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FIVE CENTS

Labor Delegation to Russia.

The following is the interim report of the British labor delegation to Russia. Ben Turner, Mayor of Batley, whose personal report of his impressions of the country as he saw it was so distorted by the press, acted as chairman of this delegation.

The report is signed by him and by A. Purcell, Tom Shaw, Margaret Bondfield, Clifford Allen, Ethel Snowden, H. Skinner, Robert Williams, R. C. Wallhead, L. Hayden Guest, and C. R. Buxton.

The report was brought direct from Moscow by Ben Turner and Tom Shaw, M. P. for Preston. Investigations are not concluded, and the report deals with matters which the delegates consider as being immediately urgent.

WE have been profoundly impressed by the effects of the policy of intervention and blockade upon the Russian people. This policy has been pursued by various foreign governments since 1918, and under various forms, direct and indirect, it is still being pursued today. It is at the root of the worst evils which are afflicting Russia at the present time.

While the stoppage of exports from Russia is injurious to the world outside, the stoppage of imports is disastrous to the interior economy of Russia itself.

The problem of food exceeds all others in immediate importance. We are appalled by the conditions of virtual famine under which the whole urban population—the manual and the intellectual workers alike—are living.

A particularly serious effect of the blockade policy has been the cutting off of soap and of medical supplies. Epidemics of typhus fever and of recurrent fever have swept over the whole country.

It is true that a great and efficient sanitary organization has been created by the commissariat of public health. The movement on railway lines is controlled by regulation and the provision of numerous observation, diagnosis and disinfection stations. Every train in Siberia and European Russia has to be provided with a special coach for the use of suspicious or actual cases of illness. Large numbers of

hospitals have been created both in Siberia and Russia. A great sanitary propaganda has been carried out through Soviets and trade unions in both towns and villages, and these epidemics are now controlled. In addition, compulsory vaccination has been carried out over the whole of area of Siberia and European Russia for the first time.

But despite this organization, the fact that the blockade has cut off soap and disinfectants has been responsible for the loss of thousands of lives by infectious disease.

Russia is a rich country agriculturally, but the peasant cannot supply food to the towns except in exchange for manufactured articles. The stoppage of imports makes it impossible for these articles to be manufactured in the towns or obtained as finished goods from abroad.

The situation is rendered still more disastrous by the partial breakdown of transport—the direct result of the attacks from without and the fomenting of civil war on Russian territory.

A partial respite was allowed to Russia after the defeat of the armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Judenitch. Advantage was immediately taken of this respite to inaugurate a great effort towards economic reconstruction, backed by a far-reaching and well-conceived educational campaign. The natural energy was largely diverted from military operations to the improvement of the means of transport, the manufacture of articles for peaceful purposes, and the restoration of sanitary conditions.

Perhaps the worst disservice rendered to Russia by the recent renewal of hostilities on the Polish front has been the forcing back of the Russian people against their will from the paths of peace into the paths of war. We ourselves have witnessed scores of examples of this baneful process.

The appeal for creative work is being once more set aside in favor of the appeal to military enthusiasts, while war conditions provide new pretexts

for restricting individual liberty and preventing freedom of discussion. These conditions cannot be changed while war continues.

One effect of the present crisis has been to rally practically all parties to the support of the government for the purposes of national defence—whatever their differences on questions of internal politics. This demonstrates the futility of supposing that communist principles, whether they be good or bad, can be destroyed by hostile pressure from abroad. Such pressure only increases the stability of the government so far as internal politics are concerned.

In view of the above facts, we wish to register our unanimous and whole-hearted protest against the policy whose effects we have described—a policy as foolish as it is inhuman.

Russia's supreme needs are immediate peace and free intercourse with the outside world. We recommend that the entire British labor movement should demand the removal of the last vestige of blockade and intervention, and the complete destruction of the barrier which imperialist statesmen have erected between our own people and our brothers and sisters of Russia.

As a first step to attaining these objects the present Russian government should be unconditionally recognized. It has shown its stability by resisting for two and a half years the many efforts made to destroy it. It has repeatedly shown its will to peace. We can ourselves bear witness to the fact that it has made vigorous efforts to carry on the work of economic reconstruction.

We do not think it necessary to deal in detail with the argument that the Russian government cannot be recognized and peace can never be made with it because some of its actions are disapproved by other governments. In our opinion this is a question for Russia herself and not for any foreign government.

A Philosophic Paradox.

A PARADOX is a fact that, on first examination, looks absurd; but, on deeper scrutiny, is found to be entirely true. The universe contains many such illusions. For example, it was once generally believed that the sun rose in the east, travelled across the sky and finally sank under the earth in the west. It was not possible for people to think otherwise, because every day they saw the whole process taking place. Now we know the facts are quite the opposite. The doctrines of determinism are, at first sight, equally as unbelievable, and even more revolutionary and irreligious than, to our ancestors, appeared the discovery of the earth's rotation on its axis, whilst the sun remained relatively immovable.

"Determinism" holds that all our actions are produced by an efficient cause. The contrary doctrine maintains that we have a free will. Determinism, therefore, means that the human will is not free; that, in short, its every action is necessitated by previous causes. Because we see every day, and feel within ourselves, apparent acts of free will; it is this that makes of Determinism, such a startling paradox. The anti-determinists admit that, in Nature, nothing happens without a cause; but they assert that this does not apply to the

(human) soul, because it is a part of the Sovereign Power that is above, and rules over, Nature. That they are wrong in this view, will be clear from the following:

All our actions spring from motives; and a motive is something that moves or excites to action. It is the most powerful motive that finally effects the act; just as a heavier weight will tip down a scale, against a lighter article in the neighbor scale. But, motives themselves have a cause; or, rather, a set of causes. These are, one's physical and moral tendencies, which are mostly inherited from parents and ancestors. Next, come the force of training, education and example acting on the inborn character, and producing thereon, sometimes a good and sometimes a bad effect. Then come the influence of country, climate, natural conditions, manners and customs, etc. Lastly, the special circumstances of health nutrition, wealth or poverty, social position, happiness or misery, and so on. If we knew all of these causes acting on a person, we could predict to a hair, (as writers do with their creations), exactly what he would do at any future moment. To sum up; all a man's actions at any particular moment are inevitably caused by the totality of his Heredity and Environment; since our

motives are made for us and not by us.—"Progress."

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1, Socialist Party of Canada.

Hereunder is statement of contributions received for medical supplies to relieve suffering in Soviet Russia.

Dr.
From collection at Special Propaganda Meeting, Empress Theatre, Vancouver, B. C., June 20, 1920\$ 45.60
Donations—
Jim Fletcher 5.00
R. Emery 1.00
J. Pike 2.00
E. J. Nicholson 50.00
T. Richardson 1.00
\$104.60

Cr.
Cheque sent to Dr. Wm. Mendelson, 362 De Kalb Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.\$104.60
Jack Shepherd, Secretary,
Local (Vancouver) No. 1, S. P. of C.
6th July, 1920 .

Economic Causes of War.

Article No. 8.

JAPAN, it is commonly stated, was allied to Britain because of Britain's friendliness during the intervention of Russia, France and Germany, when Japan was annexing Chinese territory after the Jap-Chinese War. Japan however, entered the war for purely commercial and imperialistic reasons. She was determined to obtain the German colony in China. She violated the independence and integrity of China by her troops passing through China to attack the Germans in Kiao-Chou; this was before China entered the war. We also witnessed Japan make the famous twenty-one demands on China while the European Powers were busy killing one another in France. In general these demands were that no part of the China coast and no island off the coast be ceded or leased to any foreign power. The following are some of the demands made:—

Eastern Mongolia.—Japan shall have exclusive mining rights. No railways shall be constructed without the consent of Japan. The Japanese shall be granted the right to settle, trade, farm, and purchase land.

Southern Manchuria.—The lease of Port Arthur and leased territory, shall be extended to 99 years. The Antung Mukden and Kirin Changchun Railway agreements be extended 99 years. Japanese shall be granted the right to trade, settle, and purchase land.

Shantung.—China shall transfer to Japan all mining and railway privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Germans, and shall agree to the construction of the railway from Chefoo or Lungkow to Weihsieu as Japanese.

Yangtze Valley.—Japan shall jointly control with China the Hanyan Iron Works (this is the biggest industrial business in China) in which Japan has a large financial interest, the Tayeh Iron Mines, and the Chingsiang Collieries, and China shall not undertake to grant to other nations mining rights calculated to impair these undertakings.

China to consult Japan first if China decides to employ advisers, military, political, or for financial purposes.

I have given sufficient information of the Japanese demands to show the trail of imperialism and capitalism. What did Britain, the great upholder of integrity and independence, say regarding the Japanese demands on China? The London "Times" frankly declared: "In view of our relations with Japan, it would be ungracious for Britain to put obstacles in the way of Japan's reasonable enough ambitions." Let me remind my readers that the preamble of the treaty between Japan and Britain of 1905 states that the object is the preservation of the common interest of all powers in China, by ensuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industries of all nations in China. The question of Japan's demands was brought up in the British House of Commons. Sir Edward Grey was asked if negotiations were going on between Japan and China for the obtaining of exclusive rights in mines, railways, etc. The reply was that such negotiations were going on but that particulars could not be given the House. The question was opened up later during the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill. In his reply for the Government, Mr. Primrose gave an assurance that British commercial interests would not be neglected. He declined to give details of the Japanese demands and made the following statement: "His Majesty's government have no objection to the expansion of Japanese interests in China, provided that the expansion in no way inflicts injury upon British interests." We did not hear any protest from the press, platform, or pulpit about this "Scrap of Paper." I mean the treaty between Japan and Britain in 1905 to uphold the independence and integrity of China. In a leading article on the Japanese demands the Paris "Temps" says: "These are not in conflict with the French interests, and M. Sazonoff, the Russian

Foreign Minister, does not consider them contrary to Russian interests. They may perhaps clash with the British interests at certain points, but Great Britain is allied to Japan and co-operated with her in the taking of Kiao-Chau, and there exist between London and Tokio too many points of contact, and links of friendship and of interests, for a basis of agreement not to be found. Moreover, the Japanese government will have need of both the London and Paris markets in order to profit by the advantages which it will obtain. Bases of agreement will, therefore, not be lacking. The principle of the integrity of China is not at stake. **It is only a matter of economic competition.**" The closing sentences are beautiful. Why did the Germans not think of it to explain the invasion of Belgium?

M. Sazonoff stated in the Russian Duma that the demands of Japan addressed to China contained nothing contrary to Russian interests. The silence of the United States and its press on this situation which arose between Japan and China, was a result of the J. P. Morgan Company about this time acquiring the position of acting as general fiscal agents for the Allies. The American press became more anti-German on receipt of this news and the placing of a loan in New York of one hundred million dollars.

Although Japan entered the war in 1914, it was not until March, 1917, that a secret agreement was contracted, by which the British, French, Russian and Italian Governments consented to allow Japan to have the German rights in Shantung. This was obtained by Japan pressing her allies in the darkest hour of the war, and by virtually threatening to treat with Germany. When China entered the war it was naturally thought that the German property in China would be returned to China. The German Shantung Treaty specified that Germany could not lease any of this territory to any other power, and the German lease was for 99 years. We witnessed the findings of great intellectuals of the Allies at the peace conference, transferring all German rights at Kia-Chou and in the Shantung Province without reserve to Japan. Both houses of the Chinese Parliament passed a resolution, protesting through the foreign office to the delegates of the Great Powers at Paris, against this transfer, and that the province and other interests be returned to China. This was ignored at Paris, and China refused to sign the Peace Treaty.

China is now in the financial grip of England, America, France and Japan, who have inaugurated an international consortium to finance China. The Tokio "Nichi-Nichi" is quoted in the "Literary Digest" as saying: "This plan, ostensibly in the interest of the open door, is in reality to close China's doors for the benefit of England, America, France and Japan, who are the only nations to be admitted to the consortium, for an indefinite period of time . . . The plan is essentially American. From the American standpoint it is a great diplomatic stroke. Its purpose is to break up the spheres of influence and thus to enable America to promote her interests where she has hitherto been unable to enter." Another Japanese paper says: "Not to put too fine a point upon it, one of the objects of the consortium is to prevent Japan from swallowing up China altogether."

In the Canadian press, May 7th, 1920, the public were informed from Washington that Japan had withdrawn all objections to the Chinese consortium, and the despatch continues: "the state department was informed to-day by the American Embassy at Tokio. The consortium will become effective as soon as the signatures of the officials have been affixed. The acceptance of the consortium by the Japanese provides for financing of China by representative groups of bankers in each of the four great countries. Japan has contended that Manchuria and Mongolia should be excluded from the operation of the consortium, claiming that it had predominant

right in that territory because of proximity. The terms of the consortium are general and each negotiation will be taken up separately. Japan will have the right to object to loans for any work she feels will jeopardize her national life or vitally affect her sovereignty. Under this head it is said, may be included the construction of railroads in certain parts of China, particularly Manchuria. Under the terms of the consortium all loans made by banking groups, which in the United States includes 37 banks in all sections of the country, must be approved by the State department. The bankers will submit terms and contracts and all documents bearing on it, and if these are approved the loans may then be made with the official sanction of the government behind it. The same procedure will be followed in all countries."

The council of three, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson agreed, as reported in the press, that Japan was to be the mandatory of the German Islands North of the equator. Japan based her claim upon three grounds:

1st—"On the right of possession, as they captured these islands from Germany early in the war, and have held them ever since."

2nd—"That they were awarded Japan under a secret Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1916, by which it was agreed that Japan should retain the former German colonies in the Pacific north of the equator, and Britain or her dependencies, those south of the equator."

3rd—"That the islands are of no strategic value to any other power than Germany, while of great value to Japan as a small useful source of raw material."

The "Literary Digest," of March 8th, 1919, says: Japan has no tropical possession yielding copra, and the islands are rich in this product which Japan needs. Moreover, the Marshall Islands have valuable potash deposits, and as Japan's soil is naturally poor, she requires large quantities of potash for use as fertilizer, especially in growing rice, the staple food of her people. Hitherto Japan, as was the case with the United States, had been at the mercy of the German potash trust, we read, which controlled practically the whole world's output of this commodity, with the aid of their Stassfurt and Alsatian potash deposits. The advantage of Japan having at its command more easily accessible potash deposits of the Marshall Islands is obvious."

The scramble for China is also because of her vast mineral resources, with coal and iron so near the surface making daylight mining possible. Then there is a docile proletariat who work 12 and 14 hours a day in the textile and other industries for a few cents a day. In the city of Shanghai are 18 cotton mills, the largest controlled by Jardine-Matheson Company, the largest British firm in China in 1913. One child between 8 and 9 years employed to every ten adults, and 88 hours a week. No laws or restrictions in the foreign settlements, which are controlled by the great banks where these good capitalists deposit their money. The International Spinning Company, in which American capital is prominently invested squeeze 57½ per cent profit on invested capital. The American Shoe Manufacturing Company, controlling through its patents 96 per cent. American business and 98 per cent. of the British, has a modern factory in China which turned out in 1913, shoes at the factory door at One Dollar per pair. The British American Tobacco Trust has also a firm hold in China. In the Province of Shansi there is enough coal of the best grade to keep the world supplied at the rate of the 1913 consumption for a thousand years. At Tayeh in the Province of Hupeh, it is estimated that there are over 500,000,000 tons of iron ore exposed above the surface of the ground only waiting to be blasted. The oil fields of

(Continued on page 3.)

Gold as the Money Commodity.

IN examining the silver situation we saw that during the middle ages, when the exchange of commodities was largely confined to local markets, and even here not developed to any great extent, silver was the commodity chosen to measure the values of all articles exchanged. While performing this function satisfactorily at the time, its deficiencies soon became apparent when a world market, embracing six continents, replaced the circumscribed area of Western Europe.

For a period of four or five centuries in the latter part of the feudal system the increasing trade, combined with increasing prices, made imperative the use of gold, along with silver, as a money unit for facilitating business transactions. The immovable impediments in the way of a system of bi-metallism we have already noticed.

During the past century most of the capitalistically developed nations have made a change to the gold basis. India and China are practically all that remain of the silver using world. In the "gold standard" countries, however, silver still functions as a sort of a subsidiary currency. It cannot be regarded as standard money because of the fact that its exchange value is not solely dependent upon its intrinsic or metallic value. The stamp on a silver dollar is not a guarantee that the bullion obtained by melting five of them is equal in value to that contained in a five dollar gold piece. The stamp merely indicates the quantity of fine metal.

On the other hand the silver used in modern currency systems is in a very different category to that of paper, or even copper. While its metallic value may at times fluctuate far below its legal value, still, unlike paper and the cheaper metals, it is not impossible for the silver coin to possess even greater intrinsic worth than the stamp specifies. When England adopted the gold standard in 1816, the silver coins were reduced in weight by six per cent., and thereby became token money. During the low price era for silver in 1915, the metal contained in a silver dollar was worth scarcely a third of its nominal value. Last December when silver bullion reached the high water mark of \$1.37 per ounce, the dollar was worth about eight cents more than its face value and consequently thousands of the new coins were melted and disposed of in a more profitable manner.

This sudden and enormous increase in the price of silver caused much anxiety on the part of the financial experts throughout the world. Austen Chamberlain, England's Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced a bill into the House of Commons having for its object the reduction of the fineness of Imperial silver coinage from .925 pure silver to .500. It was pointed out that were it not illegal, and punishable by a severe penalty, to do so, it was now profitable to melt silver coins and sell or export the bullion. By English law the export of coin has long been prohibited, while a heavy penalty has been inflicted or threatened in the case of melting.

But as long as silver is worth more when melted and sold as bullion than as legal tender then, obviously, a premium is placed on the commission of a crime in the melting of the coin. The only remedy in sight was to restore the token character of the silver coin by adding a larger portion of some baser metal.

One of the great obstacles in the way which prevents so many from realizing the importance of a money standard is found in the fact that only a small part of the world's trading is accomplished through the medium of money. Did every transaction where two articles are exchanged involve the use of an amount of gold equal in value to the things exchanged, there would be little difficulty in seeing the significance and import of the money system. But such is far from being the case.

When primitive tribes arrived at a certain stage in their development the old system of barter became too clumsy and cumbersome to expedite the transfer of values, so trading in kind was gradually replaced

by the use of money. Today, regardless of the fact that dozens of commodities, chosen on account of their natural attributes and adaptability, have, in turn, been introduced and maintained as the exchange medium, we find that even the one possessing the highest qualifications—gold—has become too awkward, and deficient in portability, to answer the requirements, and, still being moved by the thought of convenience, various credit representations, supposed to be valued in terms of gold, have been adopted.

While no other commodity begins to compare with gold, so far as those characteristics indispensable to a form of currency are concerned, still it is quite obvious that at both ends of the pole, where large international transactions are involved, or where petty exchanges are necessary, even gold itself ceases to adequately function. Continuous shipments of bullion have had to be stopped in the interests of trade, while it has not been regarded as feasible to mint gold coins of one dollar or under because of their diminutive size, and consequent likelihood of being lost.

In the western sections of the United States, up to recent times, gold coins have been quite conspicuous in the channels of circulation. War conditions, however, made necessary the withdrawing of gold for other purposes. In conjunction with silver, gold serves as the "universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchasing, and as the universally recognized embodiment of 'all wealth.'" (Marx). During periods when peaceful relations prevail between the commercial interests of the capitalized world, this double measure of value is not so pronounced. When war threatens, and the normal conditions of trade are disturbed, the universal nature of gold and silver as a means of purchasing, and recognizing embodiment of wealth, is strongly emphasized.

At the outbreak of the recent war, every country taking part in international trade placed an embargo upon the export of gold, and made frenzied attempts to gather into the financial vaults all available supplies of the precious metals. The banks and fiscal experts are well aware of the fact that finance has long since ceased to be a national affair, and that the monetary condition of each country is interwoven with that of the whole civilized world.

Under such circumstances, it is of the highest importance that any contestant for a position in the world market should have a supply of gold and silver bullion, for the purpose of supporting the immense credit structures that had to be erected in order that martial victory might appear reasonably certain. England, Germany, France and Russia eagerly battled for financial supremacy, and, as the holdings of their great state institutions increased, the amount of gold in the conduits of circulation was reduced to the vanishing point.

With the removal of gold some other means must be introduced to make possible the transfer of use values. Silver and copper tokens served where small purchases were made. Credit instruments had long been used in large transactions. These latter must now find their way into the position left vacant by the withdrawal of gold. Checks, drafts, notes, bills, etc., soon became the dominant currency. These connote an ability to pay the face value in gold. Most of the governments concerned engaged in the issuing of engraved scraps of paper stamped with certain figures, and although these were compulsorily circulated, and made legal tender, they could not be redeemed in real money for the simple reason that there was nothing tangible behind them.

So long as sufficient stores of metal exist in government treasuries, or bank vaults, to cover the paper circulated, all is well. In the matter of convenience the paper currency is preferable to gold. It is more portable, and is not subject to loss through wear and tear. The buying public have no desire to carry coin and, naturally prefer to do business by means of bank checks and drafts. But different al-

together is the case when the gold cover is no longer equivalent to the paper in circulation. When notes are issued in excess of the metallic store behind them the buying power of the notes decreases, and the inevitable result is an inflated currency.

During the Civil War period in the U. S. we can find an illustration of the difference between economic laws and legislative enactments, when it comes to determining the value of a medium of exchange. A bill was introduced in 1862 for the purpose of making government notes legal tender. Many of the legal luminaries of the day advanced the old cry of "unconstitutional," but in spite of opposition the bill became law. When the "green back" left the press it was understood all around that they would circulate at par with the gold dollar, containing 25.8 grains of gold 9/10 fine. Within twelve months after the law was passed a paper dollar was worth only a little more than 50 cents in gold coin. Just as in the case of Bryan's 16 to 1 plank, legislative fiat may determine the nomenclature of money, but it cannot determine its purchasing power.

As Marx has pointed out, paper money can take the place of gold only to the extent that it represents an amount of gold that would actually circulate if not replaced by paper, or other symbols. If twice as much paper is shoved into circulation as there is gold or silver back of it, then the prices of all commodities bought and sold will reflect this inflation, and values that were previously expressed by the price of one dollar would now be expressed by the price of two dollars. No hocus-pocus stunts of frenzied financiers, or cheap politicians, can override, or circumvent, the law of value. Their flimsy attempts are soon exposed in the marts of exchange.

The inflation of the currency is more pronounced at present than ever before. At the beginning of hostilities the gold reserve of practically all the European countries was at the high water mark. They had busily prepared in a financial way for years in anticipation of the rape of Belgium, and the strangulation of Serbia. However, these reserves were soon dissipated. The war credits, in all of the belligerent countries, greatly exceeded the cover in gold which spelled safety. The result is wide world inflation. The increases of paper currency over gold security have been so enormous that the whole financial structure is trembling, and presents a problem of startling gravity to our Napoleons of finance. Speculation is rife as to what the solution will be. The adoption of a standard other than gold for the world's financial operations, has been advocated of late. But this in no way solves the problem. It only leaves it more complicated.

As for the gold standard, it has almost left us. Its rehabilitation is being attempted. The methods adopted by the agents of a dying system are interesting to say the least. As "Geordie" puts it—"The currencies of practically all civilized countries are no longer on a gold basis, and the value of money, so to speak, is now a mere matter of quantity in circulation." J. A. McD.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR.

(Continued from page 2.)

Shansi and Syerhwan have been estimated by the Austrian Consul, who resided there in 1913, to be greater in extent and productiveness than any other in the world. This lying at the door of Japan, who has entered the field of Imperialism and put down the Koreans, who claimed independence, with atrocities far worse than those in Europe, is another proof that the war was not fought for honor or independence of nationalities. Japanese labor conditions are similar to those in China, with women and child labor and very long hours, and with Labor Movements kept down.

What a glorious ally for democracy, and yet, Socialists are looked upon as materialists, because they point out the economic forces which underlie the superficial platitudes portrayed before the people, when a war breaks out as a result of these economic forces.

PETER T. LECKIE.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JULY 16, 1920.

EDITORIAL

TRUTH WILL OUT.

WE have in this city, rich in scenery and strangers, three average and representative examples of the daily press. The "Sun" holds the attention of the morning reader, it being the only paper then published; the "World" is widely read in the afternoon and evening in popular restaurants where it is distributed free of charge; and the "Province" may be trusted to regularly present Mr. Jiggs each day as its reliable and salient feature.

The other morning, the 5th of July to be precise, the "Sun" printed an editorial concluding with these words: "With the results of Sovietism before us, why are Bolsheviks permitted to carry on their propaganda in this country? The man who preached Sovietism in this country should be promptly deported or sent to jail." If this has reference to us, we take it as a mark of esteem that we have aroused the ire of the "Sun."

Sovietism, as outlined in the article mentioned, is a cruel and vicious tyranny which has accomplished more outrageous and murderous butchery than Czarism ever attempted. So far, the editorial is up to "Sun" standard in "news" about Russia. Proceeding, Archangel is particularly specified by "late reports," emanating however, so far as the evidence is given, from no greater distance than the "Sun" office. There, "Owners, directors and managers of industries, banks and transportation companies have been assassinated or imprisoned. Everyone is compelled to work for the government. Organized labor in this country with its forty-four hour week and Saturday afternoon and Sunday holidays, will learn with interest that working people of both sexes in Archangel are compelled to 'volunteer' their services at manual labor to the government every Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning from 9 to 12."

They will indeed. And so too will the "Reds" learn with surprise of their utterances in Vancouver as "reported" from the "Sun" office. And if we see our own activities portrayed untruthfully, and find our own utterances twisted to a wrong meaning, how then shall we be expected to swallow "news" from far Russia, prepared for us by the "Sun."

It appears that everybody in Russia has to work. That is the general bourgeois and aristocratic fear of Bolshevism—a fear of work.

In this country, as in all capitalist countries, work is compulsory, not for everybody, but only for the majority. In all capitalist countries there is a minority which is privileged to consume without producing. Soviet Russia has abolished that privilege, excepting among children, and the sick and the aged.

Compulsion to work in Russia, is not compulsion laid on wage-slaves to make profit for idlers whose self-esteem is measured by its accounting. It is the organization of men who are struggling for freedom, the scarcity of whose numbers in the fields of production is prompted by the profit-hungry attentions of the directing influences of other lands, thrust upon them by military aggression. But we dislike to dignify the "Sun" with our further attention, and shall now turn, with some reluctance let it be said, to the "World."

The "World" of July 6th, states in an editorial under the heading "The Truth from Russia," that a damaging attack has been made on the Soviets by its friends and apologists. It calls Mrs. Snowden

a "convinced Bolshevik and pacifist," and twists her own written observations into a statement to the effect that she repudiates the Soviets and all their works. It seems that the "World" is so ill-informed on the matter as to state that the members who composed the delegation were altogether representative of the "advanced wing of the British Socialist Party."

At this stage, and while we are at it, we may as well introduce the "Province," which, a week or two ago presented us with an outline of Ben Turner's "condemnation" of everything in Soviet Russia. It happens that we now have Ben Turner's own outline before us, and if that conservative old political curio could compare it with the story these papers have extracted from it, he would assuredly consider that we have here rather a "free" press, a press, that is to say, that freely compiles his "opinions" without consulting him.

Elsewhere in this issue we have presented the interim report of the British labor delegation to Russia. With the possible exception of Robert Williams, who is an "advanced" reformer, the persons who compose the delegation, instead of being of the "advanced" wing of British labor are of the conservative element.

Some of the delegates have already written personal reports. No restrictions were placed upon their investigations. They had absolute freedom to go where they liked and to see whom they liked. They were permitted freely to enter mills, workshops, factories, public institutions and private homes. Visits were made to persons of anti-Soviet views. Ben Turner says the reports current that anarchy prevails are totally untrue. The streets of Petrograd or Moscow, he says, are as free and peacefully regulated as the streets of London.

All members of the delegation pay a striking tribute to the health organization of Russia and to efforts towards child welfare and education. And all members declare against capitalist aggression by military measures and the use of the blockade. Organization in production and efficient supervision in administrative departments are unanimously agreed upon as being unique and astonishing in results, commanding admiration from all, in face of the difficulties of militarism on the Soviet borders. And all are agreed in the opinion that Russia stands united in her own defence, firm in an iron determination to resist military aggression at the cost, for liberty, of every human comfort. In this connection Mrs. Snowden says the Soviet Government is quite stable and is supported by the whole population.

In dealing with the local press, lest we may be deemed parochial in our healthy prejudices, let us say at once that we do not hold any monopoly upon press "news" concerning Russia, but we have our generous share.

CHANCELLOR Fehrenbach and his delegation from Germany to Spa, have been treated to some finger pointing, head shaking, and "rigid" utterances from Mr. Lloyd George, who professed to be astonished, and who no doubt was a little peeved to learn that a considerable portion of the German small arms remained uncollected, for delivery to the Allied junk heap. The Germans, when they met the florid faced ones at Spa, had but three days of their allotted span to run to make their erstwhile soldiery stand and deliver. The Chancellor announced that delivery on the stated terms was out of the question, and the inevitable extension of time was granted—six months. The Allied representatives manifested a great outburst of indignation, though they displayed but little surprise.

The fact of the matter is that the soldiers have kept their arms, and they compose, in their own retreats and homes, a more formidable force than Germany is "allowed" to have.

The Premier of Poland, who has been at Spa with a dizzy head and both hands outstretched, owns the most appropriate name on the diplomatic list. Grabski!

IT seems that the CLARION is not sharp enough in its points, to turn the untilled fields into fertile soil. F. S. F., in this issue, like J. S. L., in

a former issue, preaches a little sermon that is kindly meant and will be, with a sigh, kindly recorded.

The CLARION writers are all modest folk, and no doubt will be startled into wakefulness by encountering comparison with Mark Twain, and with such queer people too, as Blatchford and Frank Harris. We are directed to these three for our example, of course, but while we know that they are grouped together only as masters of English style and composition, we feel just a little sorry to see Mark Twain in such personal company.

It is a hard matter to write on fundamentals in a manner that is at once sound and easy to read. Instruction upon, and direction towards the understanding of fundamentals, is for the workers the most essential need, and for earnest educators the most difficult task. We agree that in Blatchford's use of the King's English he is as clear as, for example, St. Paul, but his simple words clothe also the generality of the King's ideas. And so also are the general sweets in any attractive educational pastry shop.

Understanding of essential principles can be reached only by patient and attentive study, and our paper will never be appreciated excepting by serious people in their serious moments. Simplicity is as desirable as it is difficult to attain, but if it is required, in addition, that we dress our thoughts in a kind of baseball or Billy Sunday patois that would allure the most insensate, we would consider ourselves in the wrong field of endeavor.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Our next issue will contain an article by J. A. McD. on "The Sinn Fein Situation," outlining the Socialist position towards that movement.

"The Revolutionary Socialist" (S. L. P., Sidney, N. S. W.), June 1, reproduces with acknowledgment, from the WESTERN CLARION of March 16th, the article by J. Conlan, entitled "At Last."

Our sometime contributor, Comrade F. J. McNey, sends along three dollars for the Clarion Maintenance Fund, and promises to get in a supply of ink to be used up in the fall. He modestly refers to the other CLARION writers as being more able than himself, which is a nice way to excuse idling away his time working for his master.

While we are on the matter of contributors, we might mention that some of them seem to have forgotten our address. Like ten men trying to help one drowning, each modestly estimates the other's ability as greater than his own, and the victim takes in more water than is good for any man. So with our writers. They think the carrier has broken a wide trail to this office, whereas he calls in occasionally to say there's nothing for us. Concerning the paper as it stands, we have presented the suggestions received to date for its improvement; we have seen no need to present another viewpoint that has been more generally expressed.

Comrade O'Brien sends a short note to say he has been re-arrested, this time on a deportation warrant. He spent 26 hours in jail, and was then released on bail. His case is to be heard by the Department of Labor at Washington. We were under the impression that Charlie was on bail already, and if this is correct, he must be on bail twice.

After our note concerning subs. the other week, we expected the renewals and new subs to roll in collectively and overwhelm us. A glance at our **Here and Now** list will disappoint your eager interest. We promised to furnish lists of subscribers in your district **on demand**. Our gentle readers have sent in one **demand** since our last wheedling paragraph.

A report of Dominion Executive Committee doings, covering the period for six months ending 30th June, 1920, is under way, and will be in the hands of Local Secretaries within a week.

Manitoba Election Campaign Fund is now closed. If you have a collecting card that you received from the Vancouver end, hand it to the individual who gave it to you, or send it to E. MacLeod. If you got it through Winnipeg, send it to Comrade Alex. Shepherd, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Do it now.

The Manitoba Elections

EVER since the idea was broached of nominating the imprisoned strike leaders for the Manitoba House of Legislature, keen interest has been centred in and around Winnipeg by the working class of Canada. By many, the election of these men was considered to be the most suitable form of protest against the "cruel" and "unjust" punishment meted out to them by the powers that be.

Others were of the opinion (and are still) that a few "labor" members in the House would have the effect of preventing in future, any such atrocities being perpetrated upon members if the working class.

So, with the word "labor" in big letters before their eyes, the proletarians of Manitoba went forth to conquer on the 29th of June. The vote recorded on that day was the greatest ever polled for labor candidates in the Dominion of Canada.

There was jubilation in the ranks of the working class as the returns were made known, and not a few enthusiastic wage-slaves were happy in the thought that the millenium had arrived, and that all their troubles were over. Here was the answer of the Winnipeg workers to the Norris clique for their manhandled methods during the strike of a year ago! Dare they in future to call out military or mounted police during a strike and the thunderous voices of the labor representatives would reverberate throughout the halls of legislature demanding the "rights of man."

Trembling in their seats, the politicians of the master-class would now have to endure as best they could the tirades of righteous indignation panned out by the spokesmen of labor.

With cold perspiration dripping from their quaking frames, they would flinch and squirm before the penetrating gaze of the dauntless labor men, who would tell them in no uncertain terms of the evil of their ways, or the gloomy outlook which awaited them on judgment day. It would be an easy matter for these spokesmen of the workers to lay bare the iniquities of capitalism, one at least of whom boasts of a college "degradation," and regards as a waste of time, for him, the study of such subjects as economics, or the class struggle.

So occupied were the minds of the Winnipeg workers with the immediate "demands" of the "Labor Party," the long string of reforms which has been held out to the workers by every Labor Party which has successfully carried out the fell work of swerving the working class from its historic mission, i.e., the abolition of the wage system, that they almost forgot about the boy in Stony Mountain.

It came as a great surprise and disappointment to the workers of Winnipeg, when the final returns showed Bob Russell to have been eliminated in the 37th count. Everybody was very sorry to know that Bob had not been elected. It had seemed a foregone conclusion that he would take his seat in the Provincial House, and the shock was painfully manifest in the faces of those who had waited for hours before the "Free Press" building on the morning of the last count.

Russell had the sympathy of every wage-slave in Winnipeg, but others had their votes. Maybe if Bob had pulled off a little weep stuff it might have influenced the voting somewhat more in his favor. However, it is all over now. One revolutionist has been elected, i.e., Geo. Armstrong, and if Queen is as good as his election manifesto, and we have reason to believe he is, we can count another. Taken as a whole, the vote showed confusion to be rampant among the workers, but we cannot ignore the fact that compared with showings in previous elections, we have to record progress. Not because of the man elected so much as the evidence that amongst the workers there is a clashing of ideas. Discussions are going on, literature is being read which will form the basis of future revolutionary activities. Our propaganda meetings were well attended, and most of the questions were intelligent ones.

What is necessary now is an extensive propaganda campaign throughout the Dominion. We will be helped in this by the master class of Manitoba, who will pay Geo. Armstrong whilst he is touring the Province of Manitoba preaching the class struggle. The working class in Canada will learn to take notice of the activities of Labor Parties in other parts of the world, notably in Great Britain and New Zealand, and, using such knowledge for precedents, will ally themselves in future with the Marxian revolutionist for freedom from exploitation, the abolition of capitalism once and for all.

FRANK CASSIDY.

Intelligent Action.

HISTORY proves to us the impossibility of regulating the progress of society according to any fixed plan. It is impossible to impose upon the mass of the people a system of society, even when formulated by men of undoubted genius.

Before any social change can be firmly established, it is necessary first of all for the majority of the people to feel the need for such change. History is replete with instances wherein the best laid plans of individuals and groups have been rejected by the mass for this reason. It is not in the nature of things that men should control the law of "social progress."

All systems, including the capitalist system have evolved from their immediate predecessors; neither the ruling class nor the subject class can alter the chart the law of change adopts to reach its goal. The eternal "law of change" operates independent of the human faculty. Future events alone can dictate and determine our future activities.

Experience teaches us that whenever the human will has been allowed to influence and determine human activities to the exclusion of all other factors, such achievements in the social sense have ended in disaster. Such action but retards the progressive forces that are always at work. The eternal law of change operates independent of the human faculty. Impulsive, blind revolt on the part of a minority must be guarded against.

Our chief mission is to explain to the workingclass the causes responsible for the present world-wide happenings. We must prepare the minds of the workers for coming changes through our scientific and educational propaganda. When the majority have developed socialist class conscious knowledge, we know they will submit themselves to the control of the progressive forces, and their activities will be in accordance with events which the future alone can determine. We are but instruments whose actions are controlled, dominated and guided by forces historical evolution has set in motion, and we cannot withdraw ourselves from its influences, or control its action.

All the attempts of our ruling, capitalist class to reconstruct society have been futile; forces are now in operation over which they have no control. The fact that such attempts are now being made, prove to the class conscious proletariat that there is even now a pressing need for change. The world wide industrial unrest and discontent amongst the workers, indicate that capitalism is breaking its bonds.

The forces at work in social development today will compel the workers to free themselves from their economic thralldom? Class conscious knowledge must supplant bourgeois ideology. Such mental equipment alone will prevent workers everywhere from falling victims to the furtherance of capitalist exploitation. During this critical transition period, the enslaved class will understand the puerile and frantic efforts of the ruling class. Let them plan; let them coerce; let them use to the limit their arbitrary power. Every move they make but kindles the now smouldering spirit of discontent. Such designs but hasten the doom of the property system. Let them invoke the white terror and on progress crush their iron heel. All is grist that comes to the mill of the class conscious worker. Such actions on the part of the ruling class cannot alter by a line the law of social evolution. All their attempts, schemes and plans are doomed to failure. Every effort they employ de-

velops the aftermath and helps to solidify the revolutionary proletarian movement.

Our chief function then, is to educate by propaganda, in mill, mine, factory or wherever the workers' attention can be reached. Our part in the political arena is purely for educational purposes, and is a means whereby we are enabled to carry on working class propaganda, and for this reason we endorse its activity. Socialists realize that our ready-made state would prove an unweildy instrument in the hands of a victorious working class. The object the class conscious workers have towards all political, bourgeois institutions being, not to perpetuate their rule or to remodel them, but to abolish them.

Political action is a means and not an end in itself. Such action enables us to organize and to mentally equip our forces for the final act of emancipation. We, the revolutionary proletariat, cannot afford to miss any opportunity of finding a peaceful solution to the social problem, and must take every opportunity offered. Only in the event of our ruling, capitalist class taking away all civilized means of action shall we endorse any other weapon. It is irrelevant at the present juncture to determine just what form our actions may or may not take in the future.

We have nothing to fear from the actions of a class conscious working class. Knowledge is the workers' friend; ignorance their greatest enemy.

BEN TROMANS.

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Total subscriptions received from 26 June to 13 July, inclusive, \$48.

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.

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Social Justice.

SOcial justice is not general, but particular. It is not the gospel according to this hero, or that, but is, on the contrary, the measure and value of the concordance of human society, and that society, definite in its organization, specific in its origin. And since any society must necessarily assume some form; and, quite as obviously must have some origin, the basis on which the society rests, i.e., the manner and nature of the interest that holds men in common union, cannot fail, vitally, powerfully and inherently to influence the thought, and ethic, of such union.

All slave societies are individualist in philosophy. Because social development compels certain individuals to assume the initiative in social evolution, and because society is content with the appearance: the initiators — the medium through which the force acts, is transformed in the social ethic, into the vital force of necessity, underlying all change. Society, in the individual and the mass, is thus nurtured in the faith of the ideal, and instead of regarding reality and the impulse of its activities as the latest results of certain conditions and circumstances, material in being and action, envisages those conditions and circumstances as the product of concrete ability. Or in other words, that the "noble" mind of "lordly" man is the guiding factor in life condition, and that, as he decrees, so shall the change be. Nevertheless, while political society shall continue to fetter human endeavour, the human mind shall never and can never become the arbiter of human destiny.

The basis on which capitalist society rests is property right—the right to hold as private property the social means of life. This means the slavery of the mass of society, and the mass can only be successfully enslaved, not by force of arms, but by the force of social conceptions. Hence do the principles that guide the activities of the dominant social class become the "eternal verities" of class society. But to conserve its ruling interests, class society must conceal the truth, must turn away all enquiry and criticism of its gods. By veiling truth, all thought and concept becomes distorted, isolated, broken away from the objective reality of sequential change and experience, that might be a beacon amidst the storming waters of social conflict, becomes but a phantasm of the imagination. Moreover, with the growth of class rule truth is deliberately subverted, becomes exile, and like all exiles can only be repatriated with the ruin of the power that suppressed it. It is from this basis of falsity and imagery that class ethic proceeds; it is this dominant class rule that gives form and direction to our thought and action; and it is because of this chaotic thought and conflict existing between dominant class and subservient society, that we are driven to every expedient of reform, lured with the hope of gain, flattered with the vanities of sophists, and are thrust back from all hope of social victory by the very idealistic impulses that hold class societies together.

For social victory can only come with class destruction, and class destruction is the fruit, not of philosophic idealism, but of material reality. And this because idealism makes its final appeal to sentiment, never to reason, stressing the transient spectacular, and veiling the abiding yet ever changing reality. And therein lies its power. For man glories in the colorful pageant, but shrinks back from the drab fact underlying it; moves reluctantly to the dictates of thought, but goes with flying feet when emotion touches the strings of his life. Wherefore does failure and its bitterness rest on his greatest efforts at social betterment, and brings to naught his dreams of fancy from the sweetest humanitarianism to the latest confection in "housewives leagues." Naturally, if the premise is false, the accruing result must be false also.

But the inevitability of change cannot be obviated, nor its dialectic of condition overcome. Competition is the nemesis of individualist idealism,

and however beneficial this competition may be in its origin, under the influences and motives generated by economic necessity, it becomes deadly in its social effects. With the progress of economic development, individualism has become transformed into its opposite—collective effort; and the concept of its ideal, while nominally remaining social is, in reality, the reflex of class interest. But every change in material condition involves an ethical readjustment, and this readjustment of the class ideal, on the political plane, draws the line of class cleavage ever more clearly, divides the property-holder and the propertyless even more distinctly, and renders both idealism and its life condition more and more impossible.

Society has been evolved from and through the necessity of co-operation, and only through co-operation can social welfare exist, or social harmony continue. Hence, if social evolution has displaced the concept of social welfare for individual, or class interest, the continuance of social evolution must as certainly generate a more stable social harmony. For the preservation of society is the objective of society, not the aggrandisement of individual or class; and the new sphere of action will fructify its own thought.

Nevertheless, society, educated in the ethic of idealist competition, holds firmly to its tradition. Amidst the intolerable contradictions of political development, the more and more volcanic upheavals of class conflict, the glaring absurdities of its philosophy, and the patent bankruptcy of the ruling regime, the old cry of justice and its thousand variants, still ascends from the camp of the people, mocking them with its futility to abate the growing struggle for existence.

But the regeneration of society will proceed from the culmination of such conditions. Individual rivalry for gain brings about co-operative rivalry for gain, and the class nature of this latter, in turn shatters the whole fabric of political idealism and its confusions, proves the utter untenability of its productive processes, and thrusts aside like a dead leaf its discredited system of slave law and order. The force of this revolution is irresistible, being the product of laws and forces beyond the potency of man; but the method, condition, and time of achievement are in exact ratio to the wisdom and vision of those who suffer under the dominion of political democracy.

Thought and its content, movement and its reality, spring from and are given direction to by the underlying social conditions of life. Of those life conditions are the conditions of political economy, then the social justice of society can only be the reflex of the class interests of political dominancy. If the life conditions are the conditions of economic freedom, then the concept of social justice will be the freedom of all to enjoy individually the necessities, comforts and amenities of life, which have been produced socially by collective society.

On any other terms, social justice is but "an infant crying in the night." R.

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The Turning of the Worm.

By George Palmer.

IT is no exaggeration to say that fully 75 per cent. of the people of Canada are in utter ignorance of the vast social change which is taking place throughout the world. Most are aware that the world is not running smoothly, but as far as a knowledge of basic factors causing the social upheaval is concerned, there are very few, other than Socialists who can enlighten them.

To the student of Socialism, everything that is taking place today bears out the theory expounded by Marx fifty odd years ago. The Socialist is not confused; far from it. He is in a position to explain everything satisfactorily, for not only can he support his assertions with an arsenal of facts, but by cold logical reasoning he can convince all who will listen and debate intelligently, that only by the adoption of socialistic principles can the world be regenerated. He can prove conclusively that conditions will force people to accept Socialism. He knows that Socialism cannot be avoided. Nature's forces, whether in large or small things, cannot be ignored. Evolution cannot be stopped, however much a certain state suits a particular class of people. There can be no stopping; to stop means to stagnate, and stagnation means death.

All through nature the law of development is going on, and the evolution of human society can be likened to the evolution of any of nature's wonders. A silkworm will serve the purpose of an analogy as well as any of nature's many lessons.

Capitalism was first a germ; created by the conditions which prevailed at the time of its inception. Conditions favored it and it flourished. The egg is hatched and the little caterpillar is born; if conditions favor it, it also thrives. Capitalism grew and grew: subtle scheming, and the sweat of the toiler making conditions ever more favorable. The silkworm grows and grows. Capitalism could not stop growing under such conditions as prevailed during its growth. The silkworm cannot stop growing, and so both Capitalism and the silkworm attain maturity.

The silkworm now finds a change taking place; without any effort on its own part it changes into a chrysalis stage and surrounds itself with a cocoon formed of substance within itself. Capitalism does a similar thing. Without any effort on the part of the capitalist, the workers within the capitalist society surround the capitalist with wealth. The Capitalist cannot help it; neither can the silkworm. It is simply the law of nature manifesting itself.

A certain period is taken up by the silkworm in forming this substance or wealth, called silk, and the worm, now in the chrysalis stage, feels another tremor denoting change. Its body is developing something too large for the body to contain. It must expand or die. Nature does not want it to die; its work is not yet complete. So with Capitalist society; it produces and surrounds itself with so much wealth that expansion becomes necessary. Wings form on the humble little toiler inside the cocoon, and at last he breaks the frail shell to see what the world looks like.

Capitalist society is now undergoing transformation from the chrysalis stage of production to the expanding stage of its producing element. A new society is being born and is anxious to try its wings. The silkworm smooths the wrinkles from its wings, and in the glory of its new found freedom, forgets the cramped position of its earlier days.

Society today is breaking away from Capitalism. The new form about to try its wings is Socialism. Socialism will run its allotted span; what that will be none can say. The moth of the silkworm species will eventually die, leaving eggs to be hatched out for the process to be repeated.

Capitalism today has almost run its allotted span, leaving conditions out of which Socialism will flourish and reach maturity.

Education.

THE function of a Socialist paper is to spread knowledge of their enslaved conditions to the workers. These workers have not acquired much learning beyond "the three R's." Hence, when a paper is handed to them, it should be full of interesting articles bearing on their conditions, or comment on current affairs, written in clear, simple, lucid English.

When I hand the "Clarion" to a fellow slave, it provokes some thought in me to have him look it over with vague lacklustre eyes. Then hand it back saying, "Maybe it's all right mate, but I don't savvy."

I think: "Well, he is typical of my class. Without him and his class we will be nowhere, and if he can't appreciate the present-day "Clarion," have we to wait 'till he uprises bloodily with his fellows, and trust that we can take him by the hand and enter the promised land, singing 'Lead kindly light?'"

When tired, workworn Mrs. Smith gives it back to me and says, "Gee! you must have some brains, to read that," I may feel flattered, but that does not help her any. Or when the "school marm" said, "Good paper, but very academic, don't you think?" I could but sadly agree.

I raise the point that too many writers are afraid they will be deemed ignoramuses unless they impress us with the wide extent of their knowledge, and the uncommon words they express it in. What is the use of covering the whole field of human progress in one brief article? Why give us in issue after issue a flashy, sketchy outline of the doings of the human race from Caesar to Morgan, and on one page?

Why! There is matter enough in any episode of any period, to give us an exhaustive series of articles, and that might be worth something. But, bless me, I think it easier, and much wiser to refer budding students to the masters, than to have them learn the schedule of human progress by rote from "Clarion" writers, however well posted.

The slave who can eagerly devour the account of Jack Dempsey's demolition of Jess Willard, is not always a fool, or even dull. But, rather, used to popular, slangy language, that puts the news across in quick style. And why can't that same language be used in the "Clarion?" Not in extreme baseball style, but in sufficiently vivid, compelling fashion as to get by.

R. Blachford is certainly fitter to grow roses than propagate Socialism, but he can teach some of our writers how to express themselves so a poor mutt can catch on. Frank Harris, of "Pearson's" is garrulous enough, but he knows how to catch the eye. Or take a lesson from Mark Twain, a voluminous writer, yet how simple to understand. Take his beautiful "Joan of Arc." The English of it almost sings itself to you. Not all writers are of this type; several of our regular "Clarion" scribes are delightfully clear and simple, but I won't call out names.

But I will emphasize again, that a mass of vague generalizations, covering a space of twenty-thousand years of society's life, covering with a few sweeping, all inclusive phrases a whole period of history, wherein modes of production of wealth changed, where the system of distribution of the same was radically altered, bringing in its train rebellious migrations, new gods, new ideas, new habits of thought, new ways of looking at nature, new customs, new manners, bringing strange races together, opening up virgin fields of exploitation, and so on; so vast a subject, so all embracing and universal in its scope, such handling of them is a travesty on education. Far rather use up a dozen issues on one phase alone, than bore old-timers, and drive potential recruits away.

My paper supply is out, but I think I voice the views of a host of dumb sufferers; I will assume that I do anyway. Science can be popularized without dilution. I so maintain.

F. S. F.

"A Warning"

THIS is an era of prosperity. The working class of America is in a far better position today than they ever were. Jobs are many. Workers are few. So great is the dearth (Detroit) of common labor that is cheap, that the great manufacturers are contemplating importing a few million coolies.

The worker seems to have forgotten the late war wherein over 30,000,000 human beings were sacrificed to the greedy god of Capitalism. Forgotten are the blood stained, stinking, trenches of France. He has a job. He is making "good money." Why worry about the future?

The Socialist, however, sees that the future is not at all bright for the working class. He does not claim to be a prophet, neither does he claim to be a Madame Thebes; but strange to say all his predictions invariably come true. Why? Because he understands the laws that govern society. Let us see why the future is fraught with danger for the working class.

Prior to 1914, the productive possibilities of this country were such that we were able to export in the fiscal year of 1913, threequarters of a billion dollars worth of manufactured goods. In other words we were then producing a substantial surplus beyond the consumptive power of the domestic market. At that time the number of workers out of employment was large. So great was the distress of these unemployed workers, that soup kitchens were established in many cities.

The war saved the day. The U. S. became the great source of supply for all war materials for the allied nations. The expansion of plant capacity and productive possibilities was stimulated enormously, by all possible means. Every effort was made to overcome through the use of mechanical devices, the withdrawal of three million young men from industry for military service. An industrial revolution took place in this country. It is undoubtedly true that the power of consumption of the U. S. has increased substantially as a result of the war. But it is also undoubtedly true that the expansion of productive possibilities has more than kept pace with this increase in the power of consumption. Moreover, since the signing of the armistice, the great majority of factories have increased their productive possibilities enormously. In Detroit alone over \$300,000,000 is being spent in plant extensions.

The demand for American products today comes not only from the domestic market, but from all over the world. But in the domestic market and in the rest of the world, it is an abnormal demand, due primarily to the war-caused exhaustion of reserve stocks. The belligerent countries of Europe are gradually resuming their normal production. It is reported that Belgium has already attained 85 per cent. of her former productivity. Great Britain is fast re-establishing herself, as the mounting figures of her export trade month by month disclose. The significant statement issued by the packers of Chicago recently, to the effect that the export trade in meat had already ceased entirely, is but one indication of the manner in which Europe is progressing. France recently placed an embargo on American automobiles. Italy is gradually cutting down her imports from America.

We must also not lose sight of the fact that prior to the war, the U. S. was a debtor nation. A large portion of her exports was used to pay the interest on capital which had been borrowed from Europe. Now the situation is reversed. The U. S. is now a creditor nation. Europe owes this country approximately 14 billions. When conditions return to normal, Europe will begin sending her products as payment of the interest on that enormous debt. These imports will come into a market which has a capacity to produce substantially more than it can consume. What will be the result?

Either American manufacturers will have to acquire markets wherein they can dump the enormous surplus or they will have to cut down production. But most of the European countries are in the same position. Their productive possibilities have increased greatly. Great Britain is adopting Amer-

ican methods in her factories. They also must have new markets.

Unless some unforeseen event occurs, American manufacturers in the near future will start to cut down production. This will mean that a great unemployed army will be created. Wages will go down. The worker will be offered a lower standard of living. Instead of strikes by unskilled labor for an increase of wages, we shall have soup kitchens, bread lines and men clamoring for work at the lowest possible wage.

JOHN TYLER.

Russian Gold

ON June 10th the Swedish Government decided that the gold sent to Stockholm by the Soviet Government (about a million sterling) is to be held in a Stockholm bank under the control of the Government. Baron Palmstierna, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, has explained that the Swedish Government had nothing whatever to do with the exportation of gold, because, in principle, it did not interfere in the business affairs of private parties nor in contracts which might be concluded by Swedish nationals. The sole task of the Government, he added, was to see that the trade with Russia conformed with the decisions taken by the Supreme Council in January and February, as also with those reached at San Remo.

At the meeting of the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Economic Council held in Paris on June 11th, the French Government's point of view about Russia was apparently put quite frankly. They insist that all debts to France and to individual Frenchmen, whether contracted by the Tsar's regime or subsequently, shall be recognized, paid in gold, and have priority over all other claims.

According to the "Times," M. Krassin has intimated that if force of circumstances should make it desirable for the Soviet Government to accept the liability for all these debts, although contracted by Imperialist or bourgeois Governments, then the Soviet Government would as a counter-balancing factor insist upon inheriting also the rights and privileges secured to Russia by former treaties, even though such treaties might have been secret—notably the Soviet Government would insist upon the execution of that part of the Treaty of London of 1915 which accorded Constantinople to Russia.

Furthermore, the Soviet Government, if compelled to recognize and assume the burden of the debt, would insist on writing off against it the charges incurred by the Soviets in overcoming the attacks of "White rebels," in so far as such attacks had been financed or supported by any foreign Power. It would also be necessary to charge against the debt all expenses incurred in reconstructing the country after the damage caused by these campaigns.

A representative of a French paper, the "Liberte," has had a confidential interview with Krassin and published it in his journal. M. Krassin says that history records no instance where a revolutionary government has paid the debts of the former regime. He added:

"At this moment I declare to you once more, in the name of my Government, we are willing to discuss this question on the occasion of entering into peace pourparlers with you. Nevertheless—and I insist upon this—if you compel us to continue this war with Poland or in other directions, we shall withdraw our promise. . . . You are perfectly able to make peace with us. We sincerely desire to make peace with you, and during the pourparlers for peace we will discuss the question of the debt. That is our attitude in a nutshell."—"Common Sense," (London).

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.

For the Lack of---

RECENT news despatches tell us that three-fourths of the Connaught Rangers, an Irish battalion stationed in India, have mutinied and refused to serve any longer in the British army. This action followed, we are told, upon receiving letters from home which informed the soldiers of the state of affairs imposed on their countrymen by the British military occupation of Ireland.

As the Irish are reputed to possess a strong sense of humor, it is possible the Connaught Rangers discovered something humorous in the situation, that, while they were absent from Ireland in the service of the British Empire, keeping the natives of India in subjection to foreign rule, English, Scotch and Welsh soldiers were doing likewise to the natives of Ireland, also in the interest of the British Empire.

If the Irish soldiers' response to that situation was due to their sense of humor, then there is great danger to the present capitalist order of society should the rest of the working class develop or acquire that sense by contagion, precept or example. The working class support capitalism because they are unable to visualize its inner forces, and Capitalism is a system of production for profit; in other words, it is essentially competitive and inescapably predatory. Imperial policies, international war, aggressions and the subjection of weaker peoples to the exploitations of the strong, are the working out, the true development of Capitalism: they are the evolution of that which lies latent and preformed in the original life of capitalism. Those who think, like the radicals, they can reform imperialism out of capitalism might as well set themselves to weaving ropes of sand. Imperial-

ism does but give out the full and exact note imposed on capitalism by the passing of its days.

The internationalism of capitalist dominion leads to perpetual war and misery. On the other hand the internationalism of Labor leads on a different path through common economic and political aspirations to a co-operative, emulative and peaceful progress.

Imagine, for a moment, the workers achieving Labor's international point of view, or even, as an alternative, acquiring a sense of humor and thus an insight into the methods of capitalist dominion, the shooting and gut-ripping of working men by working men in the interest of profit.

But, our social life remains an interwoven complex of tragedy and comedy; and it remains so, and we suffer its tragedies, because we lack the knowledge and saving grace of humor to recognize the comedy in it.

A story is told which may account for this latter fatal limitation: A long time ago, before the beginning, "when nothing was," neither time nor space, neither a theory of sin and damnation, or a public press, a Peace Conference, a War Minister Churchill, or Presidential elections, to name but a few humor provokers of to-day, the gods, feeling bored, decided for their amusement to fill the uneventful vacuum by creating the world, placing upon this globular stage the biped man as pivotal attraction in the approaching comedy. Paradoxical as it may seem, they foreordained the complete success of the comedy by endowing man with all but one of their own god-like attributes, withholding from him, in malice aforethought, the sense of

humor. And ever after, viewing from Olympian heights the outcome of their handiwork and rocking with merriment, the divinities are said to rend the heavenly spaces with tempestuous laughter.

Here below, however, on these lower mundane levels, because no doubt I share the common curse, methinks it seemeth a scurvy joke.

On acceptance of this creation story, to which this writer subscribes as having more facts to support it than any other, it follows as a matter of course, that the Irish were a special creation. Stricken with remorse at the hard fate of lesser breeds, the gods repented. "Clear the way."

Humor, it is said, is contagious, so the Socialist malignants may yet hope. Even the English, becoming infected, may yet "see the point," in the policies of the British imperialists. As a particular instance, this present writer, whenever he thinks of certain of those policies and, to the sponsors, their unanticipated and surprising outcome, he feels within himself unwonted sensations tending towards irreverent ribaldry. And can you blame him when you think of the latest Polish adventure, for instance, and the solemn disclaimers in the British House of Commons of any responsibility for it even while it forced on a bankrupt, poverty stricken Poland a huge loan at so much per cent. in the shape of left-over munitions from the great war?

In deep concern lest the well-known extraordinary respectability and (funda-) mental stodginess of the English working class should be corrupted, I suggest that immediately a "cordon sanitaire" be placed around Ireland as was done so (in)effectively around Russia. (Irish) humor and (Bolshevik) ideas are alien to and bad for "our English workers don' cher know." C. S.

What is Labor?

In the platform of the Democratic party it is asserted that "labor is not a commodity. Labor is human." All of which is perfectly true and also misleading.

Labor is a collective noun meaning laborers or workers in the aggregate. The time is past when the worker himself is sold on the market as a chattel slave; but the energy which the worker generates, his labor power, is sold on the market the same as steam-power, gas explosion power or electric power; and because it is so sold it is a commodity and sells at its value, subject to the law of supply and demand, like other commodities. Hence the term labor-market.

The only way labor-power differs from other commodities is that it is the only commodity which has power to produce more value than its own, and it is from this ability that all profit is derived.

Labor-power produces all value and receives in return the price of its own re-production in the form of a living wage. The value which is produced by extending that labor-power over a longer period of time than it takes to re-produce itself is surplus value which the buyer of said labor-power appropriates, the same as in the time of slavery and serfdom. The buyer of labor-power, under the present wage system, has the advantage over the owner of the slave and serf in as much as he is not obliged to maintain the laborer or worker, when he is not producing. In other words he simply stops buying the labor-power and has no further concern in the welfare of the workers, as there is usually a surplus of labor-power on the market. It is a cheaper method of production and came into being when by the discovery of steam, and the consequent development of the big machine, the worker being unable to own his own tools, became a machine worker.—Katherine Smith.

As to Study Classes.

About this time of the year, when sunshine permits pleasure excursions, or holds the industrious man or woman to the needful tasks of life, educational classes are rendered impossible.

At this time in past years, we have generally neglected consideration of the best methods to be followed in the various classes that are inevitably formed in the Fall. An educational study programme, which might be considered beforehand, with benefit as to subjects to be taken up, the forms the classes would find most advantageous in methods of study, the matter of essay writing and the systematic arrangement of the same in order of sequence and regular relationship, each point with the other, and each essay with the other, should now be thought over by each intending student.

The passing of two more months will see the commencement of classes on Economics, History, etc., throughout the country. All who are interested should now commence the consideration of subjects and methods of class study, and should now prepare, to be ready to advance their ideas when the classes meet, on the best methods to pursue.

If this is done now in various parts of the country, co-operation and cohesive effort will surely result when the classes are in full swing.

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CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

O. Larsen, \$1.50; E. D. Mitchell, 65c.; F. J. Mc-Ney, \$3; Inebriated, through Geo. McIntosh, \$1.

Total contributions received from 26 June to 13 July, inclusive, \$6.15.

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.