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FIVE CENTS

Trotsky on Russia's Policy

Editor's Note: We have heard the opinion quite often expressed that in the event of an immediate proletarian revolution in Germany the Russian Red Army would at once march into that country. Since there appears to be prevalent considerable conjecture as to such a possibility we reproduce here, from "Russian Information and Review" (published by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation, London, England), what is therein described as "a full summary of the important interview given on September 29 by Trotsky to the American Senator King." Incidentally, a translation from "Isvestia" (Moscow) outlining at greater length the same interview appears in "The Worker" (Chicago, Ill.) November 3rd, 1923.

Russia and Germany.

TO the question by Senator King as to the possibility of the intervention of Russia should revolution occur in Germany, Trotsky replied: We shall not despatch a single Red Army soldier across the boundaries of Soviet Russia unless we are absolutely compelled to do so. Our peasants and our workers would on no account allow our Government to initiate any military action, even if the Government were mad enough to attempt an aggressive policy. Of course, should the German monarchists be victorious, and should they then come to an agreement with the Entente for armed intervention in Russia (this plan has been brought forward more than once by Ludendorff and Hoffman), then we should certainly fight, and, I hope, victoriously. But I do not think that this will happen. In any case, we certainly should not intervene in any internal civil war. This is surely but too self-evident. We could only intervene by first making war on Poland, and on no account do we desire war. We do not conceal our sympathies with the German working class and with its heroic struggle for freedom, and, to be perfectly frank, I can say that if we could assure victory to the German revolution without risking war we should do everything we could. But we do not wish to engage in any war. Further, war would harm the German revolution. Only that revolution is of a vital and stable character which comes out victorious as the result of its own strength. Particularly is this the case in revolutions made by a great nation. We are wholly on the side of the German people against the predatory, blood-thirsty French imperialism. We are heart and soul with the German working class in its struggle against internal and foreign exploitation. But at the same time we are also heart and soul for peace."

Russia and Poland

Answering a question on the possibility of Russia invading Poland, Trotsky pointed out that in the whole history of Soviet Russia's relations with Poland, Russia had shown a truly "angelic" patience. From the very first, in spite of its agreements, Poland has manifested hostility to Russia, but the latter was only too sensible of the fact that war with Poland would signify a general European conflagration which would result in the wiping out from the face of the earth of the remains of European civilization. "After such a war," continued Trotsky, "Americans would have the melancholy pleasure of visiting Europe in order to study there the last remains of a vanished civilization."

The Red Army.

On the question of the Red Army, Trotsky said: "Certainly we have an army, and we do not consider it at all a bad one. We have 600,000 soldiers. That is not a small army, but in comparison, for

instance, with France or with our nearest neighbour our army is very small. Taking into account our population, our vast territory, our extensive boundaries, our alluring mineral resources, it must be recognised that ours is a very modest army. We have already proposed once and, should America express a wish to support us, we are prepared again to propose the reduction of our army to the minimum necessary to assure internal order, provided that our neighbours were ready to make similar reductions in their armies.

Trotsky then went on to point out the moderate but very solid economic progress achieved by Russia within the last couple of years, and to state that, if for no other reason than that of endangering the possibility of future economic progress, Russia could not indulge in militarist adventures. All she desires to do is to defend herself against attack, and with this end in view the Russian Red Army is being converted into a territorial militia to be used exclusively for defensive purposes.

Russia and Her Debts.

Senator King next asked Trotsky how the Soviet Government could expect to maintain stable trade relations with other countries while she refused to recognise her old debts. To which Trotsky replied: "Our own debts we pay and shall continue to pay, but we have no desire to pay anybody else's debts. Already in December, 1905, the Petrograd Soviet, forestalling evidently the attitude of the present Government, warned foreign Powers and foreign capitalists that the Russian revolution would not recognise debts made by the Tsar, nor would it be responsible for any other assistance granted by foreign capitalists to the Tsarist regime. This may seem unfair, but the planters of the Southern States during the civil war of the 'sixties also considered very unfair the acts of civil war whereby the slave owners were deprived of their property rights to slaves. Nevertheless, it is just thanks to this civil war that America has grown to her present might. . . You ask where is the guarantee that we shall not later refuse to pay our own debts. All I can say is that such an act on our part would be simply suicidal. So long as we desire to maintain trading relations with the rest of the world we are bound in our own interests to carry out our obligations. I can assure you that so long as private property remains in America we shall recognise to the full American investments in Russia."

Russia and America.

After pointing out that all the administrative, fiscal, and other obstacles encountered by foreign capitalists on Russian territory were the result of the absence of proper trading relations between Russia and foreign countries, Trotsky said that Russia, on her side, was ready to give every possible assistance to American firms who were desirous of making really important investments in Russian industry. The advantages would be mutual. "Of course," said Trotsky, "we are very grateful to the American nation for the important assistance it gave to our famine-stricken population, but business relations cannot rest simply on feelings of gratitude." Trotsky went on to point out that the geographical position of the two countries precluded the probability of imperialist rivalry; that he was firmly convinced that the American industrial and commercial world would very soon recognise the importance of the Russian market; that al-

though Russia was actually poorer than Europe, nevertheless, unlike the latter, it was on the upgrade—her markets were extending and she could readily absorb increasing quantities of American products. Big American firms could accelerate Russia's industrial development and at the same time obtain immense profits for themselves. "There is also another important moral (but not sentimental) factor," continued Trotsky, "which facilitates the closer union of the Soviet United States with the United States of America. In our papers and technical journals you will very often meet the phrase 'Americanism' and 'Americanisation' used in a favourable, not in a disparaging sense. The Russians are very eager to learn from the Americans the scientific organisation of industry and of labour, and this forms a moral bond between Russia and America. We know that your business circles are still very hesitant, but we have learnt patience in our struggle with Tsarism. Still more can we wait patiently now, for we know that common sense is on our side."

The New Economic Policy.

In conclusion, Senator King asked Trotsky whether it was probable that the New Economic Policy would be scrapped in the near future for military communism. Trotsky replied: "The New Economic Policy is an absolute necessity for the 90,000,000 of our peasants. If we had in mind to break our own heads, then we should indeed abandon this policy. It is therefore quite unnecessary for us to issue formal assurance and manifestoes in order to prove the stability of the New Economic Policy. The very conditions of our internal life assure the absolute stability of the New Economic Policy."

UNEMPLOYMENT IN FRANCE.

By Georges Levy (Paris).

IT is impossible accurately to determine the number of unemployed in France. The official report on the situation in the labour market, published every Saturday, merely states the number of unemployed in receipt of unemployment benefit. But such benefit is only paid by a section of the municipalities in France. Besides this, the dole is only paid for three months. An out-of-work not in receipt of the dole is not mentioned in the official statistics. No statistics whatever are kept concerning part-timers.

The following fact may give an idea of the difference between the actual number of unemployed and the official statement. In February 1921 there were 47,000 unemployed in the whole of France, according to the official statistics. But at the same time the estimate of unemployment given in the Chamber by the Minister for Labour was a quarter of a million. In March 1921 the official statistics gave the number of unemployed as 91,000. The actual number was estimated at half a million. As a general rule we can assume that the official statistics do not comprise more than a fifth of the real number of unemployed.

There were about half a million unemployed in France before the war, in normal years. In the year 1918, when demobilization began, the number of unemployed in France naturally rose, and totalled 1,160,000. In the course of two years this crisis had been almost completely overcome. In May 1920 there were only 8,000 unemployed receiving the dole.

(Continued on page 8)

By the Way

SOME time ago, in the columns of the Clarion, Comrade Tamarkin and I engaged in controversy on the doctrine of violent overturn of the capitalist system. The occasion of our dispute was an article I wrote, published in the June 1st issue, part of which was given to an attack on that doctrine, mainly on the grounds that the chances now and in the future were against the success of the method of violence as a lever of change from capitalism towards a new social order.

I was concerned, myself, with the revolutionary class movement and its chances of success, partial or total, in the immediate future; therefore, I had in mind violence of the scope of civil war and not a mere affair of police. The social setting I had in view was such highly developed national communities as America, Great Britain, France and Germany.

Comrade Tamarkin wrote a letter to the editor, criticizing my stand. Without his intending it to be, the letter was published in the issue of July 16, in which issue I replied, reasoning on similar lines again with some additional considerations in support of my position. In the September 12th issue he came back at me again, amplifying his criticism and, incidentally, expressing some discontent at the form of my reply, which had failed to meet his contentions point by point. Much time has elapsed since then, unavoidably, without reply on my part. I now take the first opportunity to explain myself on the matter of his discontent.

As to the form of my reply, there is a general reason why I think it wise to avoid a point-by-point contest and prefer to set up my own position over against that of an opponent, thus letting the readers judge between us; i.e., that unless conducted by experts, such a close contest, involving a mass of quotations from the opposing arguments for rebuttal, ends in merely confusing the readers. That is my experience in reading many such debates. But in regard to Comrade Tamarkin's first criticism there was a special reason for replying in the fashion I did, which applies equally to his last one of September 1, in that he passed up unappreciated and unconsidered certain factors in the modern social situation which we shall carry with us into the future, and which I called attention to as having a vital bearing on the question of the feasibility of a violent revolutionary overturn.

I was the challenged party, and, having based my argument against the method of violence mainly, though not excluding the past, upon a consideration of the modern situation, it was up to him also, I thought, to give it some consideration. I had advanced the general principle as the thesis of my argument in my article on violence, and in previous ones, pleading for a study of the present for whatever of new there may be in it, that it is always the conditions and factors within any social situation at any time, that determine the nature and forms of change.

It follows from that principle that a study of the historic past and generalizations drawn therefrom can only serve as guides in the present, while they never, in the flux of life, absolve us from a study of it. But no; my critic seems to me to be obtuse to what I consider axiomatic; so much so that, in his last criticism, he devoted a paragraph to treating with almost levity my plea for a study of the present.

"I must confess," he says, "I did not at all think of the present. Excuse me for being unable to nail that evasive thing. To my mind, it appears rather an arbitrary detachment from the past to serve as a border line to the future."

As though Marxian philosophy, based as it is in evolutionary science, did not tell him that the present contains both the past and the future. Not the abstract concept of time, but the contents of time concern us. I ask him, Can we expect in the immediate future such a change in military technology as will again place the ill-equipped, ill-organ-

ized populace behind the barricades on an equal footing with regular military forces? Can we expect in the immediate future any such change in the technology of modern industry and world-wide economic relations based on a system of international credits as will enable any of the national communities mentioned (Great Britain, for instance, imports 70 per cent. of its food supply alone, besides depending on other communities for raw materials and markets for her products) to live on their own resources in the event of civil war? Other considerations point to an aggravation of even that state of chaos which we can assume would follow on the break of relations with foreign communities. Opinion as a force, swift to circulate and prevail more completely in modern life, counts for more than it ever did before; taking that fact in conjunction with another fact that the aims of proletarian revolution reach deeper down to the roots of all kinds of privileges and vested interests, great and small, run counter to all kinds of traditions, habitual ways of life, sentiments and loyalties, can we, as happened in other revolutions, expect to see the bulk of the community carrying on their customary occupations indifferent to the causes, leaving minority factions to fight it out? Rather, civil war in a modern community would disrupt also its eternal economy (the local municipal communities being even more dependent on the larger whole than it is to the world at large), entailing incalculable destruction of the huge city populations through starvation.

My critic was mainly content to assail me with historical generalizations out of the past and prophecies for the future based upon them. I feel that he is pre-occupied merely with the political aspect of social change. In highly developed communities, however, the Socialist does not relate the social problems to a tyrannical court influence or the maladministration of a bureaucratic government with whose removal, in a backward country, a whole population of every rank and status may feel itself relieved as from an incubus. Why does he say that while he regards a violent overthrow of the capitalist class from political power as inevitable, he asks me to note that he does not advocate violence for social and economic change. I call that a vicious evasion of the realities of a situation whose logic is that he who takes by the sword must keep by the sword. What is political power in the last resort, anyway, but military power? And why should we decide, or have forced upon us as a necessity to decide, to seize political power violently if not by means of it we may enforce our social programme, so far as force will avail us?

The politics of the modern state is not the politics of a village civilization of medieval times or of the city civilizations of Asia. Social necessity rather than class necessity under the pressure of the conditions brought on by the industrial revolution has driven the centralized state along lines of development transcending its former sole function of the coercive arm of a ruling and exploiting class. Committed to the status quo it is, and, as such, property interests largely monopolize its energies, but as production has become more social and the well-being of whole communities dependent on the continued operation of large scale industries and public services, the community interest is, perforce, occupying more and more of the state's attention. It has added to its original function other functions, economic and social, operating and organizing public services, subsidizing enterprises, regulating industrial disputes, extending its jurisdiction over financial institutions, controlling and organizing means of education, public hygiene and recreations; in a thousand ways, for good or ill, it is extending its influence down into the everyday life of the community. Matters that were at one time remote from politics are now, because of the vast intricate web of inter-relations that bind the inhabitants of a modern community together, matters concerning the

whole community, and as such are become political matters. A history of politics, rather than being thought of as that of one aspect of social life, must more than ever concern itself with the work-a-day lives of men. And whatever party controls the state finds itself, even under the capitalist system and bourgeois politics, deeply involved in a maze of social activities. The modern state is a socially evolved mechanism, co-ordinating and giving effect in more or less imperfect fashion, as is the way of human creations, to the community will. Without the cohesive influence of the state, under present conditions the community could not hold together. Those who would seize it for revolutionary purposes will find it a machine in operation, and must consider continuity of operation as vital to the life of the community. Custom, habit, usage and tacit understandings are its bones and sinews. Under modern conditions, as I see them, a violent catastrophic break in that continuity would spell irremediable social chaos, the grave of revolutionary hopes and ideals.

Among those I meet who reason on the problem of a change as Comrade Tamarkin does I find an unconcern at a loss of social control, a satisfaction in a multiplication of social calamities and working class miseries, an adherence to the negative policy of drift in the hope that a point will be reached where the blind instinctive urge of self-preservation will drive the desperate masses of men to violent upheaval of the system. But in our day we can not depend on the blind instinctive reactions, such as these might have been effective in communities where the life of men was involved in less complexities. In one hundred years the world has been transformed, has become vastly more complex, and we must look more than ever to the power of thought to guide us in the maze of complexities, to discipline irrational instinct into rational service, for, like fire, instinct is a good servant but a bad master. Let me quote from Graham Wallas' "The Great Society," an attempt to apply the conclusions to date of the social psychologists to the problems of present civilized life:

"During the last hundred years the external conditions of civilized life have been transformed by a series of inventions which have abolished the old limits to the creation of mechanical force, the carriage of men and goods, and communication by written and spoken words. One effect of this transformation is a general change of social scale. Men find themselves working and thinking and feeling in relation to an environment, which, both in its world-wide extensions and its intimate connections with all sides of human existence, is without precedent in the history of the world.

"Economists have invented the term, The Great Industry, for the special aspect of this change which is dealt with by their science, and sociologists may conveniently call the whole result The Great Society. In those countries where the transformation first began a majority of the inhabitants already live either in huge commercial cities, or in closely populated districts threaded by systems of mechanical traction and covering hundreds of square miles. Cities and districts are only parts of highly organized national states, each with fifty or a hundred million inhabitants; and these states are themselves every year drawn more effectively into a general system of international relationships.

"Every member of The Great Society, whether he be stupid or clever, whether he have the wide curiosity of the born politician and trader, or the concentration on what he can see and touch of the born craftsman, is affected by this ever-extending and ever-tightening nexus. A sudden decision by some financier whose name he has never heard may, at any moment, close the office or mine or factory in which he is employed, and he may either be left without a livelihood or be forced to move with his family to a new centre. He and his fellows can only maintain their standard wage or any measure of

permanency in their employment if the majority of them judge rightly on difficult questions put to them by national political parties and national or international trade unions."

Discussing influences which menace the cohesion of this society, he says, "(But), owing to the very complexity of the relations which bind us to The Great Society, we stand to lose much more by any failure in its cohesion than did the subjects of the ancient empires. Up till our time the vast majority of the inhabitants of the world lived in little almost self-supporting villages. If an empire broke up, some of these villages might be wasted by war; but the rest, like the cells of a divided rotifer, grouped themselves easily enough as part of a new body. If, at the capital of the empire, a population had been brought together which depended on a more intricate form of social organization, that population was destroyed or scattered. Some day the Assyriologists will reconstruct for us the industrial and financial system, which enabled the inhabitants of Nineveh or Babylon to be fed and employed, and then we shall be able to imagine the sufferings which left those cities mere piles of ruins surrounded by a few peasants' huts. When the corn-ships of Egypt and the tribute money of Gaul and Spain ceased to come to Rome, the population of the city sank from about a million to perhaps a third of that number. But now, thirty-five out of forty-five million inhabitants of Great Britain depend for their food upon a system of world-relations far more complex than that which was built up by Assyria or Rome for the supply of their capitals. . . ."

The world has been transformed. What we find in this transformed world must determine our reasoning on the problem of change.

I rest my case against the doctrine of violence upon reasoning based on an analysis of the present social situation. But I also contend that the past had also other ways and means of change, as the future may have. I have in previous articles pointed to English history where privilege and power have been transformed or abolished without a resort to arms, peaceful victories for the burghesses of the towns in the middle ages, or, for the manufacturing and commercial interests in the 19th century, the abolition of the Corn Laws. This latter case is one well-known modern instance, when the land-owning class, the farming community and the country town populations submitted to the will of a superior public opinion expressing itself by constitutional means. The constitutional history of Europe during the middle ages also illustrates the possibilities that lie in representation by the group system based on definite economic interests and by which common policies were evolved by the method of give and take. That social experiment runs counter to the theory that minority groups can have no influence on state policies and that, therefore, the revolutionary movement or a party broadly labor is wasting its time or diverting the interest and energies of the worker along futile channels in constitutional political activities. Whether the wage workers as an economic group, if they had been fully represented as such in all the parliaments of Europe, would have staved off the world war is a matter of speculation; but this is sure, that they had no such representation, and, further, the world war brought no one any good, not anyone, except it be to reactionary forces. The workers are less predatory by interest and inclination than the business-like bourgeoisie; on that score alone I would give them a chance.

By the by, can anyone make a digest of census returns giving the numerical standing of the industrial proletariat proper in relation to all other groups in Canada and the United States? We need some knowledge got by the case method; more facts to test our received generalizations.

However, my argument is in previous issues. Here, for general educational intent, I have traversed rapidly some of the ground again of my position. Believing my critic shot his bolt beside the mark

You Can't Put Back the Clock

"What are the common wages of labor depends everywhere upon the contract usually made between those two parties, whose interests are by no means the same. The workmen desire to get as much, the masters to give as little as possible. The former are disposed to combine in order to raise, the latter in order to lower the wages of labor."

Adam Smith: "The Wealth of Nations." Chapter 8.

OLD time residents of the City of Vancouver, recalling their experiences in the early days of settlement in this last great west, every other day voice their regret at the demolition of some familiar landmark associated in their memories with the pioneer days, the days when the community was still young, when the spirit of the frontier was abroad, when man helped man and human association suffered no unnatural restrictions.

In those days, early and late, great corporation influences had not yet fallen upon the community or, if they had, they had come under the appearance of service in development, in opening up new territory, in linking the new lands of the west with the old lands of the east, in providing transportation across the great lands of the interior.

It is not our purpose here to follow intimately the course of development of that old time community. Rather, it is our purpose to indicate the initial circumstances under which, in the life history of all communities which have grown up in the machine age, there has developed the concept of public utility as applied to the great corporations. Briefly, then, these combinations first appear as community benefactors. Later, through the hold they acquire in all avenues of activity, it becomes manifest that they hold the industrial life of the community in their hands, up to the point, at least, where, in the exercise of monopoly power they restrict further expansion, whereupon there develops the point of view that the public utility of the past has invoked its power to present public disadvantage.

In such a developing community, with the growth of industry, the opening up of business enterprise in mining, lumbering, general machine production and the extension of commerce, there arise trade associations and manufacturers' associations of one sort and another, for the promotion of mutual interest and protection. At the same time there arise combinations of workmen, wage-workers, likewise for mutual protection. There has never yet arisen any industrial community without the appearance of such associations on both sides.

Without doubt it will appear strange to the intelligent reader of this Bulletin that in this enlightened age we should suppose the bright inhabitants of the City of Vancouver to be without a working knowledge of such commonplace matters. But it would appear that while Vancouver has developed industrially to the point where the port has established itself importantly in present day economic geography, while "the business people up town" have been "watching Vancouver grow," they have suffered a grievous decline in culture in so far as that term denotes ability in critical analysis, industrial and social.

"Up town" we have our Babbits, for in all things we are modern. "Up town" we have all manner of club men, merchant men, real estate men, professional men. We have, too, our publicity agents, our advertising men and our men of the press. As may suit their momentary interests, these latter betray the ravages of intellectual Hookworm as the occasion may arise and as the price may meet the need. Our "up town" culture is the culture of the booster. It appears as shallow as our community singing is oft-times out of tune. "Up town," too, we have our university, an institution which increasingly commends itself to our good opinion, in view of the apparent, moral turpitude of certain of its literary critics.

"Up town" our business community finds activity in its varied occupational and professional channels, and it totals its pleasures in terms of cash. In such pursuits its whole attention is employed, so much so that when there arise extra matters for consideration in City life—strikes

when he ignored the grounds of my argument against the feasibility of a violent overturn, I hope he may be induced to study my position and shoot directly at it, or, peradventure, discover its impregnability.

Our different reasoning upon the problem of change I see as based upon different valuations we put upon the present. His reasoning is fairly representative of a body of revolutionary opinion, or perhaps more properly, a state of mind having little curiosity and thus easily held in bondage by dogma.

I hope to carry on, if opportunity affords, my war on this state of mind and on all its philosophic rationalizing. Or so I kid myself.

C.

for instance—it has recourse to the press for information and general guidance. Through the growth of institutions side by side in the same community, through trade relationship and commercial contact, it is quite easy to account for the first impulse of almost all business elements to side with the employing interests in the time of industrial strife, rather than with wage workers. But first impulses are subject to change, particularly as the result shows itself in the day's cash returns, and presently there appears a desire for a deeper understanding.

In the present event, among the business elements—the merchants—there appears missing the payroll of a considerable body of men whose earnings must always add volume to the general store sales. This is the point where serious enquiry into the nature and causes of the strike must—and does—manifest itself in the daily press. In the present case, the Vancouver waterfront dead lock is accredited the immediate cause of local business depression. The initiative in forcing a strike as the outcome of prolonged negotiations is generally—and correctly—placed upon the elements who comprise the Shipping Federation.

A careful examination of all the public declarations of the Shipping Federation yields convincing evidence that that body intends to destroy the Union. Yet they hold the right to maintain intact their own Federation. We have opened this article with a quotation from "The Wealth of Nations," an 18th century classic, a treatise on political economy which even our "up town" friends will recognize to have been tolerably well recommended. In Adam Smith's day combination of workmen in unions was illegal, yet the development of industry and the increasing sub-division of labor set down the circumstances wherein combination of workmen on one hand, and of employers on the other, inevitably brought forth recognition and became established. From that day to this bargaining over wages and working conditions has necessarily been conducted between employers' associations and workmen's unions, and with the continued circumstances prevailing in industry there can be no suggestion from any serious mind that union recognition should be withdrawn. These facts being apparent, it should be apparent also that you can't put back the clock. Yet if even only covertly set forth in its pronouncements, we gather that the Shipping Federation would snap its fingers at all essentially recognized economic factors, past and present, and abolish at its will and pleasure recognition of the union.

It would appear that this Bulletin has found something of a welcome in the City of Vancouver, serving as it does, as a medium whereby we set forth our analysis of the circumstances leading up to and at present prevailing in this industrial dispute. From a survey of the multitude of periodicals representative of the various business associations in the City we gather that the position of the International Longshoremen's Association, if not altogether openly acknowledged favourably, is yet quietly commended. It has come to be recognized that the great corporation, the public utility of the early days, has taken toll in too large a measure and has developed the characteristics of public hindrance. The public utility has come to light as a deeply entrenched vested interest which would exercise a detrimental influence in a situation which every day threatens to outgrow it.

Machiavelli in his day set forth three orders in intelligence as exemplified, first, in the man who looks at surrounding circumstances and accordingly develops his ideas. Second, the man who, unable to develop his own ideas in this way is yet receptive to ideas conveyed by the first. And third, the man who is not receptive at all.

We release this Bulletin for public reading, confident that it has found its welcome already in each house where intelligence prevails.

—Longshoremen's Strike Bulletin

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VANCOUVER, B. C., NOVEMBER 16, 1923

NO CHANGE ON THE WATERFRONT

AT this moment of wrting, in connection with the waterfront tie-up, there is no appreciable change to be recorded, as far as we can see, in the situation. At length, however, organized labor in Vancouver has taken a hand in the situation, and a committee appointed by the local Trades and Labor Council is stated to be now in session with the officials of the Shipping Federation.

The Shipping Federation has shown its bumpiness up to date in its one attitude, which is that it declines to recognize the International Longshoremen's Association, as such. At the same time it asks all and sundry to take note that its policy is non a non-union policy, because it proposes to give house room to a union of its own. Over the period of the strike to date the situation has come to the point where the question is shall the Open Shop policy prevail!—because all employers' unions serve only as a poor disguise for the initiating of the Open Shop policy.

The ranks of trade unionism have been torn by all kinds of policies hitherto. In view of the policy sought to be imposed by the Shipping Federation alongshore the Vancouver waterfront there is evident a healing tendency in the ranks of labor. This we take to be the answer of organized labor to the statement of The (Vancouver) Daily World the other day that since the strike was not at first endorsed by the Trades and Labor Council, that body, in attempting mediation, might well be considered to be impartial. That is surely a false hope.

We are glad to note that our contemporary—the B. C. Federationist—has at length seen fit to officially recognize the strike and to bestow its somewhat mediocre editorial blessing upon it. It is certain that a defeat for the longshoremen will reflect itself upon the unions all around.

HERE AND NOW.

CLARION readers, we are pleased to note by their comments, appear now to be commendably concerned over the register of Clarion finance and the degree in apathy is high or low—as they see it—as rated Here and Now.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

NOW READY

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Needless to say, such a state of mind has our unblushing approbation. We grant, of course, that if the matter of Apathy were subjected to an exhaustive analysis it would take us farther afield than Clarion finance. However, for the time, our energies must concentrate on that, and it would seem that we are on the upgrade—coming back.

Of course, as always, those whose names, real and unreal, appear on our financial roll of honour are those who maintain that incessant interest in the work on hand. By their attitude of mind we gather that the deadweight of apathy is due to be lifted, whereupon we shall all get back into stride.

Following \$1 each: J. Hodges, Ben Huntly, Walter Wilson, W. G. Kielvell, Alf. Nelson, L. Sarilo, N. MacAulay, J. A. Moore, Alf. Firby, H. E. Noakes, F. W. Warder, G. Beagrie, S. E. White (per M. Goudie), Walter Read, J. Pedley, H. J. B. Harper, A. J. Turner, Wm. Churchill, Jim Blair, F. E. Prescott, J. Schultheis.

Following \$2 each: Geo. Hallson, J. F. Woloshyn, K. C. Campbell, J. Friend, H. H. Stuart, P. L. D., A. Tree, Dr. F. Inglis, Fred Harman, F. W. Parsons, Chas. Johnson \$3; J. Yates \$1.50; Harry Judd 50 cents.

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Incentive

THE more "divinely inspired" members of the working class, visioning "virtue as its own reward," are grievously concerned ament "incentive" under what they term "the Socialist system." They appear to consider it awful heresy that the factory manager and the ordinary ditcher, the genius and the dullard, the frugal and the spendthrift, should share equally in the meal ticket. And they opine, after the wisdom of the ancients, that society could not continue to exist under such errant and oppressive conditions.

"Oppressive conditions": the key to the whole objection. How true it runs to type. How brazenly it acclaims the price system that "views with alarm" every aspiration, every manifest, every movement that foreshadows social peace and prosperity and the equality of economic freedom. Mighty is the "happy dust" of tradition.

True enough, capitalist society could not continue to exist, since equality in the meal ticket implies the negative of capitalist society. And, of course, a society that denies the eternity of capitalist exploitation could not be otherwise than oppressive—to exploiters. For it would transform them into social wealth producers, i.e., into workers producing all things socially, and sharing all things socially, because owning all things socially. The wage slave is capable of great feats, both physical and mental, but none is greater than this: that he accepts his master's word that economic freedom would mean the ruin of the working class.

One is awed by the simple faith that finds incentive in job-hunting. For that is the only incentive of wage slaves. To find the job, that gets the price to buy the eats, that creates the energy to work at the job, that gets the price, etc. True, it is necessary in capitalist society. But it is also an illusion. Obviously, since job-hunting is not only increasing, but is increasingly difficult. And the necessity can only be overcome when its illusion of incentive has been destroyed.

The destruction of that illusion is the first step to freedom. For why? Because man, the worshipper of illusions, cannot forsake the illusions which experience has bequeathed to him. They can be abrogated only in the experience of new necessity. General experience has always preceded concrete experiment. Again, of necessity. Because, primitive preconceptions of the nature of things, and primitive misconceptions of the nature of things, have woven a web of appearance around human life and being that holds humanity by the heartstrings of desire and its satisfaction. And, in the development of those misconceptions, necessity has interwoven her inexorable law. It is on this fantastic groundwork of preconception, whereon rests the romantic idealism, that "all things work for good to them who love God." That is the specific god of time-development. And that, being faithful in small things,

are "chosen" for high place, a la Carnegie and John D., the "little wizard" and his contemporary Clynes. Not to mention in the same breath those wierd apologists of pragmatic virulence, Moore and Draper, Gompers and Herve, Noske and Branting—the "lion" of the "Socialism" that expects the capitalist class to legislate away its "right" of capitalist property. God rest them! For is it not seemly that their "god" should rest them for their redundancy? We remember Wolsley's plaint, "Had I served my God as faithfully as I served my king, He would not have left me in my need." Which, applied to hyphenated Socialism, means that it is the highest wisdom to regard the butterer of the bread. What is the use of history, anyway, if we cannot appropriate its lessons?

But to us "scum" who have no god, and whose faith is not in princes, what is incentive? We remember our diligence, for what? Poverty. We remember the master who urged us to greater endeavor—and rewarded us with unemployment. We remember the speeding master machines—that hasten us to deeper penury. We remember the toiling "hands" of industry, craftless artists of repetition, automatic with the machine, their movements regulated by the machine. We remember the number—and their hopelessness of attainment to anything but speed. We remember their age—that denies opportunity; their quality—that denies self-expression; their sex—that denies civilization. We remember the orgie of cheapening production—that cheapened subsistence to emptiness. We think of ambition—broken on the wheel of trade; of enthusiasm—dashed on the phalanxes of power; of enterprise—devoured by monopoly. We remember the war-god and his world for heroes—we see the peace-god, and his world for slaves. We remember the "empire of democracy"—and behold the empire of power. We remember the passion of glory—made peon to the triumph of Imperialism. We remember the witness of honor—made serf to the sanctity of law. And world-wide we are contemporary with "eternal justice"—in the concepts of the White Terror.

Does the slave class toil for itself? Does it reap the advantage of its energy? Does it harvest the fruits of its skill? Does it benefit by its inventions? Or profit by labor-saving devices? Can its ambitions succeed? its enterprises prosper? or its enthusiasms be fertile? Has it the culture of leisure? or leisure for culture? Can it enjoy the potential of social life? or develop its capacities? or inherit opportunity? If not, why not? If not, wherefore incentive? If so, wherefore failure? Is not failure, exploitation? Is not incentive the gain of exploitation? Does diligence not bring unemployment? Does frugality not reduce the standard of living? Does effort not deny its own advantages? Are leisure and

(Continued on page 7)

The Politics of Capitalism

By J. T. W. NEWBOLD

STAGE by stage, throughout the nineteenth century, the industrial capitalists conquered the legislative and administrative functions of the State, and subdued them to their will. By successive measures, now using one expedient of Government, and now another, they made national provision for elementary, secondary, technical, and university education. It was the capitalist city, borough and town councils that achieved the triumphs of municipal collectivism. When they had won political power, they lost any hesitation they formerly had in using public authority to reduce the blind anarchy of commercialism to some semblance of order.

No sooner had the new capitalist class swept away the more obnoxious barriers of caste and privilege, and found that the profits of manufacture and trade could buy the good things of this world as easily as the rents of land, the interest on national securities and the salaries of high officialdom, than it began to moderate its Radicalism. The growth of Trades Unionism, the extension of the franchise to the working class, murmurs of Socialism, and the beginnings of Labour Representation in Parliament helped to weaken the Liberalism of a great number of the capitalists. Disraeli's New Toryism, sympathetic to High Finance and imperialist in its foreign, colonial, and naval policies, threw the first span across the political gulf between Liberalism and Conservatism. Gladstone's Egyptian and Naval Armaments policies in the early "eighties" marked the first stage in the deterioration of the Liberal Party. His Irish programme resulted in the desertion of half his party, who found in this an excuse to break away from the Radicals. These secessionists built the second arch over which the capitalists could retreat in safety.

The capitalists of Sheffield, Birmingham, Glasgow, and Newcastle adjusted their politics to the changing conditions of the steel market. Liberal Unionism formed a rallying point for these erstwhile Radicals. It became an imperialist wing of the politically organised capitalists. It acted like a magnet to the wealthy Liberals who remained with their party, but feared the evil associations of the Newcastle Programmes. In 1894, Gladstone failed to carry his Party against the demands of the naval extremists and the iron and steel magnates, and resigned office. Rosebery and his supporters captured Official Liberalism for Finance, Imperialism and Armaments. After the death of Campbell-Bannerman, Liberalism ceased to be recognisable, except in the minor offices of the Government, and among the private members of the Party. It became more and more obviously a political mask for scheming financial sharks who sought concessions, contracts, monopolies, and titles from the demagogues and wire-pullers whom they subsidised. Its leaders put forward sham Land Reforms and "revolutionary" Budgets, which kept up the appearance of a conflict between two classes—landowners and capitalists—whose economic "entente" was becoming more firmly cemented year by year. Meanwhile, at home as well as abroad, the Executive functioned to advance the interests of the capitalist class whose servant it had become. The Foreign Office worked in secret on behalf of the oil syndicates operating in Mexico, Persia and Morocco; of Messrs. Vickers when that cosmopolitan munition firm became, so unsavourily, mixed up in a bribery scandal with a Japanese admiral in 1913; of the mining companies prospecting in North Africa and in Asia Minor; and of the banking group which negotiated the loan to China. Naturally, diplomacy of this kind was conducted in secrecy. Business "deals" are not brought off in full sight of competitors. **Diplomacy, under capitalist class rule, cannot transcend the morality of the class and the system whose dirty work it is designed to facilitate.** The more acute the competitive struggle, the more unscrupu-

lous and secretive must capitalist class methods become, whether private or public.

Capitalism Triumphant.

So, also, with the methods of other Government Departments under capitalist control. They must and do discharge the functions for which they are maintained. The Colonial Office furthers capitalist projects in the Colonies. The Home Office defends them at home. When the railwaymen struck against their masters, their masters, through the Home Office, set the Army in motion. When the Leith Dockers struck, their masters, through the Scottish Office, secured the services of the Navy. When the Dublin Tramwaymen struck, their masters, through Dublin Castle, broke their heads with constabulary batons. When the trade unionists financed a newspaper, their masters soon found a way of forbidding them to do so. It was all so easy, because the capitalist class had "rushed" the Administration, the Judicature and the Legislature. It was so much easier, in fact, because the capitalists and the landowners were inextricably intermingled. They finished their class struggle, to all intents and purposes, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and had been coming together ever since.

A new nobility has been steadily created from the ranks of the industrial and financial capitalists. In the "sixties," the Guests of Dowlais became Wimbournes and, later, the Wilsons (shipowners) became Nunburnholmes, the Mills (bankers) became Hillingdons, the Lawsons (newspaper proprietors) became Burnhams, the Tennants (chemical manufacturers) became Glenconners, and some two hundred more have left the ranks of the common people to "dilute" the House of Lords. Tories and Liberals have fused in Society, in marriage, on boards of directors, in the bureaucracy, until there are even Peases and Peckovers in the Peerage. Until recently Lord Wimborne was Viceroy of Ireland, the Northliffes, Cowdrays, St. Davids and Rhonddas ascend from baronies to viscounties, Isaacs has risen to be an earl, whilst the venerable house of Rutland is allied with the ancient soap-boilers of St. Rollox.* Capitalism is supreme in the councils of State. Never was there a Government so patently capitalist in composition, in ideas, and in methods as the Imperial War Cabinet and its subsidiary bureaucracy. Every day, the origins of the War, its conduct, and its avowed aims, stamp it more clearly as capitalist.

In Germany and Austria the forms of Government, whilst they remain largely pre-capitalist, have been subdued to the service of a vigorous capitalism, which permeates the economic and political systems of the Central Powers and dominates their whole national life. The Western Allies, now including the United States, are pre-eminently capitalist in economic and social life and in their political systems. America and France each embody the idea of Capitalism in its natural political equivalent, a Republic.

Capitalism is now triumphant, both in industry and politics, not only here but also throughout Europe. The Russian Revolution completes its chain of political triumphs. It has been the continuously percolating streams of Western capital which have created the proletariat of the town and, particularly, of Petrograd, who, together with the New Army, have overthrown the Old Regime. Russia has not advanced to that stage of economic evolution which permits of the establishment of Socialism, but the bourgeois and, now, the proletariat have cleared the way for future development by the overthrow of Czarism.

This world-wide supremacy of Capitalism, in the economic sphere, denotes the existence of an enor-

* It was the grandfather of the present Marquis of Granby who exclaimed:—
"Let Laws and Learning, Wealth and Commerce die,
But leave us still our old Nobility."

mously productive industrialism, which, from every capitalist country, is throwing vast quantities of commodities upon the markets, and must continue to do so, in ever increasing volume, if the rate of interest is to be maintained. At the beginning of the new century, the Government began to reflect the alarm of their dominant class lest the channels of investment should become choked and the outlet for commodities closed. This feeling not only made the capitalists turn towards such expedients as Tariff Reform and preach to the workers the necessity of discipline and a sweet spirit of reasonableness, but caused the Governments to draw together into groups, to apportion spheres of influence, to prepare more gigantic armaments for the open warfare which they dimly perceived would come when the alarm of one or other set of capitalists made it set a swifter pace in the competitive scramble. The Government conspired and their masters intrigued, robbed, and corrupted all whom they could exploit, friend or foe.

War came—a War for Liberty for the Rights of Small Nationalities, for Fatherland, for the Freedom of the Seas, for the Destruction of Militarism, for all the catch phrases and illuminated sky signs with which these high-souled hucksters have pushed their wares. It is a War for Liberty—the liberty to exploit, unhindered by the other fellow's dastardly competition. It is a War to free the small nations and subject peoples from alien domination, from economic servitude to the financial interests of the other vampire, and to emancipate them by the aid of the money-lenders of Justice and Civilisation. It is a War to make the East green with the glory of Lebanon, to plant anew the Garden of Eden; to unlock the treasuries of Ophir; to fill the highways of the nations with the tumult and the whistling and the tooting of the freight train, the motor lorry, and the steamship; to festoon the wildernesses with telegraph, telephone, and electric-power cables; to erect mine-heads and oil shafts, mills and furnaces, hotels, and grain elevators to the Lord God of Profit, whose temple they have vowed to build of beaten gold that he may make his everlasting abiding place amongst his chosen people.

Such is the vision which has been revealed to the Crusaders of Commodities. The Mark, the Dollar, or the Sovereign—in that sign will they conquer. They will reinforce their victories—partial or complete—by waging an Economic War. Of course, they will! They have been doing it all along. The only difference that the proposals of the Paris Conference will make, if adopted, will be to bring the services of the capitalist States to the assistance of their respective private capitalists. What do the capitalists maintain the State for, if not to make use of it when they require it?

The Paris Proposals and the recommendations of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee are a natural sequence of class rule and of the development of Capitalism. The private and anarchic War of Commodities becomes an official Economic War as soon as the capitalist class has exhausted all the other expedients to which it can resort, without running the risk of going into bankruptcy or committing suicide. Of course, these proposals, like the War, like the "spies, suborned agents, ambassadors whose business it is to cheat and finesse" of the diplomatic system, like armaments and all the other branches of their "sales department," will do no more than postpone the day of settlement. Already, whether consciously or not, we cannot say, the capitalists are preparing to avoid bankruptcy by going into voluntary liquidation to the State and are appointing the Official Receiver in advance. These undischarged bankrupts (they will be in no hurry to get their discharge papers) will gladly see their official selves running the business of the Empire, of the Allies, or of the World.

(Continued on page 8)

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Seventeen

THE political revolutions we have related, covering the principal capitals of Europe, left scarcely a trace on the law-books. By 1852 Europe was, politically, where she had been in 1848.

The efforts of large or small groups of earnest and courageous men, though successful in seizing control of the political forces, were lacking in power to alter the social trend of life, as we pointed out in our opening article. They could scheme, conspire and prepare for the overthrow of another group of men, and lay their plans with every assurance of success. The factors being all ascertainable and comprehensible, it only remained for them to be collected, and a plan drawn to cover the occasion.

The success of the operation depended upon the thoroughness, courage and resources of the revolutionists. They had merely to over-reach, out-guess and out-fight the group in control of the government. This was a comparatively easy matter in several instances, and presented no overwhelming difficulty in any case. A little foresight, a little patience, a little courage, how little might be seen from the career of Louis Napoleon—a little luck, and the deed was done.

But as people live, not on laws, however enlightened, nor on ideals, however exalted, the revolutionists, dealing largely in such commodities, fell short of the anticipations which their promises had inspired. The production of food might be retarded or accelerated by a government, but it will be found even today—and it was certainly true of the middle of last century—that production proceeded without any aid from the state. The chief function of the state was to maintain order; it is still its chief function. When the government did interfere it generally threw a sprag into the wheels of progress, and was not infrequently ignored.

Aside from that little group of very ordinary men who comprised the government, the great multitude who maintained the productive machine labored on. To anticipate the results of their energy was beyond the ken of man. To out-guess the steam engine or the chemical combinations of the newly discovered elements was impossible, and during the years following the revolutionary period we find the parliaments and governments of the world desperately engaged in an almost endless effort to keep pace with the development of the machine.

A quiet country side, where for centuries a peaceful peasantry have produced, and paid their taxes, is invaded by a railway; immediately it becomes a scene of turmoil and strife, for which no rules and regulations are laid down; the government hastily draws up a code of rules, which are no sooner enacted than they become the cause of further strife. The government is extremely embarrassed; these questions are beyond its power to solve. Hitherto, the calls upon its ingenuity were such that a few bureaucrats, working in well-known grooves, kept things moving somehow. But strange apparitions of ferocious old men, presenting the strangest demands, had lately robbed the bureaucrats of much rest and had upset their pomposity. Coarse old fellows, lacking culture or elegance, but possessing an extraordinary knowledge of coal and iron products, and presenting unprecedented demands for the abolition of taxes and imposts long accounted the very life blood of the nation. Strangest of all this strange eventful history, these crude creatures (of whom Mathias Stinnes, the grandfather of the present de facto Dictator of Germany, was the vanguard) had become factors in the social wellbeing of the nation and, consequently, of the bureaucrats themselves. And the manner in which this came about was in this wise:

Water had been, up to the end of the 18th century, the great carrying agent of mankind, and commerce, making its way by the easiest route to the

sea, naturally followed, wherever possible, the great rivers. Quite energetic engineering enterprises had been carried out by various governments to this end. Canals had been cut and roads built to this end. Even the most profligate of governments, such as that of Louis XVI. of France, contributed. For even to their purblind social vision the need for inter-communication between their productive centres was apparent. But however skilful the engineer, and however great the monarch, north and south remained apart as the poles, and formed the dividing line from a centre of which commerce flowed, as water from two sides of a hill. So that Southern Germany, Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, remained distinct economic units whose produce went south, while that of Prussia, Saxony and Hanover went north. The numerous small Duchies and Principalities which make up Germany did not contribute to the building of roads, and river traffic was more hampered by tariff and regulations than by shoal and rapids. On the Elbe, between Hamburg and Magdeburg, tariff was collected fourteen times, and on the Main, between Bamberg and Mainz, thirty-three times, early in the 18th century, and the Rhine was in even worse case; the control of its banks was not settled by the Great Powers until well into the middle of the century.

Germany was further handicapped, before the advent of the locomotive, by the fact that east of the Rhine the Romans had never established the groundwork of road building which had recompensed the countries they conquered.

The principal rivers of Germany, too, had their mouths in foreign territory, the Danube being in the hands of one of the poorer states, Roumania, and the obstacles to navigation on this southeast bound river have not been adequately dealt with to this day.

The great need for a unified Germany, then, will be understood without further laboring the matter.

The Zollverein (Customs Union) had to some extent removed much of tariff nuisance in the territory within its jurisdiction. But Hanover and the northwest states remained outside.

Prussia, the wealthiest and the nearest to the ocean, was exceptionally favored, and commenced a series of diplomatic victories, by loans of money and engineers to smaller states, succeeding in breaking up the alliances prompted by economic needs which developed in the south and in the northeast. These were checkmated for a time by the unscrupulous Prince Schwarsenburg, and Austria's leading reactionary policy prevailed.

But the triumph of Austria was short lived. Lacking every means to meet the industrial revolution, she required fearless rascality and wisdom of the highest order to maintain her position. These are not given to many men, and in 1852 Schwarsenburg departed this life.

The poor condition of the German roads, a matter engaging the attention of every state, gave an impetus to railroad building, and the demands of Krupp & Co., Stinnes & Co., and similar growing giants, which were already attracting attention, as being almost "English" in completeness. It was still necessary to obtain a charter on mediaeval lines to start a company, and, while this made for security to investors, it restricted private enterprise. The various states therefore were partly compelled to either aid railroad building or entirely construct the roads themselves. List, the economist fresh from the United States, published an engineering journal, and was influential in forwarding many projects. It is remarked that these roads cost less than a third per mile than the roads in England, which were opened by private enterprise.

Twelve years after the Germany revolution, that country was unified by thirty-five hundred miles of railroads. The remotest centres were brought with-

in a few hours of the ocean. Manufacture was re-teased from local conditions, the world supplied raw material, and consumed the finished produce.

Far back in the Thuringian Forest a pipe industry flourished, which obtained its cedar from Lebanon, cherrywood from Lower Austria, birch from Sweden, amber from the Baltic countries, meerschaut from Armenia, brass from Britain, resin from India, silver and gold bands from any and everywhere. It cost but little more to take the raw material there and carry the finished article away than would be required to perform a similar service in Berlin, Paris or London. The world was still twenty-five thousand miles around, but space was practically annihilated.

The system of control which sufficed for the days when the people of the Thuringian Forest passed their days grubbing a livelihood from a niggardly nature was manifestly absurd when these peasants handed their wares to the gold-diggers of California. This one illustration should make clear the transformation which followed the appearance of the locomotive. Following directly upon this revolutionary agency, and supporting it in numerous ways, came the electric telegraph and the Morse system of word conveyance. The world was still further narrowed. In March, 1848, we remember it took weeks for a message to pass from one capital to another. In fact, Caesar Augustus could travel as fast as Count Von Bismarck or Prince Metternich, and could hear from his remotest provinces as quickly. By 1850 the latter were in immediate communication with each other, and could visit each other's palaces between suns.

The dividing line of commerce no longer obtained, and to the great ports on the Baltic flowed all the commerce of the interior. In spite of the mediaeval legal machinery, vast enterprises of docking, drawing on the timber of the interior, steel rails, and, later, fabrications for bridges, called for enormous quantities of iron; the mills producing these required endless small parts for their maintenance—and so on and so on. From isolated peasants and handicraft workers, having hardly a thing in common, the inhabitants of Germany were suddenly converted into next-door neighbors, with a dozen pressing grievances. From strangers, hardly able to abide each other, they became bosom cronies, literally bound together with bands of steel. The manufacturers met each other to discuss their needs; the workers met to discuss their woes.

But we fancy our allotted space is full, and we had better leave them ruminating till next issue.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

THEATRE ROYAL

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18

Speaker: A. J. BEENY

All meetings at 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion.

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Communityism

IF the country town merchant is continually worried by both the fear and the actual competition of city mail-order houses, the city small merchants themselves have also their own troubles to contend with, as shown by the following quotation from a recent issue of the Winnipeg "Retail Merchants' Weekly": "Competition in the retail business in Canada is getting more pronounced every year, and the retailer, if he would not be left in the lurch, must keep constantly on the alert. Chain store competition in this country has not reached the stage of development it has in the United States, but there are many who believe in a few years it will be the most difficult source of competition that the average one-store merchant will be called to face."

This competition, coupled with the bankruptcies and bad trade that the present capitalist collapse has brought in its train, has resulted in an outburst of small traders' and small industries' unity schemes of various kinds, and has given employment to those who make a business of forming and directing such enterprises. A British statesman, many years ago, said that we are all Socialists now; and he seemingly based his assertion on the sort of co-operation that obtains amongst the petty bourgeois class, as illustrated by this actual example which, upon analysis, is at once seen to be comprised of humbug, hot air and hypocrisy. It is taken from a fair-sized town newspaper and the "copy" originated from a central source in the States; the Canadian paper substituting its town's name for the original indefinite "Blankville." Down one side is a cut of a genially grinning, white-collared business man with right hand outstretched; along the top, a big two-line heading, "The Hand of Fellowship," and at the bottom, a list of local business men, etc., who thereby indicate that they extend to prospective benefactors the aforesaid "hand" which, they say, "is extended to you by the business and professional interests of —. Grasp it! Feel the strength of its sincerity and eagerness to satisfy; learn of its actions in moulding this—our town—into a greater and more enterprising community. It's that hand of Fellowship, of Welcome, of Ambition and Determination, which has done so much to contribute to the welfare of our fair town. Think back a few years. Note the many public and private improvements that have been made since then as a direct result of local enterprise. What motive prompted them? Certainly, not selfishness. Those who contributed, did it for the purpose of adding to your convenience or pleasure. Yes, to create good-fellowship and good-will. Of course, these improvements were not made without considerable sacrifice on the part of our business and professional interests. Quite often they came forward with financial aid when they could least afford it. And yet, they did it with a generous heart and a cheerful smile. That's the spirit that has made — so progressive. All that those interests ask in return (note the pathetically beautiful 'sob' touch) is your co-operation in building an even brighter future for this community." Then followed the list of business men's, etc., names.

Another newspaper "community" slogan was bounded, top and bottom, by large cuts of silver dollars rolling all over the page—which, of course, revealed, though used in Canada, their Yankee origin. This philanthropic effusion was headed, "Your Dollars Do 'Double Duty' When Spent at Home"; and then, as before, came another list of those hungerers and thirsters after the Good (or the goods!) with this simple confession of faith: "We, the undersigned business and professional interests, always have (sic) and always will be strong for anything good for the community; but, remember—we need YOUR CO-OPERATION." Other sermons along "community" welfare lines, and each one similarly illustration-emphasized are, "Do Unto Others—Pay Your Bills Promptly," "Keep Smiling," "Be Contented," etc., etc., etc.

Still another stunt, which is also worked in connivance with local philanthropists, has as its real object a bigger financial return for the town and district and ever-struggling paper, alias "rag." Its ostensible purpose is to increase the paper's sphere of influence for beneficent community education and development. There is always a pitiable charity element in connection with small papers, but by other means it is sought to play upon and tempt the grasping side of its supporters' characters. So, various prizes, some of them drawn for on the lottery principle, are offered to some fortunate one of the purchasers at the local dealers' stores which advertise in the paper. At other times large cash prizes, etc., for a subscription contest are the incentive, and, with this last form, the paper lures on its victims by assuring them one and all that "Everybody Wins," because, should the sub. hunter fail of getting a big cash prize or an automobile, there is always a 10 per cent. commission offered on all moneys turned in. Of course, the scheme is to work the workers and make them provide their own prize money or object to be "given away free." But, in at least one case the writer knows of, it did not take the Yankee organizer of the contest long to find out that blood cannot be drawn from a stone. In other words, that, amongst hopelessly bankrupt or hard-up Canadian farmers and their parasites, the potentially obtainable cash was too utterly negligible a quantity to make the game in any way nearly worth the candle. So, suddenly becoming aware of a pressing business appointment that drew him back 'way down South, and having collected from the editor a share of the loot, the American folded his tent like the Arab and silently stole away; and that, too, so effectively that even his own boss, who came up himself to Canada to find out what the trouble was, didn't know where his employee had "beat it" to! Thereafter, the big prize bait and contest was dropped, but, by increasing the sub. hunters' share from the original 10 per cent. up to 25 per cent., several of them were sufficiently interested to keep at the job.

But what, after all, can this "community development" amount to so far as the average worker is concerned, seeing that municipal voting is based upon a property-owning qualification which comparatively few wage-earners possess? There is even a vast mass of unskilled tramp proletarians who, because they never fulfil the residential qualifications, cannot even exercise the political vote. Yet the community movement exists and receives such a measure of support as to afford good livings to both Canadian and American organizers.

Well, the famous Hegelian dictum has it that "everything which is real is reasonable, and everything which is reasonable is real." To that, Engels (in "Feuerbach") thoroughly agrees; but with the proviso that what is thrown up into existence and made real by prevailing conditions, will in course of time become "negated" and unreal when those temporary conditions that necessarily produced the phenomenon have passed away.

As things are, there is a decided advantage in town life, for, as Marx says, it rescues us from the idioecy of rural life; though, be it said, the town must be of a certain size, otherwise, as experience teaches, we are liable to be caught in the whirlpool of spite, gossip, ignorance, small-mindedness and quarrelsomeness that is the curse of small communities. So, in view of town social and material benefits, it is necessary, within reason, to bear what practically amounts to a tax upon each resident. But, that the "support your home merchant" slogan is too often abused, is a lamentable and inevitable result of capitalist conditions with which each victim must reckon on the lines of "once bitten twice shy."

For the rest, the best of town environments means nothing to the workers when unemployed or agonizing from any of the other ills to which the wage-

slave is heir. In fact, under such conditions they are apt to suffer the same aggravating torture that a hungry street arab endures as he hopelessly gazes at the temptingly displayed eatables behind the barricade of delicatessen store window—"so near and yet so far!!"

In the Socialist movement it has always been a regular practice to make purchases or remit funds on the "support your home merchant" basis, and the tax so involved is rather delighted in rather than objected to, in the spirit of—as the Bard of Avon puts it—"the labor one delights in physics pain." But were it not that we know we are working for a system of society that will render absurd the present class-limited, hypocritical and death-tainted "Communityism"; were it not that we are aiming at the universal, lasting and sure foundationed advantages of COMMUNISM, even we would fail to see the fun of spending ourselves and our slender means for the cause. But, believing, as we do, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, we do not hesitate to call upon our fellows outside the movement, in the words of an English comrade:

"Failure on failure may seem to defeat us;
ultimate failure is impossible.
Seeing what is to be done then, seeing what
the reward is,
Seeing what the terms are,—are you willing to
join us?
Will you lend us the aid of your voice, your
money, your sympathy?
May we take you by the hand and call you
'Comrade'?"

PROGRESS.

INCENTIVE

(Continued from page 4)

toil not the enforcement of the capitalist economic? Is not the skill of labor but the engine of greater exploitation? Are inventions not purloined to further the power of profit? Then wherefore incentive?

To the capitalist class, it is the exploitation of social energy. It is the subjugation of man to the machine; of ambition to privilege; of culture to profit; of life to property. It is the sanction of might created right to dominate the life and ethic and substance of socially created experience. It is the power to make humanity the servitor of man, and social munificence the minister of class.

To the toiling masses, to the harried children of wages, there is but one incentive—economic freedom; one aim—the substitution of social order for class law; the abolition of political domination for social administration. Political dominion—in whatever form it is cast, from conservative law to social reform—means the law of property; and within the ambit of its cycle of development, it cannot be frustrated. It is the right of might and the providence of its "divinity," to control the resources of the earth, and the agencies of labor and progress, for the prime benefit of profit and privilege.

Social administration means the right of society itself to control and order the means of its life, and the magnificence of progress, exclusively for the common welfare of the total society. Not for one group or one class, but for all living, in one class—the producers and creators of social abundance. It means that machinery shall be the servant of man and not his master, that its wondrous productivity shall be transformed into the culture of socialized man. It means that class law and its struggle for power shall disappear, and social understanding undertake the destinies of further progress. It means that the blight of ignorance and its petrel brood of furies shall vanish in the freedom of social equality. Then the incentive of man will be inevitably the gain of society. And the gain of society, in turn, will be reflected as inevitably in the triumph of a mightier individuality, spontaneous, self-expressing, sparkling like the mounted diamond, with the multiplied grandeur of its limitless creativeness.

R.

THE POLITICS OF CAPITALISM.

(Continued from page 5)

The Climax of the Class Struggle.

The war-time experiments at the Minister of Munitions and in the private management of National Factories, with Shipping Controllers, Labour Ministries, and all the new offices of the bureaucracy, will be improved on until we have "Socialism" without the Socialists, the "Capitalists" without Capitalism, and, probably, the Golden "International" instead of the Red International. "Militarism," and all the accompanying measures, we can take it as assured, will remain with us so long as Capitalism endures. To gird at these things and to fight them as if they were evils in themselves is no work for Socialists. The political revolution accomplished by the Compulsion Laws, the Munitions Acts, the War Governments, and the economic transformations caused by "the Engineers' War," and revealed on every hand in the last eighteen months, call for a renewal of uncompromising and revolutionary Socialist propaganda, aiming at nothing less than the conquest of industrial and political power by the working class.

There is no doubt that Capitalism is preparing the domain of its activities for the social order which will take over its inheritance of an organized and highly-productive industrial system. But, if the portents of today mean anything, this transformation will only be achieved after a long continued and ever more intense class-struggle extending through what are likely to be some of the stormiest years in human history. It is our business, it is our duty, it is our privilege, it is our joy, to prepare the working class for the great historic effort which shall culminate in the Social Revolution. It is coming, and the winds of evening and the red glow of this bloody sunset write anew, across the heavens, the watchword of Marx—justified and wondrous prophet of all this pageant that wends before us, "Workers of all lands, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a World to win!"

THE END.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Correspondence

Editor, Western Clarion:

I have pleasure in renewing my sub to the Clarion. I look forward to every issue of the Clarion as there is always some good stuff in it. I attended a meeting in Manchester recently at which J. T. Walton Newbold made a speech on the International Situation. During the course of his speech he mentioned that during his visit to Germany he saw railway locomotives which had been made at Messrs Krupp, Essen, to the order of Messrs Vickers of Manchester, Barrow, etc., for a South African contract. This no doubt would be very interesting to any unemployed engineers in the audience to find that cheap labour in Germany or elsewhere is very useful to the employing class in cutting down wages and increasing hours in England. I think the Lancashire cotton industry is in a parlous state and judging by the amount of mill machinery exported (particularly by Platt Bros. Ltd., Oldham) to India, China and Japan during the past few years I cannot see it getting back to its pre-war status as Lancashire cotton operatives cannot live on a handful of rice like workers in eastern countries.

There is a rather interesting review in the October "Labour-Monthly" of two books on conditions in India: Report on an Inquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the Bombay cotton mill industry, by G. Findlay Sherias, Labour Office, Government of Bombay 1923 R3; Report on an Inquiry into working class budget in Bombay, by G. F. Sherias, Labour Office, Government of Bombay, R3 14. The following is an extract from the review of the first book: "Take, for instance, the first inquiry into the wage and hours worked in the mill industry. Its results are not a little vitiated by the fact that they depend purely and solely on voluntary returns made by the employers on forms submitted to them to fill up. Even so, it is interesting to notice that the returns, which relate to rather less than 200,000 workers, indicate an average daily wage for men, of only twenty annas (about 1s. 8d.). Assuming four weeks of six days worked in the month this would only yield a monthly income of 30 rupees (about £2). Women are of course, paid much less; the average monthly wage being only half that of men. Even the average hours of labour represent a total of sixty hours or over for a working week of six days."

The following is an extract from the review of the second book: "The rapid growth of the Bombay industrial proletariat, the absence of real legal protection for the workers, and the indifference of the millionaires, have resulted in conditions which can only be compared with those described by Engels in his account of the state of the working class in England in 1844. The housing conditions of the Bombay mill workers are notorious, and some appalling details are given in the book. The following are some of the conclusions arrived at:

"About 97 per cent of the working class families live in single room and tenements; 70 per cent of the total tenements in Bombay consist of one room only and 14 per cent of two rooms. Two-thirds of the population of Bombay city live in one room as against six per cent in London. There are 3125 one-roomed tenements containing at least two families, 270 of them housing five or more families in the single room.

"It is eloquent of the quality of these dwellings that out of 2,473 cases the water supply was reckoned good in 234 because there was at least one tap for eight tenements. In 1423 cases there was only one tap for between eight to ten tenements; in the remaining 816 cases the single tap served for more than sixteen tenements. The natural result is shown in the figures of infantile mortality in Bombay. The average number of deaths under one year per 1000 births during the five years ended 1922 was 572. The figure in 1921 was 666. The corresponding figures in other towns in 1921 were 281 in Madras; 135 in Berlin; 95 in Paris; 80 in London; 71 in New York. The direct connection between overcrowding and the high rate of infantile mortality is shown by the facts that for whole families occupying one room or less the mortality figure reaches the awful figure of 828 decreasing as the number of rooms increases until for four or more rooms it is as low as 133."

If you have a spare copy of the Clarion for September 1, 1923 I should be glad if you would send me as my copy did not arrive, so apparently got lost in the post. I conclude with kindest regards.

Yours fraternally,
J. YATES.

Manchester, Eng.

26th, October, 1923.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN FRANCE

(Continued from page 1)

Until March 1921 the number of unemployed again increased gradually, and by this time 91,800 were again in receipt of benefit. In the course of the year 1921 the number of unemployed again decreased. By December the number was only 9,800.

As compared with a total of 8½ million persons in receipt of wages, at present there are only 1,423 unemployed in France, registered as receiving benefit. In Paris there are 130 persons receiving the

dole. This improvement in the labor market in comparison with pre-war conditions is due to the following causes: First, decrease in the number of workers owing to war losses; secondly, the introduction of the eight hour day; and thirdly, the recent economic recuperation. France is obliged to employ many foreign workers. In the year 1922 the agencies providing foreign labour found work for 117,000 workers. To these must be added the 53,000 foreign workers who have found employment through the direct agency of the municipal labour exchanges. This makes a total of 170,000 workers. The 117,000 workers procured through the special labour exchanges for foreigners belong to the following nations in the following proportions: Italians 54,800; Poles 31,300; Spaniards 9,200; Portuguese 8,000; Russian 3,900; Belgians 3,200; Czechoslovakians 1,300; North Africans 700; Greeks 600. The remainder is divided among various small groups.

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