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# WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

Official Organ of  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

Number 812

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., FEBRUARY 2, 1920.

FIVE CENTS

## Direct Action

THE mass actionists or direct actionists have practically controlled the left wing of the Socialist Party of America. These November Bolsheviks, laboring under the delusion that the Revolution was around the corner, drew up a platform that either was the work of insane fools or government agents. They have no use for the ballot. They refer to the election of Berger, London, Noske, etc., as the result of the worker's efforts in the Parliamentary field. The election of Berger to Congress merely reflects the state of mind of the workingmen that elected him. If they had understood anything about Scientific Socialism they would not have sent Berger to Congress. Scheidmann and Noske were elected by the German working-class. It means that the majority of the workers in Germany were not interested in Socialism but in petty reform measures that in the end would not benefit them.

To say that the revolution is around the corner is ridiculous. Any sane minded man can see that for himself. We can only have Socialism when we have Socialists. We must always remember that the emancipation of the working-class is the work of the working-class itself. Only when they are educated in Socialism and cease to act like a pack of sheep will the workers be ripe and ready for Socialism.

Then again some direct actionists such as Karl Radek claim that "want and oppression, the cataclysmic effects even of that product of capitalism, war, will not suffice to cause the universal rising of the oppressed and despoiled. The revolt is always led by a minority which accomplishes the revolution."

Poverty alone does not make Revolutions. In fact the worse the conditions of the worker, the lower his spirit. The English workers lived under the most horrible conditions imaginable yet the English workers did not revolt.

Radek's ideas do not coincide with those of Frederick Engels: "The period of sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where the question involves the complete transformation of the social organization there the masses themselves must be consulted, must themselves have already grasped what the struggle is about and what they stand for."

Radek apparently forgets the terrible experience of the Spartacans when men like he were in control. Karl Liebknecht admitted just before his death that "the time was not ripe." The masses were not ready."

We must also realize that the days of the barricades are past never to return. Insurrection by a minority as in the case of Germany, or Ireland is foredoomed to failure.

Again quoting Engels. "Does the reader now understand why the ruling class is so anxious by all means to get us where the rifle cracks and the sabre clashes? And why today they accuse us of cowardice because we do not straightway betake ourselves to the streets where we are beforehand certain of defeat? And why they so passionately beseech us to be good enough to play cannon fodder just for once?"

Probably this explains the reason why government agents tried to incite the striking workers of Seattle and Winnipeg to riot. But our direct actionists will say, "What about the expulsion of Berger and the five Socialists from legislative bodies? Doesn't that prove that the ballot is an archaic weapon?"

Again let me quote Engels. "Meanwhile let them pass their anti-revolt laws, and make them still more

stringent; let them turn the whole criminal code into caoutchouc; they will accomplish nothing except to furnish new proof of their impotence.

The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the "Revolutionists," the "Revolters," prosper far better by lawful measures than by unlawful measures and violence. The "law and order" parties as they call themselves, go to ruin under the legal conditions which they themselves have established. They cry out in despair with Odilon Barrott: 'Lawfulness is killing us'; while we, under this lawfulness are getting firm muscles and rosy cheeks and are the pictures of eternal life. And if we do not so completely lose our wits as to let ourselves be drawn into a street fight just to please them, then there remains nothing else for them to do finally except to break down the lawfulness which has proven so disadvantageous to them."

The mass actionists have given the ruling class an excuse for them to crush working-class organizations. We, however, will not as Engels points out, "allow ourselves to be drawn into a street fight." Let them use their "Law and order measures." We will not stop them from digging their own graves. Meanwhile we will endeavor as far as possible to educate the working-class because we realize that Socialist knowledge is the greatest enemy of Capitalism. We will also endeavor to educate the working class to the extent that they will send real Scientific Socialists as their representatives to legislative bodies.

J. T.

## Freedom in the U.S.

During the past week or so the Department of Justice has conducted numerous raids on Radical meetings. Thousands have been taken in the net, and it is expected that a great percentage of these will either be deported or imprisoned. Many have endeavored to find the motives behind these raids. Some say that Atty. Gen. Palmer is trying to build up a reputation. Others say that it has some connection with the Russian problem. Perhaps the following clipping from the Buffalo Express" of January 4th will furnish us with the answer:—

"Mr. Blackman (Dept. of Justice Agt.) said he desired to thank the patriotic citizens that assisted his office in the raid. 'These patriotic citizens, numbering about 200, did a great service to their country,' said Mr. Blackman. 'They gave the use of their automobiles and much of their time. Some of them worked throughout the night. I deeply appreciate the assistance they gave.' Among the men praised by Mr. Blackman were included the following: Archer A. Landon, former President of the Chamber of Commerce and general manager of production at the American Radiator Company; Harry Wendt, son of W. F. Wendt, of the Buffalo Forge Co.; Wm. H. Donner, president of the Donner Steel Co.; Hugh Kennedy; Rogers Brown, Iron Co.; Daniel Sowers, Sowers Mfg. Co., etc."

In Detroit about 1,000 men and women were arrested. The House of Masses, the largest Radical hall in the country, was raided several times. According to certain business men, the government is going to continue raiding the hall until it is permanently closed. A reign of terror is on.

Long live the Democratic Party!

J. T.

## Letter from Charlie O'Brien

Rochester, N.Y.,  
January 19th, 1920.

Comrades:—

I have received letters and telegrams from various parts of Canada addressed to City Jail, Rochester, New York.

Three of us were taken in the nation-wide raid, and were allowed bail on New Year's Eve. Hearing was to be given on January the 15th, but has been postponed until February the 19th. We are charged with criminal anarchy. As usual, they accuse us of that of which they themselves are guilty.

Our masters and their henchmen are desperate with fear. Rivalry among the latter for the best jobs has caused each to outdo the other in demonstrating that he is worthy of hire.

But they appear to have overdone it. World events shall determine whether they increase or decrease their persecution of us.

A Defence Committee have engaged a couple of lawyers and are collecting funds. Though the raiders have taken between three and four hundred dollars' worth of our literature, our study classes, children's school, meetings, and general activities are as bright as ever.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

## A New Labor Daily

"Fleet Street," who has occasionally contributed to the columns of "Justice," writes:—"A rumour is abroad that the policy and tone of the 'Daily Mail' are shortly to be changed, and that Lord Northcliffe will add to the variety, if not to the number, of his journals by making his favourite daily a Labour organ. I give the rumour as I have heard it from a journalist who is fully convinced of the truth of what he states. Though doubtful, the change suggested is not at all improbable. Some of us have wondered for years past why the Napoleon of journalism did not start a daily newspaper on Labour lines. Perhaps he was waiting his opportunity, and the appeal of the 'Daily Herald' for £400,000 from the trade unions on 5 per cent. Debenture Stock may have caused him to take the step earlier than he otherwise would have done. Both the 'Daily Mail' and the 'Evening News' have been admitting contributions from well-known Labour people."—"Justice."

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#### WESTERN CLARION.

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

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Canada.

Issued twice-a-month, at 401 Pender Street, East, Vancouver, B. C. Phone: High. 2583.

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# Profiteering

IN these days, the profiteer receives attention altogether beyond his deserts. Profiteering is not, alas, a new thing, nor is the prosperity thereof. It has had existence since slavery became an established social institution, and the emoluments of the "trade" have varied in proportion to social progress in production.

Nevertheless, profiteering (in its usual acceptation), a retention by the individual of an excessive share of the social production, is a feature inherent in Capital and the profiteer a natural result of capitalist development. This excessive share accumulates to particular individuals or groups entirely because of the economic setting of our social system, and it is for this reason that pinched indignation, moral platitudes and ideal negations avail nothing against this, or any other social evil.

In handicraft society, with simple tools and a small scale of production, the demands of society itself absorbed nearly the total production. The simple tools and crude methods prevented any great surplus, and trade and commerce were not the necessities they have now become, but catered mainly to the luxury of the few. And the crude production with its limited surplus equalized wealth distribution, preventing the extreme poverty we see today, and prevented also its opposite extreme, the automatic aggregation of monopoly wealth. The ruling-class of the time was a land-owning class with social distinctions based accordingly, hence, although there were vast differences of social rank there were no such marked discrepancies in social wellbeing.

Still, although surplus was limited it existed, and its existence brought forth a trading class whose interests were markets, and markets became, ultimately, the prime business of this class. Gradually the market extended, production assumed a commodity character, rivalry induced keener competition, commerce rose to greater proportions and to greater importance in the social life. The creative genius in man was aroused to new effort in other spheres than art and religion. Mechanical discoveries advanced production; steam and high-power machinery completed the transformation of society and exchanged the aristocracy of birth for the parvenues of money. Political control changed from land to industry, and the lusty, stolid, tradition-minded and (in the main) wholesomely-fed agricultural laborer, changed for the physically weaker but intellectually keener machine-bred, precariously-nurtured, industrial proletariat.

But the machinery that creates and continually augments the proletariat, creates and continually augments surplus. The increase of the proletariat decreases its social value in production, while increased production of social necessities lessens the cost of producing labor-power. Cheapening production increases the mass of commodities and the volume of trade, and the increased productivity of labor increases the disproportion of relative wages. Therefore, the workers receive a continually diminishing share of their products, and the capitalist class a continually rising surplus. As surplus is potential profit, increased surplus is class profiteering. In commercial circles, among labor-fakirs and in the prostitute press this profiteering is called (euphoniously) "good business," "legitimate profits," and "the best interests of the community," respectively.

To realise profit, surplus must be sold. And obviously, because it is surplus—beyond the place of its production. This is where commerce comes in. All countries are now practically capitalized, i.e., commodity producers. The capitalist-class owns the natural resources of the world, production is carried on under the terms of that ownership, and because of that ownership labor must be exploited,

which means that capital must be augmented. The exploiters—the capitalist-class—exchange the product of this exploitation among themselves.

In abnormal times such as war or a dearth in one or other country—an excessive demand for certain commodities is suddenly developed. The industry that happens to be engaged in the line of demand experiences what the capitalist calls "an opportunity for expansion." That is to say, the sudden demand, in effect, eliminates competition and creates a monopolistic market whereby the owners of the industry, either by a higher price or by increased volume of trade or both, pile up the figures or (cyphers which "business" calls wealth) on their ledgers.

During the late war, when the extremity of the capitalist was great, enactments against profiteering came forth from the state jesters. These enactments resulted in the prosecution of petty trades people for retail overcharging, leaving "big business"—the real profiteer, as it was. This was so of necessity, partly because "big business" is the supreme political control, and mainly because economic law is subject only to its own necessity, not to class legislation.

And world finance reaps the benefit, so long as the social forces can expand under the inertia of capitalist restraint.

Profiteering is one of the inevitable results of capital. Capitalist society is based on profit, develops on profit and responds only to the stimulus of profit. And profit can be realized only by market expansion. But every new market becomes a new rival for the world market, thereby increasing competition, intensifying production and centralizing capital into fewer hands. Hence, dispossession and destitution grow to vaster proportions on one side, vaster possession and increasing profit on the other.

It is a development as natural and sequential as the growth of plants from seeds, and in the social ownership of the means of wealth production lies the sole remedy.

R.

## Taxes

The following article has been resurrected from the editorial drawer, where it has been for some two years. It would hardly be recognized in its present form by its author, because while it dealt at the time it was written with an Editorial in the Vancouver "Province," dealing with the taxation of the returned soldier, and had also some comment upon matters current at that time, we have presented it apart from such matters, but with the main body of the argument remaining intact.—Ed.

THE vast majority of the men who composed the armies engaged in Europe are members of the working-class. In peacetime they obtain the necessaries of life by the only method open to them. They work for wages. This the "Province" editor cannot deny.

"But," he and his ilk will say, "the workers pay taxes nevertheless. When they post a letter they pay taxes in postage; when they buy an imported article they pay taxes through import duties; taxes are incorporated in their rent, as the landlord must get back the taxes he himself has to pay, from his tenant."

The Poll-tax, the Theatre-tax, and many other catch-penny devices will be quoted in support of the contention that the workers pay taxes. These contentions are very plausible, and to the worker who has made no investigation of even primary economics, will surely appear to be conclusive evidence that he himself pays taxes. But directly

the whole position of the working-class is analysed, and the mere surface appearance of things is penetrated, a totally different state of affairs becomes evident.

In the first place, those who earn their living through working for wages are really in the position of persons selling something. The energy contained within them, mental and physical, is what they sell to the employer, who buys it. This energy has a price, which, like all prices, goes up and down in accordance with the law of supply and demand.

The mere fact that it has a price, and that it follows the law of supply and demand when it enters into the relationship of exchange with other commodities and is commensurable with them, proves that it is a commodity. This commodity, in the terms of economics, is called "labor-power." On the average, commodities are exchanged, bought and sold, at their value. This value is quite distinct from the intrinsic value which man's products always have had; it is quite apart from their value in use, or, in the terms again of the economist, "Use-value."

Value is but a relationship existing between the products of man's labor, and it varies only insofar as the proportion between the labor contained in one commodity and that in another varies.

When the employer goes to the labor market, he pays for labor-power not one cent more than he has to. Some kinds of labor-power may be more expensive to him than others, but for all that, the particular worker that Mr. Moneybags wishes to hire gets no more than the market compels him to pay. On the other hand, the workers, when they see competition among themselves slacken off somewhat, endeavour to take advantage of that condition by selling their labor-power for as high a price as possible.

The standard of living plays a very important part in determining how low the workers are able to put the price of their labor-power, both when competition for jobs is acute and when it is not so. On the one hand, the bare necessities of life without which they would suffer starvation or exposure from the irreducible minimum, and on the other hand the general traditions of their class in which are incorporated the things usually eaten, the clothes usually worn, the nature of the dwelling-house, together with all the other factors attendant on the life of the average working-man, serve as a standard from which they reason, and which, taken together over a period of time and in a given country, may be called the standard of living of the workers in that country.

And with all these considerations involved, and taking into consideration the effects of the law of supply and demand, the worker receives on the average no more and no less than the value of his labor-power. This, represented in wages, and consumed as food, clothing and shelter, leaves the worker no richer in possessions than when he started, and altogether precludes the possibility of his being taxed at any time, in reality.

Taxes are imposed by any government for the purpose of maintaining the state. One insurmountable difficulty prevents it from taxing the working-class in any country—they have no property. Such produce of their own labor as is unconsumed by themselves is left in the hands of the master-class, whose property it is. This wealth that the workers produce but do not own is the only fund from which taxes may be extracted.

But in one sense, the tax that the working-class do pay is a tax of time and labor, of blood and sweat. In this sense they pay the tax that every slave class has paid. They pay everything over and above that which is necessary to their continued existence as efficient slaves, producing goods for sale at a profit for another class.

# The Farmers' Forum

# Changing Ideas

**I**N giving an opinion of the value of the farmers' platform to the farmers themselves, I do not expect to add fuel to the flame of enthusiasm which that document has excited in some quarters, but in the hope that it may set some farmers thinking along broader channels than they have hitherto. I propose to deal first with Section 3, wherein the basis of the "New National Policy" is explained, namely—lower tariff.

It is quite true that a protective tariff tends towards high prices on all those commodities which cannot be produced as cheaply in Canada as they can, at a given time, be produced elsewhere and transported to Canada. It is also true that a reduction of the tariff would tend to reduce the price of such commodities. It must be remembered, however, that with a lowering of the tariff, a greater demand must occur for such goods; a greater demand means a tendency to higher prices, so we see, that not all the amount of the tariff could be retained, even temporarily by the buyer of imported goods from which the tariff had been removed.

Let us grant then, that a lowering, or removal of the tariff on imported goods, will lower prices. It is on this ground that an appeal is being made for the support of the wage earner.

Whether we want to see it or not, the fact remains that the buyer of a commodity wants to buy as cheaply as possible, and the buyer of labor-power is no exception to the rule. If it costs less to produce labor-power, in other words, if it costs less for the worker—the seller of labor-power—to live, the competition of the workers for jobs will determine that they sell cheaper, so cheapness breeds cheapness, and allows nastiness to flourish.

In previous communications, I have tried to show that the average farmer's poverty is the direct result of an over supply of wage earners on the world's market, part of which, flooding the farmer's field of production, causes over-supply of farm produce, consequent cheapness, and poverty for the farmer.

It will readily be seen, that if goods are being produced in Canada under a protective tariff, that could be more cheaply produced elsewhere and transported to Canada, in other words, if labor is being wasted, there are more people being employed than there otherwise would be—result: less unemployed, fewer embryo farmers taking up homesteads, less farm produce, and higher prices for the farmer.

On the other hand, if all agricultural implements be placed on the free list, as is provided under "Definite Tariff Demands," sub-section (e), the wage workers will be able to enter into competition with even greater ease than at present—result: a greater influx to the farming industry than before, a greater volume of farm produce and consequent reduction in price, which assuredly would counteract any benefits which would accrue from cheaper implements, etc.

But, says my fellow farmer, what are we to do? We realize that the capitalist class is our enemy. We know the tricks they practice to prevent us enjoying even the temporary "rises" in the fluctuations of the market. We realize that we must take political action. If the reduction in the tariff that we have been wanting so long is no good to us, what is?

My answer is: If you know that the capitalist class is your enemy, make common cause with the other enemies of that class, i.e., the wage workers of the mills, railways, factories, and mines. The ballot, in spite of its limitations, has still the power to express your will if you are sure of what you want.

Your poverty is the result of the development of the forces of production. The present owners of the means of wealth production are powerless to direct those means, for the satisfaction of the needs of mankind. Profit is their God. People may starve by the million, by the thousands, and hundreds of thousands. They may walk the streets, willing, and anxious to produce the necessaries of life for themselves and others, but denied the right, by those

who own the means of wealth production that labor alone has created from resources which nature has provided.

Section 6 of your Platform says in part: "We . . . recommend the adoption of the principle of co-operation as the guiding spirit in future relations between employer and employees, between capital and labor."

Why have you organized, if not to fight the trusts and combines? Why have you "gone into politics," except to carry on that fight with what you hope is an improved weapon? Yet you "recommend" that another enemy of the trusts and combines co-operate with their exploiters, with their enemy—presumably against yourself. Why do you want to strengthen your enemy, as would result if your recommendation could be acted upon? As it is the "recommendation" only shows how ignorant those who drafted the platform are of the irreconcilable conflict which exists between the capitalists class and the working class—because one is the exploiter, and the other the exploited—and serves to show to the "industrial" worker that he cannot trust them.

Do you wonder that I say your platform; that many of us farmers will have nothing to do with your platform, because we have a better one, which calls for co-operation between worker and worker, between farmers, brain and manual workers, in short—co-operation between all the workers, for the purpose of supplying the needs of all the workers, and for the elimination of the "drones"?

Are you again going to vote into power, and give a free hand for a number of years, to men, over whom you have no control, on a platform which is largely composed of recommendations, which can easily be wriggled out of, and which contains a breadth and vagueness that can be made to cover almost anything?

Some of us would rather take a part, no matter how insignificant, in the world-wide movement for the reorganization of industry on the basis of "production for use instead of for profit."

Space forbids more at present.

H. F. S.

## 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.

## Winnipeg News

The Manitoba Court of Appeal in a judgment of January 19th, dismissed the appeal entered by the defense in the R. B. Russell case against the conviction and the sentence passed by Mr. Justice Metcalfe and jury. The decision was unanimous and the defense will be unable to carry the fight to the Supreme Court of Canada on that account. The case will be taken to the Privy Council to determine the standing of trades unions in Canada and incidentally to determine the guilt of Russell, according to formal announcement by J. Law, secretary of the Labor Defence League.

## A Reminder

In "The Confederate," (Brandon) of January 16th, there appears a contribution culled from "The Indicator," of October 25th, 1918. The article in question is "A Consideration of the term 'Capital,'" by "Geordie." We don't wonder at them reprinting the article: anybody would and everybody should, but the name of the paper should also be quoted.

The first step towards a comprehensive treatment of what is now known as the Materialistic Conception of History appeared in "The Poverty of Philosophy," a book written by Karl Marx in 1847, in answer to "The Philosophy of Poverty," by Proudhon. Some months later appeared the "Communist Manifesto," from the pens of Marx and Engels jointly. Before the publication of either of these works, however, Engels had worked out the theory to some extent independently, as is shown in his "The Condition of the Working Class in England," which he wrote at the age of 23, and before his acquaintance with Marx had formed.

The Materialist Interpretation of History is a phrase closely identified with the names of Marx and Engels, and some outline of the connecting links with past materialist considerations is given by Frederick Engels in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," the introduction to which is an admirable and scholarly treatise upon Historical Materialism.

From a consideration of phenomena as given by the Marxian school, we find that material conditions, being the limits to our observation, our ideas must be of material objects and affairs. We find that our ideas change, therefore, as these objects and their relationships change.

For instance, the ideas prevailing under Feudalism among the workers must necessarily have been very different from those among the factory workers of the present time. Man's thoughts and conceptions are subject to change, and the change is effected accordingly as he meets the changing conditions and problems of daily life.

The determining factors are the material conditions of production, and these, in which we take cognizance of factors such as geographical, climatic, racial and so on, are subject to change. Factories installed with machinery equipped to cope with the needs of production of a given period of time are, through the development of general market conditions and the development of machinery itself, rendered out of date, and what (generally) results in a cheaper method of production takes its place.

We see around us daily, the worker who was but yesterday considered a skilled mechanic, thrown out of his habitual groove through the development of machinery. The effort to make a living for himself and family is therefore the first consideration of the worker; interrupt that or change the manner of that effort, and you change the whole course of existence for him. When the worker takes thought of changing conditions and forms some understanding of his own position in relation to society generally, he will more readily understand the important bearing they have on his ideas and general course of action.

Evidence of thought upon and consideration of his surroundings is shown everywhere by the worker of today. The educational institutions and the press and pulpit no longer represent to him the facts and experiences of his daily life. He is commencing to criticize and question those spokesmen and apologists operating in the interests of another class, a class to which belongs his master, and in whose interest those institutions are maintained.

F. A. E.

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

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

Editor ..... Ewen MacLeod

Subscription, 20 issues ..... \$1.00

**813**

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FEBRUARY 2, 1920.

### EDITORIAL

#### A CRUMBLING ORDER.

The most superficial observers may see that there is something drastically at fault in society. Those whose habit it is to look deeper, see the present order in process of disintegration; they see the wreck of civilization and seas of destruction and misery overwhelming humanity, unless, from the weakening grasp of the capitalist class the helm of State affairs is seized by new constructive forces. An article in the "New Republic" quotes Herbert Hoover as saying that "There were 15 million families in Europe receiving unemployment allowances and were being paid in inflated currency." In every country, attempts to keep the currency at spurious value by price-fixing are failing. The most powerful and autocratic government in the world, that of the United States, has used all its power to force down prices by breaking up hoarded food supplies and has failed; the cost of living continues to rise, while the unemployed increase in number on the labor market, thus preventing a rise in wages for the workers.

Our rulers stand helpless, bewildered, without constructive program in the face of gathering cataclysmic forces. They stand so while whole peoples perish.

The old order dies, dies in shame and infamy and futile sacrifice of human lives in bloody war and sheer hunger and starvation because—because the working-class do not understand and are not ready to assume their historic role of ushering in a better order. And both the old order and the new are mainly, chiefly, problems in economics, i.e., problems concerning the production and distribution of wealth. It is therefore our work, as Socialists, to direct the attention of the working-class to the study of the science of economics through the works of Marx—to direct their attention to his works because he stands supreme among all modern economists in power of intellect and also for his science, both by reason of his method of presentation and his searching, ruthless analysis of capitalist production.

The influence of Marx on the world today through his teachings, after over half a century of attack and vilification is greater now than ever and it grows day by day, because the developments of Social conditions have justified his findings and conclusions: the hard-driven facts of life bear daily witness for him as they drum their dialectic in the ears of mankind.

#### THE RIGHTS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

The dispute as to the respective shares due to Labor and Capital out of the proceeds of industry has its roots in the system of "natural rights" make-believe of the past, notably of the 18th century. The French Physiocrats, the influential school of economists who were the forerunners of the English Classical School of Adam Smith to Ricardo, caused endless debate on the part played by nature in Production: as to whether nature gave more assistance to labor in agriculture than in manufacture.

The discussion was futile, of course, because when two factors are indispensable it is unmeaning to say which has contributed most to the effect. The discussion developed out of the fact that land has a price and the conceit arose that this price came from

the soil and was the rightful reward of service rendered by the landowner in putting the land at the service of the community.

As a matter of fact, land has a price because it has been appropriated and the price is a capitalization of its income bringing possibilities. Land under the capitalist system of commodity production becomes an instrument for making money.

The competition on the world's market for agricultural products sets a price which covers the cost of production (this term, as used here, includes industrial profits as well as expenses of production) on the least productive lands whose products are necessary to meet the social demand, and, on the other lands, which are more productive, the excess of the price of the products over the products of the less productive lands allows a rent to be paid. (In the sense implied here, nearness to market is a factor of productivity). Thus, this rent proceeds from society, as purchaser and consumer of products, and not from the soil itself as was formerly contended. It is in the nature of an exaction or tribute paid by society to the monopolizing owners of land.

The endless disputations about the respective rights of Labor and Capital are of the same futile nature as those referred to of the early economists.

Under the present order of society, both capitalists and laborers get what they can within the limits set by the play of economic laws. Such agreements as may be entered into between them, on conditions of work and wages, are but temporary compromises. Of like nature is the legal rate of interest, which is the result of a compromise between the creditor and debtor sections of society. There is at bottom, no question in such matters of "natural right," nor the possibility of a determination of such a thing. If the term is made use of in a dispute and its settlement, it is a mere idealistic glamour thrown over the transaction to cover very materialistic considerations of the respective strength of the disputants.

We of the working class will never arrive at a proper understanding of our problems, nor be able to take up a revolutionary attitude towards the present capitalist order until we eradicate from our minds the theories of the "rights" of either Labor or Capital. The social organization of production and distribution must be viewed from another standpoint. We must discard the idealist for the mechanistic viewpoint. Our system of production must be viewed as we view a machine or factory, i.e., from the point of view of output. Always before the enterprising factory owner is the question, is the output what should be possible? So should we ask of our social organization, is its output in human satisfactions and well-being commensurate with what the state of development of the arts of industry in the 20th century should afford us? That is the question, and if the answer is in the negative, as there is no doubt it is, we should enquire why it is so: we should examine the mechanism of the social organization. To assist us in this is the function of the science of economics. It deals with the structural organization of society and enquires into the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth.

#### SECRETARIAL NOTES.

This issue goes to press in something of a hurry which we hope will not be usual. The reappearance of the "Western Clarion" has brought sheafs of correspondence from all parts of the continent expressing pleasure and congratulation.

The Censor frowned upon us some fifteen months ago and since then the "Red Flag" and "The Indicator" have met the need for a Party organ as well as strained financial circumstances would allow. Some features carried by "The Indicator" have now been dropped. The publication, serially, of "The Evolution of Man," by Prof. Bolsche is no longer required in these columns since it may now be obtained in pamphlet form. See Literature Price List.

Word comes to us that the literature of the Kerr house of publishers may now be imported to Canada. As time goes on, therefore, and as finances are augmented, we shall be able to extend our literature supply to meet an almost entirely depleted stock.

Some confusion exists as to the dates of publication of the "Western Clarion." Publication is on

the 1st and 16th of each month, not fortnightly. We have taken the mailing-list up where we left off at No. 810, and all paid subscriptions on that list are being met. Many addresses have changed and confusion may be avoided by prompt notification of this office of particulars. Those who know of changes, may use the printed change of address form in this issue.

The Clarion Maintenance Fund has been re-opened, and this is a column that will have to extend itself considerably if the paper is to continue. Some innocent and hopeful comrades express wonder that the paper does not appear weekly. The fact that we have to fulfil all paid subscriptions from 1918 means that the paper must go for nearly a year to some 1,500 people all over the country from whom no immediate revenue can be demanded. We are not so particular about the paper reaching Party members as we are that it should reach people whom Party members may have secured as subscribers. And the present empty condition of our coffers may determine that we shall have to cut off many bundle orders from which no revenue has been obtained since the "Red Flag" started. Papers have a cost price which we have to meet as we get them. In this connection, some remarks might be made of the financial standing of the D. E. C. The D. E. C. finished the end of the year under a ledger deficit of approximately \$1,000 and without enough cash-on-hand to pay its full wages bill when due.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1 has offered a premium of one choice of the following three books, to be presented to the individual securing the highest amount of paid subscriptions, this to be effective each issue commencing from the present: Ten Days that Shook the World (John Reed); Red Heart of Russia (Bessie Beattie); or Six Red Months in Russia (Louise Bryant).

We hope and expect that our previous regular contributors will now bend their energies towards helping us to fill our columns with original matter. Some articles that have already come in too late for inclusion in this issue are acknowledged. These will appear in due course.

The resignations jointly of Comrades Stephenson and Bennet have brought many letters of enquiry to this office. The plain truth of the matter is that present revenues do not meet expenses and they have left the office voluntarily, and otherwise altogether against the wishes of the D. E. C. But their efforts are not lost to us. In the opinion of the present editor, Comrade Stephenson's is the most readable pen these columns have seen since the days of the late D. G. McKenzie. Those of us who know him best, know that, relieved of the worrying piecayune details of office surroundings he will contribute to these columns educational matter of a quality unsurpassed in any journal of this nature. Comrade Bennett has been a comrade and close personal friend of the present editor for upwards of fifteen years. In the trying times of the past year or so his head has admirably and necessarily substituted for sundry filing—cabinets taken by the R. N. W. M. P., and his regular work has been interrupted and hindered by the necessity of memorizing essential details that otherwise would have been recorded. His optimistic buoyancy tempers his judgment in the affairs of the working-class movement, and, happily, his conclusions are generally correct. We have, in the pursuit of our fell purpose, ideas concerning what he could do for these columns if he would only stay quiet long enough to enable us to command him.

We publish a letter from Comrade O'Brien in another column. We have been selfish enough to hope that topsy-turvydom in the U. S. might result in his deportation to Canada. But we shall see.

Comrade Russell has been nominated by the Winnipeg Comrades as Socialist candidate in the next Manitoba Provincial Elections to be held about June. A letter just to hand from the Secretary Winnipeg Local advises us that sentiment there is running very high for Russell and that no opportunistic tactics are being used.

# When Anarchy Reigns

THE ruling class of the U. S. is at present asserting its authority with particular venom. The industrial conditions, engendered by a century and a quarter of Capitalist production, make imperative the prescribing of drastic remedies. The codes and fiats promulgated in times past by Hammurabi, Pharoah, Pompey, Thiers, Castlereagh, Bismark, and other masters of the gentle art of persuading workers to do their bidding, pales into insignificance compared to the recent ultimatums of American law-givers. The terms—Anarchists, Reds, Bolsheviks, pro-Germans, and Ingrates, and other eardrums-expanding expletives, are being hurled at all and sundry who evince a desire to express opinions other than those made to order by the beneficent dispensers of law. Could Hancock, Jefferson, Washington, and the other smugglers, slave-drivers, and illicit traders of revolutionary days witness the results of their declarations and constitutions they would surely marvel at the peculiar manifestations of providential interference.

During the past few weeks several thousand members of various working class organizations have been arrested, jailed, and held for deportation for the atrocious crime of holding cards in political parties, and industrial unions, which advocate a modification of the social relationship existing today. Five members of the N. Y. State Assembly, and one member of the U. S. Congress, are refused their seats on account of not being able to view affairs in the same light as their brothers Solon. Lynch law is resorted to in cases where the established legal machinery is slow to act. Senators, representatives, occupants of university chairs, pulpit and press, work in unison to further the ends of the propertied class whether or not their methods coincide with legal enactments.

In every case where conflicts have taken place between labor and capital, grossly exaggerated reports of such affairs have been furnished to the public. The dissemination of those erroneous and biased reports is facilitated by the limited and associated presses, which have practically a complete monopoly in the distribution of news. When anything happens inimical to propertied interests, as in the Centralia affair, a colored version of the matter is immediately flashed to every corner of the country. Even when the coronor's inquest revealed the fact that these peace-loving paraders, instead of being violently assaulted by murderous bandits, were themselves the aggressors, still, the revised version never sees the light of publicity excepting through the medium of labor journals which are quickly suppressed for daring to tell the truth.

Again, in the recent coal miners' strike we were warned, in glaring headlines, to beware of those dangerous Bolsheviks who sought to reduce the period of production to the absurd, un-American standard of a six hour day and a five day week, when, in reality, what the miners were clamoring for was more work instead of less. They had not been able to average three days' work per week previous to the strike, and this violent and revolutionary action of laying down tools was resorted to in order to obtain a more generous measure of employment and, consequently, a wage that would enable them to exist. In this work of distorting facts to make them suit requirements no other institution in modern Capitalism adapts itself so readily as the press. The time has passed when reporters were chosen because of ability to get the news, as well as style and originality in its presentation. The reporter of today is usually a youth who has been fed on university slop sufficiently to 'phone some kind of account to the newspaper office, and here the real report is concocted in a manner satisfactory for consumption by persons skilled in the nefarious art.

What, then, are the reasons for this recent lavish application of the iron heel? Has the industrial problem suddenly assumed proportions that render obsolete all previous methods of solution? Can it be that the free and generous institutions of this great home of democracy, and other things, have nurtured the seeds of discontent and rebellion? Let us see.

Engels has stated that "the growing perception

that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping," and this is the situation today in modern capitalism. It is showing obvious signs of disintegration and decay. The problem of more markets, and the seizure of routes of trade, which precipitated the great war, has not been adequately solved. In fact, the situation is rapidly becoming worse than ever. Time was, in the early years of the present system, when a successful war meant grand opportunities for the victor. The world market was large and the machinery of production crude. A successful contender could manufacture commodities in abundance, and all could be absorbed by their eager customers. But gone are those days. The expansion of markets has failed to keep pace with industrial development and, now, most of the capitalist nations are face to face with bankruptcy and ruin. The recent exhibition of military prowess has hastened, rather than retarded, the growth of industry.

With such a situation confronting them, who can wonder that the tools of a dying system should endeavor to stay its downfall? It has been a very satisfactory system for them. They have not experienced the dining possibilities of the bread line, or the sleeping accommodations of the hovel. Plenty of life's necessities were theirs to consume so long as we submissively worked, starved, and obeyed. But our stomachs have interfered with our early lessons. Necessity has opened new vistas and, as we pause to analyze the world around us, and see the modern methods of our fellow workers in other lands, we are prompted to go into the highways and byways and tell our neighbors that it is possible for us to do likewise. This changing attitude is corroding the social structure. Our masters must do something, and do it quickly. Our methods must be frowned upon as they would shun the "seven plagues of Egypt." So when they display their power with such ruthless severity we can almost afford to condone their policy.

But what immediate effect will their hysterical actions produce? Will their efforts to stifle speech and press have the desired results? We think not. We have long been taught fairy stories about the beauty and sanctity of our laws, and the urgent necessity of obeying them in letter and spirit. But now this sacredness is shattered and a precedent established. When occasion demanded they have broken their own enactments with impunity. Representatives of the people cannot enter legislative assemblies, even when elected in conformity with every law that covers the subject. If they don't want them sent by the ballot route how, pray, would they like them sent? Would they welcome their despatch under the auspices of a machine gun? The anarchistic attitude they have attributed to us seems to be monopolized by themselves. They believe in nothing legal unless their interests are recognized and enhanced. "No taxation without representation," was an old battle cry of a revolutionary period, but will not some such slogan be adaptable to conditions today? It is difficult to see how they are going to harmonize their teachings with their actions.

We, of the Marxian school, have long advocated the need of explaining capitalist production to the members of our class, showing them the slave position we occupy, and the means that must be taken to accomplish our freedom. We have been subjected to much criticism by the advocates of "something now, who seem to think that something is attainable through the instrumentality of mass action and nebulous phrases. But the necessity for our policy was never more apparent than today. The short cuts to emancipation are beset with dangers and difficulties that defy penetration. Only by means of an educated working class who understand the conditions in which they live, and the nature of the forces arrayed against them, can we expect to step from slavery to freedom.

J. A. McD.

# The Last Barrier

Confusion reigns in the labor movement today. The cause of this is the lack of understanding of the functions of the State by the huge mass of working men. Before we can have a clear movement it is vitally necessary for all class conscious workers to understand the origin and function of the State.

Before we can understand the true nature of any social institution it is important that we fully understand the social conditions from which it emerged.

"Through history the State has slightly changed its form, but its role as the weapon of despotism in the hands of the economically and politically dominant class has remained unchanged. It is able to enforce its will upon those who oppose it because behind its demands it has the organized armed force of society." (Wm. Paul, "The State"). "The modern state is but an executive committee for administering the affairs of the whole capitalist class." (Communist Manifesto).

In the days preceding the birth of private property the State was unknown. It is only present when you have classes in society, when the property owning class is compelled to use some force to protect its economic interests. Thus we see in the days of primitive communism the State as we know it conspicuous by its absence. This social system was not based on force. There were no policemen, no crimes against property, no secret spies, none of the weapons of coercion upon which the modern civilized states depend to keep their citizens in order. The savage is so bound up with the tribe of which he is a member that he would not dare to disobey the prescriptions of the common law or tribal customs. His common law is his religion; it is his very habit of living. If the savage has infringed one of the smaller tribal rules, he is prosecuted by the mockeries of the women. If the infringement is grave, he is tortured day and night by the fear of having called a calamity upon his tribe.

With the birth of private property, society was divided into two great classes, a property holding class and a propertyless class. These two classes confronted each other. The one a revolutionary class; the other basing its demands on rights handed down from the past. The tribal organization could not settle class disputes and conflicting interests. A new method had to be devised. The wealthy class thereupon organized a new social institution by which it was possible to crush out any section that challenged its power or revolted against its authority. That institution arose to maintain order within the community. By the power conferred upon it, that institution would defend the wealth of the community against foreign invaders, and would also defend the privileges of the master class against rebels within the community. Private property wrenched itself from tribal administration and founded its own institution of government—the State.

"Through history, we see the State in action. Civilization began with the crack of the slave-driver's whip" (Patterson). We see it in action in the slave states of Egypt, Rome, Greece. When the chattel slave system fell to give way to a different form of slavery, Feudalism, the State again makes its appearance, covered with different clothes. Feudalism disappears from the world stage and Capitalism takes its place. Today we see the State used as a weapon by the capitalist-class to keep the workers in subjection. The many industrial conflicts of the day furnish good examples. Recently we have seen the U. S. government step in and tell the coal strikers where they belong.

It is therefore essential for every working man to understand that it is imperative for the workers to disarm the capitalist class by removing its power over the State and use it to emancipate itself from wage slavery. The capitalist class realize that if the working-class learn this their power is ended, hence their desperate efforts to keep the workers in ignorance by using the press, school, pulpit and other means of "information." On the ignorance of the working class rests their masters' power. Remove that ignorance and you automatically remove the capitalist class from power.

JOHN TYLER.

## Book Review

**THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA.**—(Paper Covers) 151 pp. Fifty Cents, postage 10c extra. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 32 West 58th Street.

The nature of Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, have already had widespread notice and comments. He went to Paris on the "George Washington" with President Wilson, and was employed to prepare the confidential reports of the U. S. State Department on Germany, Austria and Hungary, and to prepare such memoranda as the President, Secretary and others might call for. His official title was Chief of the Division of Current Intelligence Summaries. On the 18th February, 1919, he was ordered by the American commissioners to proceed to Russia, there to study political and economic conditions. He was accompanied by Capt. Pettit and Mr. Lincoln Steffens. Their reports are included in the volume.

The mission to Russia was discussed with Mr. Philip Kerr and Sir Maurice Hankey. It was to be an entire secret from all but the British representatives at the Paris conference. Mr. Kerr was confidential secretary to Lloyd George, to whom and to Mr. Balfour he had communicated the details of the Bullitt mission, and from whom he communicated, in turn, to Mr. Bullitt, an idea of the terms of peace with the Soviet that the British might accept. In all of this the British and American positions were nearly identical. The terms which Russia offered to accept and which were handed to Mr. Bullitt at Moscow on the 14th March, 1919, are given in the evidence.

He communicated these proposals by telegram from Helsingfors to Mr. Wilson, Secretary of State Lansing, and Col. House. He was informed later by Col. House in Paris, that copies of his telegrams had been sent at once to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour.

Reporting on conditions prevailing in Russia, Mr. Bullitt said that such essentials of economic life as were available there were utilized to the utmost by the Soviet Government. Trains ran on time; food distribution was well controlled; production had increased; terror had ceased; good order had been established; robberies were few; prostitution had disappeared; family life had been unchanged; theatres were performing as in peace times; thousands of new schools had been opened so that the Soviet had done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czarism did in 50 years. The Soviet form of government was firmly established, and the blame for distress was laid wholly on the blockade and the governments that maintained it. The women of Russia were ready to starve for the Soviet form of government, and the young men to die for it. The position of Lenin, Tchitcherin and the bulk of the Communist party was that the essential problem was to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and of Europe in general, from starvation. They advocated conciliation with the United States even at the cost of compromising with many of their dearest principles. Lenin's prestige was overwhelming. His theoretical position had been shaken and he was ready to meet the western Governments half way.

In an appendix to the Report some exhaustive detail is given regarding Transport, Food, Management, Social Conditions, Education, Army and other matters, including some remarks concerning outstanding personalities in Russia.

Copies of the Report were handed personally by Mr. Bullitt to Mr. Lansing, Col. House, Gen. Bliss and Mr. Henry White, and a separate copy for the President was handed to Mr. Lansing who wrote on it "urgent and immediate." Mr. Bullitt's now famous breakfast with Mr. Lloyd George was eaten in company with Gen. Smuts, Sir Maurice Hankey, and Mr. Philip Kerr, and the Report was discussed at length. Mr. Lloyd George had previously read

it, and he handed it to Gen. Smuts, saying, "General, this is of the utmost importance and you ought to read it right away." Referring to a copy of the "Daily Mail," Mr. Lloyd George said, "As long as the British Press is doing this kind of thing, how can you expect me to be sensible about Russia." He urged Mr. Bullitt to make public the Report. The entire matter was later discussed with Mr. Balfour and Sir Eric Drummond, then his secretary, now secretary of the League of Nations. The publication of the Report was prevented. Mr. Wilson did not want it given out. The Report was never made public until the hour of Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Lloyd George in the British Parliament stated that he had never received the Soviet proposals and knew nothing of them. This is described as "a most egregious case of misleading the public." Mr. Bullitt resigned from the State Department of the U. S. on May 17, 1919. Some notes made from various conversations with and about people prominent in the political life of the United States are included in the testimony. These are obviously intended to exert some personal influence in U. S. Politics and their presence lends an unworthy aspect to an otherwise very interesting document.

**RED EUROPE.**—Frank Anstey, M. P. (paper covers), 160 pp. Fifty Cents. Vancouver, B. C., Industrial History Club.

Early in 1918 Mr. Anstey went from Australia to the United States. He was appointed by Mr. William Watt, then acting Prime Minister of Australia, to the Australian Press Mission on the Western Front. He carried despatches from Neurteva, one of the Socialist Deputies of Finland, who had escaped the knife of Mannerheim, the "White Butcher," to Letvinoff, then representative in London of Soviet Russia.

In September, 1918, he went to France. He spent twelve months in Europe and "met all classes, all opinions, all manner of men." The various "missions" in Europe for publicity purposes were composed mainly of "capitalist advocates and regene labor men."

The book opens with a quotation from a speech by Roseberry in 1909 regarding imminent war. And in a page or two, Mr. Anstey has the warring nations hard at it, and we are immediately in the agonies of revolution, blood and slaughter.

Considerable pains have been taken by the author to present extracts from speeches, newspapers, journals and periodicals spoken and printed in different countries and various languages, mostly relative to the Russian aspect of European affairs. An endeavor is made to shew the military operations of that country while an ally of the entente, as being deeds of imperishable glory, of success and hopeless defeat, of superhuman endeavor rising again to fresh success, and through internal corruption in Russian public affairs, to helpless impotence. Mr. Anstey, in telling his story of internal affairs in Russia, inverts the order of importance in the relation of events economic and political. But in any case, by his account, Russia was definitely rendered hors de combat in October, 1916. Christmas of that year saw two million deserters from the army. The first Provisional Government was formed March, 1917; it dethroned the Czar. The essential need was peace, and on April 13th, 1917, the first meeting of the "All Russian Congress of Soviets" requested the Allies to make a united declaration of their war objectives. This was ignored.

An outline of rapid events is given racingly up to the establishment of the Soviets in control. Commenting upon the character of M. Lenin, accused of being in German pay, the author says if this was so, the Kaiser "got small change from his bargain." The reign of terror in Finland and the combined efforts of Mannerheim and Von der Goltz in its

direction are stated to have resulted in 100,000 dead. The support given by the Allied governments to the White Guards is vouched for by quotations from various British journals.

Turning from eastern European affairs during the war to the western countries, Mr. Anstey makes some scathing denunciations of men and parties which, while they may or may not be true, are in many cases not substantiated. There are included some chapters that leave us unconvinced as to their value as evidence in explaining European affairs in war time, and in some cases certain very indefinite and quite safe half-charges would have lent more solidity to the book by their absence. Mr. Anstey is, however, a very good journalist, and he insinuates his viewpoint to the understanding in the manner best known to those of his craft.

E. M.

## The Soldiers' Problems

PREVIOUS to the great war, which has recently terminated, the general ideas of native born Colonials regarding Great Britain and Europe have been very vague. As a matter of fact the chief source of information has been from the imperialistic news syndicates desirous of encouraging the export of British and European capital for development purposes in Canada and America. As a consequence a good many developed the idea that England and Europe consisted of two kinds of people, i.e., wise and foolish, all depending on which way they felt disposed towards speculating here with their capital.

Another source of information was supplied in petty wrangling with immigrants from across the seas as to the respective merits of their old and new homes.

With the advent of the war opportunity at last came for a trip for the native son into the lands where only their rich neighbors could previously afford the cost of travelling, and these same neighbors now were only too anxious to provide them with the necessary travelling togs and accommodation. Civilization was at stake, and although most of their people had emigrated from civilization previously, the insistence of its necessity for salvation was persistently advocated from the same sources from which they secured their general ideas of Europe, viz., the Press, which cannot live without the support of business interests.

There is no doubt that the Colonial mind was disturbed by the eruption of forces in Europe that were scarcely understood, but it was dimly realized that this disturbance would affect the emigration of capital from Europe and necessarily affect conditions of livelihood. Since those early days of hostilities the Colonial has been continually assailed by the cry of "Beware! Look out for our business." He has been compelled to move, and by forces that do not appear right under his nose.

The art of high finance and European systems of disciplinary action have shadowed those who went out on "The Great Adventure." In addition to the native born Colonial we have the great mass of "new" blood from Europe, swept back again in a Colonial army to make safe their "livelihood" in their new home. Their illusions as to Europe were not of so roseate a nature as those whose knowledge had been more theoretical and not corroborated by actual experience. Their ideas of the high principled politicians of Europe were tinged with a scepticism that they subdued when arguing with the "ignorant" native here.

At any rate a machine was now being developed that would prove the truth of the claims made by the U. S. Government posters as to the army being an agency for education in the form of travelling and seeing the world. The army now held out hopes of varying the dull routine of commerce, industry or the farm. It was only a matter of a few years before even the "unromantic" were swept into the new avenue of endeavor and the process of education resulting has undoubtedly supplied other lessons than

(Continued on Page 7.)

# The Miners and Revolution

REVOLUTION is one of those words that have been subjected to considerable ill usage of late. Every contemplated change in the manner of administering capitalist property is looked upon by the super-optimist as a great revolutionary move. That these people mean well we do not doubt but, then, this concession could be yielded to the most bitter reactionaries of all times. The moral conclusions we may arrive at have no bearing on a scientific analysis. Either those changes are revolutionary or they are not. Let us examine one of them.

Much has been written in the labor press lately concerning the British miners, and their pre-emptory demands on the Government to nationalize the coal mines. This action has been referred to in glowing terms as conclusive evidence of a great awakening on the part of the miners. We are led to believe that arrayed against them, in this epoch making demand, are all the forces of the State, and every institution of capitalism, especially the press. This line of argument is advanced by some whom we would expect to know better.

Is this really a struggle between those who dig the coal on one side, and the remainder of British Society on the other? Were such the case then much of the rumpus that has been raised on the subject could be charitably condoned. But is it? For the sake of getting closer to the matter let us look at the situation at home. "Distance lends enchantment to the scene," said someone who might easily have made a bigger mistake. In this country the demand for government control and ownership of the basic industries is not a new one. Neither is this demand confined exclusively to those who produce in the industries in question. Railway workers we know have petitioned the powers that be to take over the means of transportation as a State concern, but they have not been alone in such action. A very large section of the American public, including some of our most prominent capitalists and financiers, incline to the same view. So, too, with the coal mines of the U. S.

The capitalist press has by no means unanimously opposed the project. In fact the Hearst papers, which constitute a very important section of the American press, have adopted the slogan, "Government ownership of public utilities," and rapid strides are being made in this direction.

Similarly in the case of Britain, the tendency is for the larger industries—the means of transportation, and communication, as well as the machinery of production in other lines which is outgrowing the competitive stage, to centralize in the hands of the State. The necessity for such action was clearly demonstrated during the war. Government control was the result in many industries. It was really the only possible kind of control. The national welfare made it imperative that the nation's resources and key industries, be conducted by the nation itself instead of by private individuals or "soul-less" corporations.

Now, more than ever, the problems of the Reconstruction Period demand, in the interest of the common welfare, an extension of State control in order to co-ordinate the national resources, and secure the maximum production. In the coal industry, in particular, many of the shrewdest minds in Britain are coming to understand that private ownership is out of the question.

In 1913 Great Britain exported coal to the amount of \$77,000,000, while the possibilities for 1920 are, according to those in a position to know, only \$7,000,000. The reasons for this great decrease in exportation rests, primarily on the fact that Britain's coal reserves are disappearing and her industrial future would be jeopardized should her former rate of export continue and secondarily, on that great labor unrest which resulted in curtailing production. Private ownership, even under government control, have proved inefficient because private interests have incessantly interfered with this control and made successful operation an impossible feat.

Sufficient proof to offset the theory of our "any-

kind-of-actionists," that the miners are opposed in their attitude by the entire Capitalist class, can be seen in the fact that the Sankey Commission which reported favorably on government ownership of coal mines was not a proletarian committee, but a body comprising men of influence and affluence. The debates in the House of Commons reveal that even there, are ardent supporters of the contemplated change. Even the aristocratic mine owners who appeared before the Commission of Enquiry took the stand that they would first require to see the bill that involved nationalization of coal mines before they would give their opinions on the feasibility of the move. Their premonition that nationalization might be synonymous with confiscation resulted in extreme caution being displayed.

Of course, the argument may be adduced that, even with this evidence to the contrary, the fact remains that the majority of capitalist spokesmen both in Parliament and out have voiced opposition to the scheme. We grant this. But is not history replete with cases where the benefits to be derived from changes in the mode of administration have not been suddenly noticed by those who would benefit most? It would not be necessary to travel very far back to find proof of this. The bourgeois mind is essentially conservative, and looks askance on any drastic moves until dire necessity compels it.

But how about the miners themselves? What have they to gain by a change of masters? How will it materially affect them whether the Earl of Bull Durham and Lord Limburger, own the mines separately or jointly? The miners are wage slaves before the change, and there is not a remote possibility that they would be anything else after the deed was done. We can find abundant evidence in the operation of government controlled utilities on this continent to justify us making the assertion that a movement with this object in view has no place in the program of an intelligent working class.

Exploitation has been carried on in the railway industry during the past two years to as great an extent as before. The list of the killed and injured shows no abatement, and the mere fact that the casualties were according to the law is little consolation to those who were maimed for life. So with the miners. Given nationalization they will find their masters organized on a larger scale, and should a strike be called and anything pertaining to violence resorted to they are up against the armed forces of the nation without even such an intermediary as today exists, in the various courts of law, to assist them in defining their legal status.

We have only to glance at the results of the general election held in Britain a little over a year ago to get a clear idea of the worker's awakening. Any candidate who presented himself on that occasion had to demonstrate his loyalty to the Crown, and all that stands for, before he was considered a fit and proper representative of British labor. Although the Labor Party on that occasion increased its representation in the House of Commons, still it was the safe and sane element of the Party that secured election, and those who were outspoken in opposition to the capitalist policy, or even luke-warm in its advocacy, were left at home to nurse their wrath or mend their ways.

An example of this can be seen in the case of McLeah, of Glasgow, who was snowed under by a vote of two to one; and even the support he did receive was due in a large measure to the fact that he contested a constituency where foreigners composed a large percentage of the electorate.

The ridiculous nature of the miners' demands are clearly portrayed when we stop to consider that while they are clamoring for nationalization they are still willing and ready to elect their masters to power to control the industries, and defeat their every attempt to gain any advantage on the industrial field. Whatever action the forces of the State have taken to suppress the miners' activities in cases of strikes, such was only made possible by the ignorance of those who by their votes placed these forces under capitalist control.

(Continued from Page 6.)

## THE SOLDIERS' PROBLEMS.

were ever dreamt of by those whose anxiety about civilization has now turned to the problems of reconstruction, and who ignore the fact that the basis they now figure upon for their reconstruction is entirely different to the one on which their civilization shook only a few years ago.

These vast masses of men were removed across the seas and became subject to the rigorous discipline of European conditions, to which they became adjusted with more or less success. A good deal of loose talk prevailed about what the Colonial troops would not stand for in matters of discipline. Those who have had experience with them know just what such talk is worth and the special disciplinary institutions of the British army can supply authentic stories of the methods resorted to to bring raw Colonial troops into "line." The fact that an army was a machine was soon convincingly demonstrated to the romantic soul who had been anxious about civilization's dangers. Hand in hand with this knowledge he had it gradually borne in upon him that even his sacred religious organisations were peculiarly adapted to the military institutions that surrounded him on all sides. Everything was for sale to him who had the price, from replacements of kit to socks knitted by "patriots" for him and his comrades in arms. It seemed that the atmosphere of "graft" could not be eliminated from those engaged in "The Great Adventure." Profit seemed to be the be all and end all. At times his newspapers informed him it was men who would win the war; later it transpired it was money, and when it was all over he could hear in his Y. M. C. A. canteens that it was Lloyd George, General Haig, or Admiral Somebody-else who won the war, and lastly the men in the trenches.

To some extent, though not quite generally, it dawned on their consciousness that individually they certainly could not claim to have won anything, yet collectively they certainly had been in it somewhere. Lo and behold, they return to their "home" again, and find that as individuals their part is buried deep in the experiences of many, and the idea of collectivist action comes to the surface again when it becomes evident another battle is pending in connection with that livelihood which caused so much anxiety before.

It had seemed that the efforts with the agencies of military force were going to preserve their right to a livelihood for ever and ever, but alas, reconstruction plans only appear to be a vague attempt to twist conditions around so that some kind of job is to be forthcoming in order that "profits" may still flow into other hands than theirs. The possibility of once again looking for uncertain employment does not seem far beyond the horizon.

They have had a glimpse into the much advertised Golden Dream of Labor in England and the "fabulous" wages paid have melted before their eyes as they watched them expend their earnings in living expenses. Their newspapers had prepared them for wonderful sights in Europe of the democratic changes brought about by the war and they have seen and are not overjoyed.

There is a bitter taste in the mouth of those who went to save civilization. When they return they have to organise to secure What? and from Whom?  
H. W.

We have no doubt that the economic development of Britain, as of all countries, is materially assisting in bringing to the minds of the workers a growing consciousness of their class position. This is natural. But this class enlightenment is not illustrated in attempts to merely change the form of capitalist ownership, and those who endorse such action are only adding to the confusion that prevails. We should display a little more intelligence even if it be at the expense of a little enthusiasm.

J. A. McD.

## Socialism and the Youth

The following article was written by a member of the Young People's Socialist League. It was one of a number of participants in the New York State Y.P.S.L. essay contests.—(Ed.).

The present day, with its great impetus toward what is called a world-wide Democracy, forms a most opportune and appropriate setting for the topic—Socialism and the Youth.

Now, as never before, there is everywhere growing and spreading a strong feeling for Democracy, in an earnest desire to achieve freedom and the fullest measure of happiness compatible with life, for the greatest number.

You will admit that this is a truly wonderful age—an age of marvels as it were, and YOU—the Youth of today will witness the greatest Social transformation in history. Indeed, you young people will yourselves be chief actors in this transformation. You will determine by your capacity to meet its demands and take advantage of its opportunities, the extent to which it shall emancipate and elevate the race.

Youths of today will tomorrow replace the elders, and nothing is more essential than that Youth should be imbued with ideals in advance of the sordid ones which have so long prevailed—new ideas and new ideals, that will develop and inspire them to nobler endeavors and loftier attainments than were ever known to past generations of workers.

The Socialist Movement is the most important historic instrument in the great Social transformation. It is the movement of the future in which the Youths of today who are alert enough to grasp its spirit, will write their name in the history of the race.

To you, who are young, the world today presents the greatest opportunity ever offered a rising generation. This is your day. You should heed this knock upon your door and earnestly proceed upon the great work before you, so that you and future generations may enjoy the full products of their labor.

Socialism will abolish private property in the great material instruments of production and distribution, and establish therefore a System of Society based upon the collective control and administration of the forces of production and distribution. Everything will be produced for use, and NOT for PROFIT; the workers, the people controlling the means of production, will also control the resultant wealth, and thus individually enjoy what they collectively produce.

Socialism is not a mere plan that Socialists have invented. On the contrary, you should understand that it will be the natural outcome of human and industrial evolution.

The first epoch of civilization was the long period of Ancient Chattel Slavery. The master-class owned everything; it exploited the Slaves. By reason of economic changes, this first epoch of civilization gradually merged into the second—the Feudal System. The Feudal Lord Class owned the means of production; it exploited the Serfs. In course of time, through the introduction of modern machinery, etc., the trading class arose, overthrew the Feudal Lord Class, and itself became the dominating capitalist class. In this, the serfs were emancipated from Serfdom, but only changed the form of their servitude. They re-appeared as the modern working-class.

Thus the third, the present epoch of civilization was ushered in. The modern capitalist class owns the means of production and distribution. It exploits the working class, and guided by its own interest, constantly strives to maintain its economic position. The working-class, also guided by its own interest, constantly struggles to rid itself of the domination of the capitalist-class. Thus we have what is termed—The Class Struggle.

But Capitalism is only an era in the evolution of the human race, from the simple, unorganized communes of savagery, toward the highly organized commune of civilization, wherein the forces of Nature are to be harnessed to the wheels of Man. Ages of Chattel Slavery were necessary to break the ground for Feudalism; centuries of Feudalism to prepare the way for Capitalism. It remains for us to usher in the New Order. Speed the day!

## Literature Price List

(Watch this List for Changes.)

Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.

Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Wholesale rates on application.

The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.

Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.

Red Heart of Russia. (Bessie Beattie). Per copy, \$2.00.

Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, \$2.00.

Six Red Months in Russia. (Louise Bryant). Per copy, \$2.00.

(All above post free.)

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

Industrial History of England. (H. de B. Gibbins). Per copy (postage 10c extra), \$1.50.

Bullitt Report. Per copy (postage 10c extra), 50c.

### Supplies to Locals.

Dues Cards, per 100, \$1.00.

Letterheads, per 100, 60c.

Platforms, per 100, 50c.

Constitutions, per 100, \$1.50.

Receipt Books, Warrant Books, various prices.

Quarterly Report Forms, free.

Western Clarion Sub. Cards, free.

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

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Name ..... has removed  
from .....  
to .....

## Society Papers Do Revolutionary Spade Work

The writer in extreme youth (when she had literary aspirations), wrote an 18,000 word story for "Horner's." The editor returned it saying, "We will pay four guineas for this if you give it a more religious tone." So she put the verse of a hymn at the head of each chapter and interpolated some texts among the dialogues, and it passed.

Apparently the editors of the "Saturday Evening Post" have given somewhat similar orders to their contributors, only substituting "anti-Bolshevik," "anti-Socialist," or "anti-Labor" for "Religious," for, it is noticeable that nearly every story or article in that paper manages to drag in by hook or crook, a slam at Bolshevism.

The "S. E. P." is perhaps the most widely-read of American papers in Canada. Its policy is rampantly anti-Labor and anti-Socialist, and fawnishly pro-Capitalist, but the average person doesn't buy it for its weekly anti-Labor or anti-Socialist articles, but simply as he buys cigarettes or candy—as a weekly dose of light fiction for odd moments.

Now the "S. E. P." is working better than it knows in the interests of the Revolution through this fiction, the majority of which is an excellent mirror of New York society life. Week by week the wage-earner, male and female, drinks in these stories of gorgeous girls who spend as much on a fur stole as said wage-earner receives in a year; of quickly made millionaires; of households with retinues of liveried servants and miniature automobile fleets; of thousands of lazy parasitical women whose toy dogs are better cared for than many children and to whom a thousand dollars spent on a mesh-purse is a mere trifle—and so on.

The "silly" worker drinks it in week by week, gloats (if a woman) over the jewels and dresses, and in the fulness of time realizes that all this is not fiction, but fact. It is the story in general of those who toil not. Then comes the question, "why?" That is the beginning, and is the point where the Socialist steps in and bows his thanks to the "S. E. P." (and such), for their useful spade work towards awakening the otherwise inattentive working men and women to a realization of the fact that all is not theirs that they produce.

E. D.

### CA' CANNY!

Extreme busyness, whether at school or college, kirk or market, is a symptom of deficient vitality; and a faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity.

R. L. S.

## PLATFORM Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program 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 give 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 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 program 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.