotle's syllogism is only sound in nineteen forms of it; but later views of, and improvements on it, extended the valid forms to one hundred and eight. And yet, as Mill maintains, all correct reasoning is based on two direct elementary forms only—the affirmative and negative; and correct reasoning, too, must start from a general or universal proposition, and that means one which affirms or denies something about an entire class of things; as, all human beings are animals. But the latter form did not satisfy Mill, because he was out for "facts" to support his darling "objective inference." So he remodelled the syllogism into the following shape: "Whatever—A, is a mark of any mark—B, is also a mark of that—C, which this last (B), is a mark of. Thus, if A is a mark of B, and B is a mark of C, then A also is a mark of C. His expression for the general proposition, therefore, is not as defined above; but "One phenomenon always accompanies, (that is, is a mark of) another phenomenon." Thus, the phenomenon lodestone is always a mark of the phenomenon, attracting iron—affirmative form. The negative form is "no horses are web-footed," that is, the phenomenon horse is never accompanied by the phenomenon, web-footed. Other philosophers stressed the association of Ideas; but Mill was principally concerned with emphasizing the association or non-association of phenomena.

Mill's inferential system is usable both for general or for limited ("particular") propositions, and is equally applicable to scientific, everyday or aesthetic purposes. An interesting instance of the "particular" aesthetic kind is afforded right in "our town," where we are happy in the fact that one of our bank managers possesses a truly British bull dog, whose snub nose, exposed teeth and combative expression of countenance have earned for him the

first name of one of Mr. Jiggs' "disreputable" acquaintances—Dinty (Moore). This dog, being pretty human, is liable to go off on excursions on his own; but he is also sufficiently faithful and regular in his habits to stick fairly closely to his master. Accordingly, should one be standing in a doorway or about to turn a street corner, and then get a passing glimpse of "Dinty" or, vice versa, his master; then one will not be far out in amusingly applying the "particular" form of Mill's proposition—that the one phenomenon usually accompanies, that is, is often a mark of the other phenomenon—bull dog or bank manager, whichever first greets the eye. Doubtless it is too bad to employ such an elegant invention in the case of a humorously ugly-faced bull dog, but such may be the fate of the noblest of things; for it is related that a former head of the Scottish Capmbell clan—the great Duke of Argyle, signalled his seizure of the clan's communal lands by fencing them off; to the indignation at first of his evicted clansmen. But their resentment was subsequently changed into a deep feeling of gratitude when "the brave Gaels" discovered that they could utilise the triumphant signs of private landlordism, as cures for an itchy back. Whereupon the commonest expression upon their lips, when practising the remedy, was "Cot pless ta noble Tuke o' Argyle, for putting up such gr-r-a-and scr-r-atching posts!"

Another form of argument that deserves mention is the "disjunctive syllogism" which has both an affirmative and negative form. Example: Nationalism is either a curse or a blessing; but it is certainly a curse, therefore it is not a blessing. However, there are to the foregoing affirmative form, certain objections that do not apply to the negative form, which goes by the Latin name of the "modus tollendo ponens," meaning the mood or form which affirms by denying. Example: Socialism in Canada is either best served by the S. P. of C. or by the Communist Workers' Party; but it is not best served by the latter, and so it is best served by the S. P. of C. This negative form is not only very powerful, but is also capable of being put to such practical uses, that it should receive a wide recommendation.

Everyone knows the famous "collar-button" series of jokes which are such god-sends to professional humorists. An illustrated example of this kind showed a young man dressing himself up, with a large box filled with collar-buttons lying at his feet; so that, if he lost his regular button, all he had to do was to pick up a new one out of the big box. Now this box would be unnecessary if he systematically searched without repeating any places, every likely spot the button could be hidden under or in. And this applies to elusive pencils, pens, tools, brushes, etc., etc. After exhausting every possible hiding place, except ONE, it logically follows that having, in practise, denied its being in all other spots, that one spot is where the object shall be found on confidently diving down the hand to grab it. This system seldom or never fails, and if generally known and adopted, would throw hosts of comic writers and artists out into the Industrial Reserve Army! Anyrate, fellowworkers, give the "modus tollendo ponens" a fair trial; because, to paraphrase Marx, on Sundays, holidays or, indeed, at any other time, you have nothing to lose but a collar button, and a whole lot of time wasted in hunting for it, to gain!

For untangling the connections between causes and effects, Mill devised his four Inductive Methods, which could be reduced to two fundamental ones—1, the Method of Agreement; and 2, the Method of Difference. As to the first; suppose we suffer from national and also sex prejudices, and that in dealings one after the other with capitalists of various races and both sexes, we get "rotten" treatment from all. At first we are inclined to attribute the evils to the fact that the perpetrator was a Yankee, a Jew, a woman, a "Dago," and so on. But later experiences teach us that other persons may be Yankees,

Jews, Dagoes or women and yet "good heads," and hence, no reliance can be placed on nationality or sex as likely causes of bad treatment. Then we learn that "the sole invariable (never absent) antecedent of a phenomenon is probably its cause," and knowin, that in the above cases the invariable antecedents were the capitalist position and capitalist outlook, we pronounce these, and not nationalism or sex, as the causes of "bad actors." As to the Method of Difference: Suppose we had been living in some little village or other "Main Street" aggregation, and suffered severely from the ignorance, slanders and pettinesses of the place. A hasty view would turn one into human-being haters, if we had not moved to a far larger place where the life and people were quite the opposite to those of the miserable conditions and crowd we had left. As the only different circumstance, (supposing the larger town to be of the same province and its people of the same nationality as the wretched village) is the bigger surroundings, we pronounce the village's unfavorable environments, and not its humanity, as the cause of all our past troubles.

And speaking of method, the celebrated Pascal stated that, in demonstrative writing, whilst it is advisable to pursue a middle course of not defining and proving things known to all persons, we yet should not use any word or term whose meaning we have not clearly explained; and secondly, never to put forward any proposition that can't be demonstrated by truths already known. In short, he adds, define all your terms and prove all your propositions. This, as far as one can follow it, is good advice, and if neglected makes written articles, especially for working class readers, a mere waste of time, materials and money. That the money spent on manuscript material alone is an item of some importance may be gathered from the fact that before Marx could get the paper on which to write his Cologne Communist trial pamphlet in 1852 he had to pawn his last coat!

So much for this imperfect sketch of a few phases of logic. Even when we are acquainted with the subject, the problem still remains how best to use our knowledge of it. Hence, Locke, the author of the celebrated "Essay Concerning Human Understanding," also wrote a smaller work which yet consisted of forty-five chapters on "The Conduct of the Understanding." The various old and new philosophies, such as Stoicism, New Thought, etc., etc., are all methods that profess to be best able to get the highest results from the minds trained by them. The philosophy of Nietzsche, in its aiming at the greatest in mankind, morals and art, advocates as the means thereto a ruthless and masterful suppression of everything subjective and objective, that stands as an obstacle to general perfection.

The better trained the human mind becomes the more accurately does it work, and a machine like precision of mental operation is no mean ideal to be aimed at. That is how nature works, as the old Stoics recognised; for, with them, everything is decreed by nature and fate, and nature and fate are the same as reason, providence and a healthy will. Hence, their supreme rule, which they practised in all things, was "to follow nature;" that is, the law which nature enjoins upon conscience and which is identical with the law that governs the world.

As we now know, thinking can be done by machinery, and has already, in various kinds of offices, displaced many clerks. Although the above mentioned seventeenth century French mathematician and philosopher, Pascal, invented the first calculating machine, it is little more than twenty-five years ago since this apparatus became a commercial factor in arithmetical operations. Now, arithmetic is a branch of mathematics; and Logic itself was regarded and treated by Dr. Boole, the widely known logician and mathematician, as a branch of mathematics. The "Canons" or Fundamental Principles

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### ELECTION REFLECTIONS.

THE B. C. Provincial election has resulted in the return of the Liberal government, with a reduced majority. Although the final count of ballots involves the lapse of twenty-one days from the day of election, thus making 11th July the day of the final count, the returns already totalled by the deputies throughout the Province indicate so close polling in several districts that the government may be subject to defeat at any time by a combination of opposition groups. Some interest centres on the absentee vote which may upset some already accepted results, but there is no possibility of this effecting the election of either of the S. P. of C. nominees. However, there remains a measure of hope for Sam Guthrie, ex-M. L. A. for Newcastle. His constituency, a coal mining area, has been treated with "redistribution" and made to include certain areas with a "balancing" vote, which has succeeded in unseating Guthrie, a fact which we regret. But, as already indicated, there is some hope of righting matters yet through the absentee vote which is still to be totalled. By the way, since after elections it is the habit of the press to comment upon the features of the election act and to suggest alterations, The Province (Vancouver) has not missed a chance to air its opinion that the absentee vote might be tinkered with. The Province suggests that instead of absentee ballots being consigned to the possibly interested care of a politically appointed returning officer, all hands would be better served if the ballots were given over to the care of a County Court judge. It being, evidently, the opinion of The Province that the Bench is beyond political suspicion, we would lend our support to the suggestion. But a County Court judge is not important enough. Go right up the judicial ladder and place the ballots in care of the Court of Appeal, in the hands of, say, Mr. Justice M. A. MacDonald!

The Nanaimo vote was somewhat of a surprise to us and, of course, a disappointment. We had expected the return of W. A. Pritchard there, which expectation appeared justified by the Nanaimo City poll in Nanaimo Riding last Federal election and by the general interest displayed by everyone there during the election period just passed. But we were five hundred votes short and the Minister of Mines retains the seat. A great many people left the matter of registration until too late or until the day of revision of the lists when there was room for negligence on the part of the electoral officers. Some suspect, no doubt, the secrecy of the ballot and its possibility of reacting on themselves in the fashion of the blacklist, that dread disease of industrial areas. But there were enough voters, and coal miners at that, on the list to have elected Pritchard. They elected Sloan instead. Pritchard's election meant that the mines would close down (they run half time now in "good" times), business would slacken up, strikes would take the place of unemployment, the city's credit would be imperilled and all would be misery. The miners should know better; they have had enough experience of electioneering bluster. Watch out in future.

In Vancouver there were twenty-seven candidates for six seats: Six Liberals, six Conservatives,

five Labor, six Provincial Party, one Socialist and three independents. The return showed four Liberals and two Provincials. The highest individual vote polled was 11,085 and the lowest polled, for an elected candidate, was 9,014. Labor's highest individual poll was 6,263, being nineteenth from the top, and its lowest was 5,552, being twenty-third from the top. J. D. Harrington was twenty-fourth with 3,232. This represents a slight gain in Harrington's vote over the election of 1920 and a slight reduction in the highest labor vote. It has been suggested that had Harrington's name been grouped with the Labor candidates' names on the ballot his vote would have doubled. That, of course, is conjecture, but it is evident that a ballot paper and balloting procedure generally has an air of mystery and a confusing tendency to the mass of the people. A great many people came away wondering if they had really, in the hustle and bustle of it, voted as they intended, and wondering why they couldn't find Harrington's name. Part of this was caused by the C. L. P. having mailed postcards to all union members throughout the city, post cards which contained the names of five candidates and left out Harrington who, singularly enough, was their first candidate endorsed. Another peculiar feature was a short letter which appeared in the Labor Statesman, June 20th and in the B. C. Federationist, June 19th. The Federationist had it blocked off and displayed prominently on the front page, God knows why. We reproduce it here:—

### Don't Split Your Vote.

Editor B. C. Federationist: In connection with the coming provincial election there is one thing I would like to suggest, and that is, I think you should preach in season and out of season to your auditors and readers that when they vote for Labor men they should vote for Labor men only, and not distribute any votes they may not feel inclined to give to any of the Labor candidates, to candidates of the other parties. For example: I may vote for five of your men and, for some reason or other, decline to give my vote to the sixth. In a case such as this I would suggest that you impress on your friends to waste the sixth vote, rather than give it to anyone else, otherwise it will count against the Labor ticket, and cancel one of the five votes cast. Labor will absolutely need every single vote it can dig up. Don't split your vote.

H. G. H.

Vancouver, B. C.,  
June 18, 1924.

We have given that letter a good many interpretations and can't finally agree with any of them. Probably quite innocent but unpardonable stupidity on the part of the management, or acting management of those papers, in sending that out on election day when all chance of argument was gone. But, as is said often, we live and learn.

Taken as a whole the Labor candidates appear to be representative of the trade union and labor movement generally in western Canada. If they have a fault at all it lies in insufficient understanding of the forces and conditioning circumstances below the surface appearances of social life. As McInnes, one of the C. L. P. five, very well pointed out, working class misery is not the outcome of improperly administered ameliorative measures; the case should be set the other way around. That being done, there is room for exposure of the purposes to which palliative measures are put by the political fraternity, the necessity for their adoption, the methods employed to emasculate them once the victory is won—at the same time maintaining their advertizing value for the party which first fathers the deceit—and so on.

It is apparent that live political issues, employed to ensure election by the rival political parties, are not thought out by the mass. Its thinking is sub-let on matters of that kind. The governing factors, resting on the course of the economic development of the west, are personal interests unintelligently conceived, and swayed by stereotyped pictures, the desire to side with the majority. Mass emotion, roused and enlisted to a warped and momentary partisanship is the matrix of democracy patterned by the live-wire politician. Effectively organized, this means victory. Then there are the newspapers. In this election there had

been considerable elbowing for control of political office among the moneyed brotherhood. As a result the newspapers were a little more open than hitherto. The newspaper readers were interested in the contest and newspapers must keep their readers and get more. But newspapers as they are today cannot survive on readers' subscriptions alone so they have to have advertisers. But to get advertisers they must have readers, hence, as in this case they must cater to the mass and they did.

By and large it was an interesting election. But when it was over, through habit no doubt, those workers who had a job went at it as usual and who knows but that they are nearer political wakefulness than would appear, even to themselves!

### HERE AND NOW.

Emerging, as we are, from the many mass gatherings of a political campaign, we should be able to show ourselves well apprenticed to the art of advertising our virtues and capabilities. Some of those fellows on the stump—the hustings they call it—have no mean opinion of themselves and they never laugh in the face of a mirror.

Well, it's a sham article that needs boosting over much and about here we'll drop anchor—as the admiral said when he decided to look around. And so, we never boost this journal. But we do try to boost the cash totals. By the following it will be seen that they need it:

FOLLOWING \$1 each: J. Chrystal, C. F. Schroeder, V. R. Midgley, R. S. Twist, A. J. Beeny, Walter Wilson, W. Jardine, J. Mitchell, G. Elliot, P. Mytton, Isaac Benson, H. J. Whitechurch, M. Lightstone, C. Lester, A. Tree, Jim Quinn, C. Bowie, E. Johnson, E. Pryce.  
J. Johnson \$2.00; H. M. Thomas \$2.00; W. J. Churchill \$3.00.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 13 to 26 June, inclusive, total \$26.

### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Following \$1 each: Harry Grand, J. A. Moore, Isaac Benson, Dan Pollitt, Jim Quinn.

Walter Wilson \$2.00; St. John Comrades (per S. E. White) \$5.50; From Building Fund Committee, (per J. Lott and donated by several subscribers), \$50.50.

Above, C. M. F. receipts from 13 to 26 June, inclusive, total \$63.

### "BUSINESS IS BAD."

During the last 12 months industrial activity has been declining, jobs getting scarcer, unemployment increasing and the purchasing power of the public decreasing. Facts which are implicit in Burton's keynote but which he did not mention may be summed up as follows:

Employment decreases in April compared with 12 months ago—steam railroad shops 19.7%, agricultural implements 18.2, foundries and machine shops 18, men's clothing 16.5, auto tires 15.9, cotton goods 14.7, wagons 13.7, leather 13.1, shipbuilding 12.4, shirts and collars 12.2, sugar refining 11.8, woollen goods 11.6, stoves 11.4, millinery and lace goods 10.8 and boots and shoes 10.3%.

New York state employment report for May shows employment in manufacturing industry 11% below May 1923 with 100,000 employees laid off during the last two months.

Production in the basic industries, according to the federal reserve index, is down 10% compared with a year ago. Unfilled orders, which represent demand for production, have fallen off 43% since a year ago. The U. S. Steel corporation reported for May 31 unfilled orders for 3,628,098 tons compared with 6,918,315 a year ago. This year's report is the lowest since 1914. Production of iron has just experienced the sharpest drop in history and the entire industry is operating at less than 50% capacity.

The World (Oakland)

# "Matter in Motion"

**T**HE fundamental premise upon which the philosophy of materialism—whether in the realms of natural science or the science of society—is built, is that "nothing exists but matter in motion."

In the science of astronomy the laws of Kepler and the gravitational theory of Newton deal only with this same basic premise. Physics and chemistry also adhere to this most obvious fact, and speculation as to the existence of some ethereal substance which is not matter, or at least is not subject to the same laws controlling all other known forms of matter, is left to the harmless idiots who, due to lack of further brain food, speculate wildly in inferential realms.

Now while most scientists are rank materialists in the natural sciences, yet in the realm of sociology they are like a land-lubber at sea, and the movements of mankind and his evolution from the stage of the painted savage to that of the present day painted demi-monde or movie star is utterly past their comprehension.

If they should make a plunge into the cavernous depths of such a science and attempt to explain complex movements of mankind then they rely on what is commonly termed the science of psychology. And many are the books that have been devoted to this subject and mountainous would be the tripe contained therein if piled in a heap.

Some deal with the chemical compounds of the human system, others with some kind of a eugenic treatise, and a few even deal with the individual in his relationship with the social whole. But in general they, most of them, start with the individual and not with society.

Usually after they are through trying to explain the movements of mankind and have helped make their readers almost as mystified as themselves, they cloak their ignorance with the blanket term of "human nature," and, this term is then thought to be sufficient to answer the problem which they set out to solve. "Human nature" so called cannot be brought into relationship with itself and a sound conclusion be arrived at.

To explain the difference between a Hollywood sheik and a strutting buck of some primitive tribe we must explain the difference in the manner in which the social groups to which each belongs, produces and distributes its wealth. In other words the movement of mankind must be brought into relationship with the materials necessary for keeping the animal called man in existence.

This point once grasped it will be somewhat easier to understand the social evolution of mankind, and to classify certain historical forms by specific terms. Thus we designate certain epochs as Primitive Communism, Chattel Slavery, Feudal Serfdom and our present system Capitalism.

The modern system is the one that concerns us most, for it is the one under which we suffer and have our being.

The two forms of matter that must be brought into relationship with each other in our present system are social wealth and humanity, a passive and active actor.

The social wealth consists of an "immense accumulation of commodities." The concrete material of this wealth is drawn from all parts of the world. So also is the substance that transforms the natural resources of this globe into the different shapes it assumes as a mass of use-values. This substance is the skill and energy of the workers. Products of brain and brawn. Both expressions of matter in motion.

Society as it exists today is not based on equality. It is comprised of classes. A wage-labor class and a capitalist class. By classes is here meant "the grades established among men by the diversity and inequality of their circumstances."

The complexity of the tools whereby man wrests the materials from nature and transforms them into social use-values correctly measures the simplifica-

tion of the classes in society. They are directly related to each other. "In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves: in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs, in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses however, this distinctive feature, it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

Thus one may formulate the law that the simplification of the classes in society and the struggle between these is directly proportional to the complication of the tools used for producing and distributing wealth. But this law is subject at all times to the ownership and control of these tools and the wealth produced. But then again, the form of ownership is determined by the development of these same tools, as is also the form of production. The latter is already social in that the workers of all countries produce commodities for a world market.

The gigantic methods of modern production are far too large to admit of a single capitalist owning them in any particular geographical or political sphere. The title or nominal ownership of these means of production and along with it the profits passes from the individual capitalist to an association of capitalists, to a company of stockholders. This company actually has, considered as a collective body, a particular tangible property, but what does this property represent for each individual shareholder? The individual stockholder cannot lay his finger upon any particular material object and say: that is mine." Neither can the worker say of any product: "I produced that." The most he can say with truth is, "I helped produce that article." Thus we have class ownership on the one hand, and class production on the other, and due to this state of affairs, we also have a class antagonism, which now and again breaks out in violent conflict.

But the machinery of production has not yet fulfilled its mission so far as the simplification of classes is concerned. It has yet to bring about a state of affairs whereby classes will be abolished entirely.

It is constantly simplifying the skill necessary on the part of the worker to produce certain use-values. It thereby breaks down the organizations of craft and trade.

When in active operation it enables its complement to produce such a vast amount of wealth in such a short period of time, that now in this, now in that industry, a cessation of motion is inevitable. This fact again helps to bring home to the member of the working class the idea of his class position rather than his craft affiliation. For the workers in the industries so affected have to seek work elsewhere and at other callings.

In such times also the master class are forced to move in a given direction. They have to cut wages in all lines of exploitation and the continuance of this act is another factor in forcing home the identity of interests among the workers, because it reaches the stage where the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled receive comparatively the same amount of remuneration for the sale of their labor-power.

Furthermore in the competitive struggle, the different capitalist groups are forced to call upon the wage-slaves under their political domination and set them in motion against each other. Racial prejudice and national pride, or patriotism are the herring used for this purpose. It is in face of this that we must heartily disagree with Gabrielle Deville when he makes the statement—"to sum up, workingmen and socialists ought to be internationalists in their relations with their toiling comrades when the in-

terests of labor are at stake in times of peace, patriots and Frenchmen above all when France, our country shall be, if it must be, in danger of war, conscious always of the duty to be performed, conscious, if need be, especially in victory, of the duty of respecting in the case of others, especially the conquered, the rights that they claim for themselves."

To be internationalists in peace but nationalists in time of war would hurt nobody but the worker. For we are exploited in peace and fight the battles of those who exploit us in times of war. Nationalism and patriotism are both products of class society and useful for the continuation of that state of affairs.

Furthermore to talk of our country to a modern wage slave, smacks of a deliberate attempt to mislead the workers. But above all it displays a consciousness remarkably in keeping with the social democratic group of Europe who today are vying with each other in salvaging the wrecked ship of the capitalist state.

"The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations; modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character."

Nationalism and patriotism are intellectual products that correspond to certain stages of development of any given system. Likewise the growth of the idea of internationalism. The more the national machine of capitalism is enmeshed in the world market, the more one country finds itself dependent on intercourse with other nations, the deeper and wider is this international consciousness forced home in the brains of the workers. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature. All an expression of matter in motion. No need to seek for a divine unfolding plan, or to appeal to the brotherhood of man, nor to that element, human nature.

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speaks of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old condition of existence.

(Continued on page 8)

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# Theoretical Aspects of Social Reform

THE science of biology set the pace in the use of the Darwinian concept of organic evolution as a basis of enquiry, but the concept has become indispensable also in the study of the life history of society. The advocates of revolutionary social change accepted its truth avidly, because it furnished on the one hand an unanswerable argument against those satisfied with things as they are, who at best looked only to moral and administrative betterments, and on the other it offered a means of educating the great masses held in mental bondage to the hopeless theological concept of a fixed, pre-ordained scheme of things—the rich man in his castle, the poor man at the gate, etc., etc., world without end. So we socialists say: If we can only get the workers to conceive of society as in process. We take up Darwinism, however, not alone to prove the inevitability of change, so that thought may become more bold and adventurous on ways it had hitherto feared to tread. Change is inevitable, we said, but let there be light so that it may be for the better and not worse! To us of the Marxian Socialist faith, the Darwinian concept reinforces our contention that the tendency of actual social forces of the world was towards a socialistic future, as by the organic laws of a capitalistic society's own being. Socialism was not a thing to be invented, but a science consisting in co-operating with those forces by understanding, using and directing those forces. It was a science of running a state on superior principles and more successfully than it had been run before.

Yet some have seemed to think that it was the part of a socialist to wait and pray for universal bankruptcy, starvation and civil war, and dream of a wholesome transformation of industry and social ways of life. St. John of the Book of Revelations is their prophet, I think, not Marx. Such a hope or faith is suspect for a start, because of its generic resemblance to one of the oldest of human illusions—"a millenium dawn," the illusion of despair. There is no science in it, only a confession of incompetence to undertake what is after all the inescapable task of transforming capitalism and during the transformation proving that socialism can run a state better than has been done before.

I was moved to reflection on these lines on reading three criticisms of G. R. Stirling Taylor's article in the Clarion, on the Importance of History. To me, it was as plain as a pikestaff that Taylor was looking to the future of social change in Great Britain. He was simply declaring for constitutional procedures as against the violence of civil war for bringing on revolutionary social changes, and to that end he was urging a study of history so that those who are fighting the battle of labor might do so more efficiently. Failure to fight labor's battle efficiently might mean a putting off of necessary change—the cause of violent revolutions. As to Taylor's history, in my opinion his critics, over eager to discredit a supporter of the Labor Party, damage their own case by the savagery of their attack; they misread and mistreat his argument. His is a point of view, and we need light. And I can say this, that he is not ignorant on history but a somewhat original research worker in the field of history, one, it is true enough, with a bias against *laissez faire* and the bourgeois trading and financial classes. Nevertheless that bias has itself served to disentangle some knotted skeins of history where more impartial or more timid men have failed. I make the guess that his critic's attitude to the article in question was a foregone conclusion inspired by their distrust of constitutional procedures in the working class struggle. The same will account for the hatred they display for the Labor Party. I can guess so, because I have been that way myself.

But now I see our modern communities of teeming city populations, with all localities dependent on a whole world for the needs of life, as a poor playground for blind instinct to run wild in. I am all for rational procedures when I see that such a civil war is not like one between North and South

where rival armies have room to manoeuvre, but one which springs up in the heart of every city, town or village, dividing even families, disrupting all the processes of life, ensuring hardship and starvation on millions. And the days of the barricades are gone. And afterwards, if not a common ruin, an aftermath of military rule, for he who conquers by the sword must keep by the sword—a perilous and dubious prospect. Turning from that prospect, I have faith in the ingenuity of man to succeed by other methods. In any case it is our function to work for rational procedures or quit talking about our science. The socialist society of the future is one based upon the principle of co-operation. By that very fact it is one form of social life more than any other whose success is conditioned upon the willing co-operation of the vast masses of the people, they must be won, not coerced. Another consideration against the doctrine of violence is, that tagged on to our philosophy and program, it is an effective sabotage practiced by ourselves against our own cause; for the millions whom we seek to reach, rooted in peaceful civil procedures of settled group life by a thousand ties, responsibilities and affiliations, habits and traditions, these close their minds to us. It may be said there is no intent to advocate violence when a historical fact of its occurrence in revolutionary change is stated. But the persistent dwelling upon the history of violent methods to the exclusion of the consideration of other methods and often enough deriding them, shows preference, and is a form of advocacy, in spite of an occasional pious and insincere saving clause for a peaceful solution. As a matter of fact, from the time of the itinerant trader of early medieval Europe on to the 19th century, the merchant, trading and later manufacturing classes gained the bulk of their rights, privileges, charters of liberty, etc., and political power by other than military means. Cusack says that revolutions are historical facts and not moral questions. But revolutions are the acts of men and like all the acts men have consequences which other men must share, in such cases for many a generation, for weal or woe. Because of that the question of morality touches all actions. Do we read history for an idle hour, like old men reminiscing, or do we read it to weigh in the balance and judge men and events so that we may establish insight into the future and peradventure some controls over the present in the light of the past and the future. The function of past experience is to expand present activity.

On these matters of constitutional procedures and Labor Parties I shall quote Marx and Engels, though I think we should be doing more of our own thinking and keep more abreast with the science of our own day. In his preface, written in 1867, to the 1st edition of vol. 1, *Capital*, page 13 (Kerr Publication) Marx says in part:

"In this work I have to examine the Capitalist mode of production, and the conditions of production and exchange corresponding to that mode. Up to the present time, their classic ground is England. That is the reason why England is used as the chief illustration in the development of my theoretical ideas. If, however, the German reader shrugs his shoulders at the condition of the English industrial and agricultural laborers, or in optimistic fashion comforts himself with the thought that in Germany things are not nearly so bad, I must plainly tell him, 'De te fabula narratur!'"

"Intrinsically, it is not a question of the higher tion is fully naturalized among the Germans (for inonisms that result from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future.

"But apart from this. Where capitalist production is fully naturalized among the Germans (for instance, in the factories proper) the condition of things is much worse than in England, because the

counterpoise of the factory acts is wanting (emphasis mine) In other spheres, we, like all the rest of continental western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms. (Emphasis mine) We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort sais le vif!*"

"The social statistics of Germany and the rest of Continental Western Europe are, in comparison with those of England, wretchedly compiled. But they raise the veil just enough to let us catch a glimpse of the Medusa head behind it. We should be appalled at the state of things at home, if, as in England, our governments and parliaments appointed periodical commissions of enquiry into economical conditions; if these commissions were armed with the same plenary powers to get at the truth; if it was possible to find for this purpose men as competent, as free from partizanship and respect of persons as are the English factory inspectors, her medical reporters on public health, her commissioners of enquiry into the exploitation of women and children, into housing and food. Perseus wore a magic cap that monsters he hunted down might not see him. We draw the magic cap down over eyes and ears as a make-believe that there are no monsters. Let us not deceive ourselves on this. As in the 18th century, the American war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle class in the 19th century, the American civil war sounded it for the European working-class. In England the progress of social disintegration is palpable. When it has reached a certain point, it must react on the continent. There it will take a form more brutal or more humane, according to the degree of development of the working class itself. (emphasis mine) Apart from higher motives, therefore, their own most important interests dictate to the classes that are for the nonce the ruling ones, the removal of all legally removable hindrances to the free development of the working class. For this reason, as well as others, I have given so large a space in this volume to the history, the details, and the results of English factory legislation. (Emphasis mine) One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement—and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs."

If read carefully, my quotation shows that Marx was far from hostile to parliamentary procedures and reforms and did not regard them as necessarily inimical to the progress of the English working class, even when reforms were brought in under the auspices of the bourgeois parties. Indeed he expresses a desire for them in Germany as a necessary phase in the development of the German working class. "One nation," he says, "can and should learn from others" to clear more easily and in a shortened period "the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development."

But Marx saw even greater possibilities than those in constitutional procedures. On page 32 of Vol. 1, (Kerr publication) Engels closes a preface, written in 1886, in these words: "Surely, at such a moment," (of crucial economic conditions in Europe) "the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a life-long study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be affected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English

((Continued on page 6)

## IMPERIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

impossible to conjecture; but to another type of men of higher development they finally did point.

They were the cave-men whose tools of flint possessed handles. They were no mean artists as sketches left by them on the walls of their caves prove. They dressed in the skins of animals and wore gloves, but whether or not these were sealskin jackets and "kids" Messrs. Symes and Wrong of the "Public School History" did not state; and as to their morals, as property in severalty was not yet considered, there could be little motive to lie or steal. Indeed, according to Louis Morgan, tribes in this condition do not, and cannot understand what stealing is, since owing to the precarious nature of game-getting by reason of which any member of the tribe might be unsuccessful on any particular day, it had instinctively become the custom to recognise all products of the chase as public property to which any member of the tribe might have access at pleasure. We mention this as an instance of the moulding of public morals by process of natural law, to which we shall refer again in due course.

These humble Britons existed on what was then the continent of Europe. The submergence of the land that now forms the bottom of the North Sea, and contains a continuation of the beds of some of the continental rivers, had not yet materialized; but later, when Britain became an island, when the climate changed owing to the influence of the sea, when the winter's winds became warmer and the summers cooler, the country became attractive to certain emigrants from the south of Europe. The Invernians felt the urge to homestead in the west, and soon they arrived by sea with a plentiful supply of pigs, dogs, oxen and other domestic animals hitherto unknown in Britain. These men spread themselves over the country scooping out "dug-outs" in the chalk downs of southern England, building log huts in Ireland, and stone edifices like the old-time beehive in Scotland.

Their greatest innovation, however, was the introduction of the practice of horticulture, if not agriculture, a fact that we infer from the necessity that existed to raise crops for the support of the farm animals during some of the winter months, as well as from the well-known custom of planting gardens common to all people who lived in villages.

Horticulture meant a greater food supply, a greater food supply meant a greater population, a larger population meant more cultivated ground, and more cultivated ground meant less hunting and fishing preserves.

We may take it for granted, therefore, that economic determinism forced the old inhabitants—such as the cave-o-drift men as still remained in Britain to alter their mode of lives or die. How many of them did so is of little importance in our calculations since nature is prolific and favours the fittest to survive; that is it favours that individual or race that corresponds most with its environment, or in other words, that obeys its laws. The important consideration is that in course of time the tribes united. Necessity had forced the cave-o-drift men to accept the higher standard of the Ivernians and later still forced the drift-cave-Ivernian Britons to accept the superior culture of the Celts that had its origin in the use of bronze, gold and iron, and that was at length put completely in the shade by the magnificent strength and power that for a time inhered in the institutions of imperial Rome.

The men of Rome possessing a higher civilization than the Celts, preyed on the brave but more barbarous Britons and held dominion in Britannia for almost four hundred years, and then it was their own turn. Slavery was to her the breath of life—the most prized of her institutions. She understood not that system, however good it might be temporarily as a discipline in developing a hard-working race of men, was always fraught in the long run with revolution, anarchy and disaster; and so it happened that the Romans, the most imperialistic people of the ancient world, following the laws of devolution peculiar to a prolonged period of slavery, were subdued by men who had not yet progressed beyond the condition of barbarism. The Germans

under Odoacer put an end to the Roman Empire in A.D. 476, but the armies needed half a century before that to defend the homeland were withdrawn from Britain in A.D. 410, thus leaving that unfortunate country that had forgotten how to defend itself to the mercy of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, commonly known as English.

For the next five hundred years the quarreling of these tribes kept England in a constant turmoil. They founded several kingdoms. At one time there were seven constantly at war with each other, until in 827 A.D. Egbert of Wessex became king of all England.

We dwell on this well-known fact because the seven states of the Heptarchy were analogously, a miniature of what the states of the world are today; for just as economic necessity forbade a congeries of independent states in England, where the expenses in connection with the defence of the frontiers, not to talk of other burdens, would be interminable, so eventually it will do precisely the same thing with regard to the world where not only these expenses are incalculable, but the power of "making money" must constantly dwindle, owing to the everlasting and suicidal but unavoidable competition in the international markets of the world.

(To be concluded.)

## THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

(Continued from page 6)

ruling classes to submit, without a pro-slavery rebellion, to this peaceful and legal revolution."

[England has had a parliamentary system since the 13th century, a considerable part of which time parliament has claimed to be the sovereign body of the realm. No doubt what Marx observed of political life in England manifesting the disposition, habits and traditions acquired by the people as a constitutional political strife, led him to that opinion.]

Now as to the present Labor Party of Great Britain, or, of anywhere else. What would have been Marx's attitude towards it? Anything like that of our "Three Musketeers" who are after its destruction. I am sure not! In my opinion Marx's efforts in the practical affairs of the working class movement of his time were devoted to the immediate end of getting the working class onto the field of political strife as a unit, even though they were not "Marxists". Sure that that strife and the positions gained were an important and indispensable phase of their education and development. Marx knew that a new social class with its growing consciousness would begin the creation of its institutions, for furthering its desires; and that institutions are flexible, expanding with the developing consciousness and ambitions of the class. He would not seek to destroy them or sabotage them, but rather seek to assist the class in its development, realizing that its institutions would in turn reflect its progress. Marx, as a Darwinian, knew that the days of miracles are gone and that procreation, nurture, birth and growth to maturity are inescapable phases of life in this world. Let me quote Engels again, this time from his preface to the 3rd Vol. of Capital, page 10, written in 1894. He is speaking of the growing burden of work fallen upon him with the growth of the international working class movement, grown in how short a time, when we look back to the pioneer days of Marx and Engels. Says he in part:

"From the very first days of our public activity, a good deal of the work of negotiation between the national movements of socialists and working people in the various countries had fallen on the shoulders of Marx and myself. This work increased to the extent that the movement as a whole gained in strength. Up to the time of his death, Marx had borne the brunt of this burden. But after that the ever-swelling amount of work had to be done by myself alone. Meanwhile the direct intercourse between the various national labor parties has become the rule, and fortunately it is becoming more and more so (emphasis mine). Nevertheless my assistance is still in demand a good deal more than is agreeable to me in view of my theoretical studies. But if a man has been active in the movement for

more than fifty years, as I have, he regards the work connected with it as a duty, which must not be shirked, but immediately fulfilled. . . (emphasis mine)

Comment: I pass Mr. Engels' case over to Comrade Inglis, my own vocabulary is too feeble.

No Cusack, I don't think we'll ditch the old pilot just yet! And Oh, Mae! Come! Come! C.

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## PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## B. C. ELECTION LETTER.

BY J. D. HARRINGTON.

**Editor's Note:** In connection with the B. C. Provincial Election of 20th June "The Province" (Vancouver) carried a column wherein the "Political issues of the campaign" were discussed by the various candidates nominated. The following appeared on 19th June.

**I**n conning over the reasons why I should be elected I made the lamentable discovery that in cogency, force and numbers they are far outweighed by reasons why I should not. It occurs to me that I might advance them.

I notice that meetings at which I speak are reported in the local press and all the speakers are duly mentioned, but concerning me, the reporters have eyes that see not and ears that hear not, or the city editors have instructions that wot not; my name never achieves print.

If elected I should be compelled to foregather under the same roof and associate for too long a period with the choicest gang of rascals ever assembled; taking their own charges and counter-charges as evidence, which, in my opinion are of greater validity and better substantiated than were those for which six members of the working-class were sent to jail in Winnipeg, the year of democracy, 1919. Which would be bad for me.

My election would have the calamitous effect of driving capital out of the country, so we should witness the sad spectacle of, say, the owners of the C.P.R. and the Premier mine packing their property over the hills and far away to some country where the mind of man is still in that stage which sees the supreme tragedy of life in the murder of cock robin, and considers the single-handed capture of a dozen Spanish galleons but a trivial affair.

My election would further suggest that such regions were getting scarce. What with Russia, Great Britain and France no longer safe for democracy, the poor capitalist knows not where to lay his plant.

This would be bad for business, and as business is at present just as bad as it can be, if we are not careful we are likely to be tearful.

My election would be a horrible example to all politicians as, so far, it has cost only two city pay station phone calls. The return of a politician so parsimonious would undoubtedly have a disastrous effect on those good spenders who, in spite of hard times and frugal reputations, are squandering good Canadian dollars with the same prodigality that a coal-oil Jonny would squander German marks.

This would be bad for business.

If I am elected it would indicate that the working class is approaching maturity, they being destined to take charge of the world: Because their great numerical strength will permit them and their great economic stress will compel them. Having no property—and accordingly no local vision—they are free to recognize that their principal troubles are due to an antiquated social system of production and exchange absolutely dependent upon credit stability and positively lacking in credit stability. And that graft, freight rates, elevators and railways are as dust in the balance.

That society moves according to laws, as constant as those which guide the cosmic populace through interstellar space. And that the world can be labor's and all that therein is.

All of which makes manifest to the intelligent voter that I am no more worthy of their suffrage than the beamish boy who slew the Jabberwock.

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## "MATTER IN MOTION."

(Continued from page 5)

Today, the international domination of big capital is finding its political expression from the capitalist viewpoint in the League of Nations or World's Court.

Its anti-thesis, or proletarian viewpoint is centralizing under the banner of international Communism. Thus the highest product of evolution, mankind, and his motions can only be understood, when brought into relation with another form of matter, molded and fashioned by him in his struggle for existence: the machine.

Thus it is a form of matter in motion as also is the consciousness of mankind. Therefore can we say with all truth that it is not the working out of a divine plan nor the consciousness of man that determines his being, but his social being that determines his consciousness. This being so, it follows that as our ideas are determined by our surroundings, so must be our actions.

We are not free agents, nor are we simply clay possessed of a small modicum of divine mind. We have no free will, for our will, like our ideas is determined by conditions over which the individual has no control whatever. Units of a greater and continually growing social whole, we are subject to that social whole. Our consciousness is a social product and grows in conformity with the development of society.

Therefore, the last expression of class antagonisms can only vanish—the friction that now acts in so retarding a manner, to the more rapid growth of the power of man over nature will only be done away with—when the machine has brought into conflict the final and most complete form of this conflict—international capitalism and international communism—and the triumphal conquest of the latter.

The trail is blazed and the path determined wherein we shall tread. Likewise the growth of our consciousness. We are matter in motion.

J.C.

## SHOULD WORKERS THINK.

(Continued from page 3)

of Syllogism, as Jevous remarks and as already indicated in our article, are exactly similar to the axioms of mathematical reasoning.

This same Jevous himself, (of "spots on the sun" caused industrial crises and "final futility of final utility" fame) devised an engraved scheme upon an ordinary school slate upon which logical problems could be done again and again by striking out with a slate pencil, the excluded conclusions. He next devised a logical system with slips of wood furnished with pins whereby they could be picked out and thus, as he writes the logical problems were solved by the hand rather than by the head. Finally, about 1869, he invented a genuine logical machine with keys like a piano and exhibited it at the London Royal Society.

The more machine-like our reasoning processes become, the less likely are we to reject—however much we might object to—any unpleasant conclusions arrived at. That Oriental, recently mentioned by the editor, who called the items on the credit and debit sides of his ledger, the "good and bad figures" might not like the latter any more than most of us do; but, if they were accurate, he would have to swallow the dose, however unpleasant the taste!

To conclude, as a weapon in the struggle for their Emancipation, the workers need a grasp of Logic: not in order, like the Medieval Schoolmen, to play themselves with it, but for use in deadly earnest. They must also become so familiar with the surface as to be able to treat it, in the spirit of the proverb, with a certain judicious measure of contempt.

To that end, two books, along the lines of those of Jevous', seem to be needed. One might be called "The Workers' Primer of Logic" and the other "The Workers' Logic."

And here too, we might well take a hint from Archbishop Whately who, when he aroused Britain with his Logic Revival, also deliberately used his book as a powerful propagandist instrument on behalf of the Church to which he belonged.

We Socialists would have to act similarly with

our logic text-books, for they must be replete with striking arguments and examples in support of Socialism, as well as calculated to bring all minds upon an internationally extended scale, up to a universally recognized high advanced standard of outlook and thought.

After all, it is the ignorance, follies, illogicalities and mental crudities that keep so many of us apart and create a great number of the strong prejudices entertained against "foreigners." And also, as Burns says, writing about those fruit and flower-like complexions which the advertisement asserts "one loves to touch" let us not forget that:

The charms o' the min', the langer they shine,  
The mair admiration they draw, man;  
While peaches and cherries, and roses and lillies,  
They fade and they wither awa', man.

## JURISPRUDENCE, ETC.

(Continued from page 2)

court of justice in cases of conflict. Is it now possible for the parties to agree not to do this? No; such an agreement would not receive the protection of the proletarian state, for the proletarian state accords due weight to the fact that the stronger can always force the weaker to engage not to appeal to the law.

These are the principles upon which our Code of Civil Law is built up, and which differentiate it so sharply from the civil law of bourgeois countries.

For us the Code of Civil Law was chiefly necessary for the reason that, the new economic policy is in reality nothing else than a carrying of our war on capitalism into the camp of economics, after we have succeeded in completely routing capitalism in the political arena.

The Code of Civil Law of the R.S.F.S.R. possesses a form rendering it at once and the same time an instrument for facilitating private initiative in commerce and industry, and an instrument serving the proletarian state in its work of combating capitalism; and, finally, it gives organized society the possibility of obtaining supremacy over capitalist economy, that is, of carrying out the material task of the proletarian revolution.

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