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FIVE CENTS

Economic Causes of War

Article No. 2

The Great Powers of Europe have allied themselves into different camps according to their economic interests. When Russia made an effort to get Constantinople, during the Russo-Turkish war, 1877-78, she was checked by Great Britain. When Germany took a hand in the Treaty of Berlin, Russia threatened her with war, and this brought about the Austro-German alliance of 1879.

Britain, to keep France quiet, told her to step in and take Tunis at the first opportune moment. When France did so, Italy was disappointed, because Italians being the colonizers of Tunis, she thought it should be her sphere of exploitation. For this reason she joined the alliance of Austria and Germany in 1882. In the years 1887, 1891 and 1902, Italy renewed her alliance, Britain urging her to do so as the Italian fleet would be a help to her to combat French ambitions in the Mediterranean. Thus we find nations playing a double game whenever it suits their economic interests. The Russo-French alliance of 1891, arose because of Britain's intervention in Egypt. Notwithstanding all this manoeuvring of the Great European Powers, they all tolerated the independence of the small Balkan States, not because they respected the rights of the small nations, but because each of them did not want the others to obtain a foothold there. The geographical position of the Balkan states, the route to the vast natural resources of the Orient, has made them pawns in the great gamble of diplomacy. Similarly, Belgium and Holland are independent states only because England, France and Germany could not permit each other to control them.

Russia was the bogey-man held up to the people of Britain during the decades of 1860-70-80 in the Eastern situation, but Germany, who was yearly becoming more dangerous commercially, replaced Russia as the great menace to British financial interests. Take the steel industry for example. The Oxford pamphlets No. 16, 1914-15, state: "Great Britain was producing in round numbers about 8,000,000 tons of pig iron and 2,000,000 tons of steel per annum. The quantities produced by the United States and Germany were relatively small. Today, in round numbers, substantially accurate and readily remembered, Great Britain is producing 7,000,000 tons, Germany 14,000,000 tons, and America 28,000,000 tons per annum."

Bernhardi, in his "Germany and the Next War," pp. 82-83, said, "We are absolutely dependent on foreign countries for the import of raw materials, and to a considerable extent also for the sale of our manufactures. . . . We are already suffering severely from want of colonies to meet our requirements . . . and supply raw materials and food stuffs." On page 103 he said, "We are compelled to obtain space for our increasing populations and markets for our growing industries." Again on page 23, "The native population cannot consume all the products of our industries—work and employment are secured so long as they find markets which gladly accept their products."

As all the desirable land for colonies was in the hands of other nations, Germany endeavored to penetrate in the peaceful method. She, therefore, after a thorough study of the situation, was convinced that French influence in Morocco, English influence in Egypt, English and Russian influence in Persia, and the influence of the United States in

Central America, were due chiefly to the peaceful penetration method of advancing loans and controlling the administration of those countries. Germany then succeeded in placing loans, buying some mines, and in initiating a number of business enterprises in Venezuela, South America, and following the customary mode of procedure anchored a warship in one of the Venezuelan harbors, and made a demand for some share in the control of the administration. But the United States gave Germany to understand that she would not permit any interference in the government of Venezuela, and the outcome of this squabble was that Britain and France withdrew their opposition to the United States building the Panama Canal.

Germany then tried her hand in Africa, but obtaining only territory that was of little account, she next turned her attention to a scheme of constructing an overland route to the Persian Gulf, only to be again checked by Russia and Britain. As Germany began building the Bagdad railway, adding mile after mile in the mountains of the Caucasus, the sentiment in favor of Persian independence grew more and more outspoken, and Britain and Russia sent a joint commission to study the situation. This commission reported with grave irony, that Persians were incapable of self-government and suggested that Britain and Russia should intervene to prevent the continuance of the existing state of anarchy. Russia controlling the North, Britain the South, with a neutral belt between; thus was Persia partitioned. Persia was allowed to administer the affairs of this neutral zone subject to the supervision of Britain and Russia combined. So again German schemes for expansion were checked.

When France annexed Morocco, Germany was willing to uphold its independence, because France's occupation meant that the French-imposed customs against her trade would be prohibitive, but as France was strongly supported by England, Germany was once more sat on. To seduce Italy in her alliance with Germany and Austria, her opposition to France acquiring Morocco was bought by France agreeing to annexing Tripoli on the first suitable occasion, which she did, creating a war with Turkey and ushering in the Balkan wars.

Roland Usher, in "Pan Germanism," says, page 209: "The Balkan States who received intimations of the desirability of war from Berlin and Vienna were astounded to receive almost simultaneously, suggestions of the desirability of war with Turkey, from London, Paris and St. Petersburg. The Triple Entente had made up its mind that the moment was opportune for an attempt to erect a barrier in the way of Pan Germanism The strategic position of the Balkans controlling all the roads between Europe and Asia Minor, controlling the Aegean Sea and the Adriatic, was so necessary to Pan Germanism, that no more deadly blow could be possibly dealt that scheme than the creation of a Balkan confederacy under the aegis of the Triple Entente." The greater this confederacy, the greater the safety of France and Britain against any treachery of Russia, but the loss of Tripoli to Turkey, and the growing German interests in Turkey, caused France and Britain to withdraw their objections to Russia having Constantinople, preferring to have it controlled by Russia than by Germany. Ger-

many had built a zig-zag railway in Turkey, receiving certain concessions and the customs receipts for security. This is why Germany was helpless when one of her allies, Italy, believed to have been aided by France and England, fought Turkey over Tripoli. Germany was afraid of driving Italy out of the alliance if she supported Turkey, and on the other hand if she supported Italy gone was her plunder-ground in Turkey. No sooner was the Italian-Turkish war ended than the Slav Confederation of the Balkans, financed via Russia with French money, tried to finish off Turkey altogether; and after some terrible working class massacres and with Turkey almost beaten, Germany saved the situation by inducing the Balkan states to fight amongst themselves. This stroke set Turkey free and frustrated the Russian government tools whose ambition was to possess Constantinople. Serbia captured some Turkish ports in the Adriatic Sea but had to give them up, being compelled to do so by Austria who was assisted by Britain at the peace of the Treaty of London, 1912-13. Serbia, on retiring from the Adriatic, was an inland state without a seaport and had to depend on Austria for a market for her agricultural products and the supply of almost all of her industrial wants. Austria exploited Serbia and kept her poor by imposing high tariffs. All the outlet for Serbian trade with the outside world was through Austrian ports. Herein lies the Serbian trouble which was one of the many economic factors which brought on the Great War. For instance, Serbia had lots of pigs to sell; Turkey refused to buy pigs, Bulgaria had enough of her own, and Austria had a high tariff on pigs. We have just to look at the peace treaty to find out what superficial humbug was dished up for "Henry Dubbs" to swallow. The British correspondent of the Iron Trade Review says, "German losses in the iron and steel industry, as a result of the peace treaty will be 74 per cent. in her iron ore output, 32 per cent. in her coal industry. . . . By losing Upper Silesia and Alsace-Lorraine she loses 32.7 per cent. of the coal output of 1912, 72.4 per cent. of her iron-ore output of 1912, 74.7 per cent. of her zinc output of 1912, and 37.8 per cent. of her blast furnaces. France will be able to increase her capacity in steel production from the territory acquired, from 5,000,000 to 11,000,000 tons per annum."

Even Sir Edward Carson said, "The one object of this war is to smash Prussianism and to smash German interference with our trade throughout the Empire." Again, Sir Edward Carson, speaking at a Savoy Hotel luncheon of the British Empire Producers' Association, Admiral Lord Beresford in the chair, Thursday, May 24th, 1917, says (he is addressing £700,000,000 of industrial capital), "Millions of men were told day by day to go over the parapet and face the German guns, they were the men preserving for them and for him such property as they had. (Cheers)."

About this time A. J. Balfour was in the United States and the condition of British capital in Mexico, particularly the British capitalized railways, was causing much anxiety. Balfour summoned Mr. Thurston, the British Consul-General in Mexico, to Washington, and the principal subject believed to have been discussed was how to regain control of the British capitalized railways in Mexico. This

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THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

THE intellectual development of a people follows the industrial development, but not necessarily close at its heels. In fact, many things may intervene to nullify this premise. It is quite logical to conclude that a working-class, given an opportunity to observe the changes brought about in the evolution of the machine, as well as in what Veblen, in one of his essays, terms the "immaterial equipment" without at the same time, being compelled to absorb the class propaganda disseminated by capitalist institutions, would be much more susceptible to Socialist teaching. The baneful influence of school, church, press, and movie tend to counteract the intellectual results that, otherwise, would naturally be expected in those industrial centres where the machine has attained the highest degree of perfection. A comparison of the Russian worker, both peasant and artisan, with those of his class in Western Europe will assist in making clear this deduction.

The answer to our query in last issue regarding the revolutionary potentialities of the British workers is dependent upon due consideration of the above factor. Judging by all the data available on the matter, the workers of Britain would easily be acquitted of the charge that their programme is immediate socialization of the means of wealth production. Despite the fact that social unrest is prevalent, and occasional outbreaks of a rebellious nature indulged in, the evidence points strongly to a lack of class education sufficient to assume control of the powers of state.

Many political and industrial organizations have had their inception in recent years, but, in the exceptional instances where these have been of a scientific character, the progress has been decidedly slow. Much ado is made, in radical circles, of the late victories of the Labor Party on the political field, as well as the peremptory demands of the "triple alliance" of railway, mine, and transport workers in regard to the conditions in which they toil. A close examination of such "victories" disposes of any semblance of the benefits expected to accrue.

The British Labor Party, always conciliatory, compromising and confusionist in policy, is more so at present than ever before. This condition accounts for its recent popularity. As the "Labor Leader"—the official organ of the party—has admitted in a late issue (February 14th), "All sorts and conditions of men are joining the Labor Party. It is becoming a refuge for disappointed politicians, for disgruntled public servants, and for ambitious place hunters." Former members of Liberal and Unionist parties are deserting their former affiliations and joining the ranks of this hybrid collection of political opportunists who seek to harmonize all class antagonisms in the interests of the ruling class. The boast that a Labor Government will succeed the present administration may well be made. Their platform is one that invites the co-operation of all sections outside the revolutionary element. But we will venture the prediction, which is not in the nature of a prophecy, but a logical deduction from the premise, that should the Labor Party be successful at the next election, the capitalist system will be given a new lease of life in Britain with better prospects for the future than any other section of civilization, not even excepting the United States. All the nostrums, and palliatives imaginable can then be inflicted on the working masses by their paternalistic rulers, and a lengthy period is likely to ensue before the effects of such a programme proclaim its utter futility.

Many are prone to have faith in the fact that some of the leaders in the Labor Party are working men themselves and can, consequently, be relied upon to act honestly and wisely. Our friends of the I. W. W. and C. L. P. on this side, are so insistent upon an exclusive proletarian membership that even those who follow the professions are either denied admittance or prohibited from holding official positions in these organizations. The ratiocinative idiocy of such a policy is well portrayed in recent events in Germany, where Ebert, the harness maker, is leading the reactionary forces, while Dr. Liebknecht, Dr. Cohn, and Dr. Levy, alternately occupied positions at the helm of the revolutionary movement.

On the industrial field the same lack of Socialist knowledge is displayed. Fiery speeches and spectacular actions do not serve to alleviate the effects of class ownership of the means of life. One Big Union, or ten big unions, can be of little avail unless the nature of the class conflict is understood by those who participate in the struggle. At the Glasgow Congress in September, the miners overwhelmingly decided to "compel the government to nationalize the mines." Now, they have voted to rescind this resolution, and concentrate their strength on the coming elections. Given a Labor Government and we can expect an extension of nationalization to the mines, land, railways, slums, etc., but none of the changes contemplated can have any effect, nor are they intended to have any effect on the commodity nature of labor-power.

Outside Britain there is only one solvent state in Europe today. That one is Russia. This vast storehouse of agricultural, mineral, timber, and other treasures is apparently on the threshold of a remarkable era. With the establishment of peace Russia gives promise of becoming the most prosperous section of the world. A social structure based on production for use; an industrial mechanism practically unimpaired by the ravages of war; and the development of a technique in production and politics, peculiarly adopted to recent changes, leave the Russian situation one of momentous importance to all students of society.

Even the great financial problems that are now agitating the minds of European statesmen, and presenting impediments that baffle, surmounting, are almost absent in the case of Russia. Only in the commercial relations with other countries is gold really essential and, even here, its use will soon be obviated by exports of foodstuffs and raw materials. The concentration of foreign business transactions to a department under control of the "Council of People's Commissars," reduces the exchange of commodities to a minimum of expense and complications and, obviously, means a great advantage over the capitalist method of private competition, involving thousands of industrial and mercantile concerns, with a consequent army of officials, accountants, salesmen, diplomats, missionaries and other superfluous appendages.

Trade between other European countries and Russia is advancing steadily regardless of the fact that the Allied methods of tyranny and coercion have not been suspended. Financiers and statesmen are beginning to realize that the results of the "blockade" are very different from what was intended, and that a further cessation of trade relations, instead of starving Russia into abject surrender, would only mean commercial suicide to the Allies themselves. The Soviet Government has business representatives in London, Berlin, and Paris, and the bankers and manufacturers of these centres are soliciting trade with the knowledge and approval of their respective governments.

The economic and fiscal maladies of France are well known to every student. On this soil was the chief trusting place of nations for the period of the war. The truculent embraces of Latin, Slav, Teuton, and Saxon were not conducive to settled and prosperous conditions. The property of the French capitalists was mercilessly immolated through the predatory proclivities of both friends and enemies. 600,000 industrial workers were lost in the struggle. As many workshops and factories were destroyed. Regions were laid waste which in the year previous to the war had contributed 94 per cent. of the wool; 90 per cent. of the linen thread; 90 per cent. of the minerals; 70 per cent. of the sugar; and 53 per cent. of the coal produced. Besides, two-thirds of the wheat-bearing area was devastated; the transportation industry seriously dislocated; and a large section of the mercantile fleet was sunk by mines and submarines. With these catastrophic changes a lengthy period will be required for reconstruction in France. Much has been written by American financial correspondents regarding the early shipment of gold in payment of the French Government's share of the Anglo-French loan which matured in October, but this radiant assumption, so far as France is concerned, cannot materialize for some time.

Germany is still in a state of chronic industrial

depression and, in all probability, will be till the complete elimination of the present ruling class, and the adoption of something approaching the Russian standard in politics and industry. The resumption of production is proceeding slowly, and so badly has the industrial gearing been shattered that even in those industries where a larger number of workers are employed, the output is still very far below pre-war mark.

It is usual to look upon Germany as a commercial upstart of one generation. On the contrary, German influence has been felt in international trade for a full century. "Soll und haben," a business novel, written nearly seventy years ago, reveals that, even then, Germany was no amateur in a commercial sense. The house of "Schroeter" was typical of many business establishments, employing large staffs proficient in language, geography and history, and especially equipped with a knowledge of the habits and customs of foreign customers, particularly those of South America, Africa, and the Orient, where trading opportunities were then being noticed.

In the realm of finance, however, Germany never was a formidable contender for the laurels of Britain. She had no incentive to be. The great natural resources, supplying materials of all kinds utilized in the productive process, had to be first developed, and until the transition was completed, Germany would be left in the position of a borrower, while her commercial competitor, with her own resources exploited to a high degree, and dependent for raw material on other parts of the world, was holding the purse strings of Europe.

As for the remaining states, and principalities of Europe, they can be collectively assembled under the heading "Closed for alterations." A few months ago an emissary appeared in America in the person of Sir Geo. Paish, noted editor of the London "Statist," and some authority in the financial world, to float a "startling" loan of 15 billions of dollars on behalf of bankrupt Europe. First, the peace conference appraised the crimes committed by the Teutonic Allies at 120 billions of dollars, which they decided those vandals must pay. The solution of this paying problem is one of the really humorous situations emanating from this sordid tragedy. The only conceivable method by which the debtors could recompense their debtors was by borrowing money from the recipients of the indemnities and paying them back out of the funds so borrowed. Funny as such an adjustment may seem, it is still the only possible means of settling accounts.

As shown in our last the wealth of the world is produced wholly by the working class. These values consist of things good to eat, good to wear, good to look at, etc., and are consumed as produced. This wealth, the result of "matter" and "labor," when consumed has passed out of existence. There is nothing left to pay for it because anything tangible, that could be construed as means of payment, would be itself included under the heading of wealth. All that can remain is a mess of figures, representing what is gone, and these persist in accumulating until someone with the moral turpitude of the Bolshevik appears and erases the figures. But this rude cleaning off the slate destroys nothing of value. It merely wipes out charges on posterity, and promises to pay, which could be burned by the bale without destroying an atom of wealth. International commerce is a complicated affair, but international finance, as prepared and presented by bourgeois economists, is doubly confusing. Our next will tell the story of Sir Geo. Paish and his mission.

J. A. McD.

Labor Defence Fund

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

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The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholemew.

ARTICLE V.

Rent, Interest and Profit—Surplus Value.

WE have seen that the profits which are the aim and the end of capitalist production of wealth are the result of the ownership of capital, which enables the capitalist to take from his laborers a certain portion of the wealth which they have produced. **The capitalist lives and has his being by the exploitation of human labor-power, and the appropriation of surplus-value which that human labor power produces.**

But we have, for the sake of simplicity, considered the Cotton King as the individual possessor of all the industrial process. As a matter of fact the land and capital of which he has been the controller is not all his own. The landlord and the money-capitalist must be considered.

Let us re-examine the productive process in the light of what has gone before. We saw—did we not? that the Cotton King starts his production of cotton goods with **Money Capital**. This represents the means whereby the Cotton King is enabled to go into the mart and purchase the raw and incidental materials and human labor-power with which to start the process of producing cotton goods. Whence comes this Money Capital?

We find, in modern society, that we have banks, insurance companies and similar concerns of commerce which are prepared to advance to the Cotton King a certain sum of money in order that he may start in the production of cotton goods. That is to say that these commercial institutions advance him his Money Capital. Or it may be that he is able to secure his Money Capital partly from these institutions and partly from a number of similar "investors" as himself.

Capital in the form of money plays an increasingly important part in modern capitalism, and the power of the great financial houses such as the Rothschilds is positively enormous.

The point to be remembered is: **That the Money Capital of the Cotton King does not represent his own investment, but is the financial investment of financiers.**

These astute business men do not invest their money in the manufacturing process because they are in love with cotton or because they desire to see a greater quantity of cotton goods produced. They have advanced to the Cotton King his Money Capital with the idea of securing a portion of the Surplus Value which the King secures from the unpaid labor-power of his laborers. **In other words, they have lent him the necessary money to start him in the manufacturing process, with the one and only idea of securing INTEREST.**

The Cotton King, must, therefore, share a portion of his Surplus Value with the money-capitalist in the form of interest. The latter, having lent to the Cotton King a certain sum of money expects in return not only the sum of money lent, but **interest** on that sum each year until the whole debt has been re-paid. This Interest is paid to him by the Cotton King, but he can only do so as the result of the appropriation of the use-values produced by human labor-power, for which the laborers receive no return. **In other words, the Money Capitalist, when he draws his Interest, draws from the cotton-spinners so much Surplus Value in the form of so much per cent. Interest on his money.**

We come, now, to the consideration of another factor in the production of finished cotton goods—Rent. The use of land is essential to the production of wealth, and when the land surface of the world is the property of landlords, these owners of the soil and its contents demand and receive a certain portion of the wealth which is produced by human labor—a portion of the wealth produced, which is called Rent.

What is Rent? In what way and by what means do landlords receive rent?

It is essential that we enter into a short abstract disquisition upon this subject before we can obtain a clear answer to these fundamental questions.

Turning to the great political economists of the last hundred years or so we find that there is a striking unanimity of opinion upon this point. John

Stuart Mill says:—

"The rent of land consists of the excess of its return above the return to the worst land in cultivation."

Fawcett tells us that:

"The rent of land represents the pecuniary value of the advantage which such land possesses over the worst land in cultivation."

Marshall declares that:

"The rent of a piece of land is the excess of its produce over the produce of an adjacent piece of land which would not be cultivated at all if rent were paid for it."

These definitions are offered by these eminent economists as an elaboration of the famous definition of rent propounded by their master, Ricardo, who tells us that:—

"Rent is that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil."

In the first place, it is clear that the Ricardian theory of rent deals solely with the rent from agricultural land. It deals with the revenue of the landlord who sells the "original and indestructible powers of the soil." We find, then, that the existence of rent in the Ricardian sense is due to **the private ownership of land.**

The farmer who rents "the original" powers of the soil does so with the idea of making a profit. He does not do all the work himself, it may happen that a very small portion of the total work of the farm is performed by himself, for he "hires" laborers to whom he pays wages. To the landlord he pays rent for his land, to the laborers he pays wages for their labor-power—the rest is his Profit.

We find then, that rent in the Ricardian sense is due to:—

- (a) Private property in land.
- (b) Capitalist production for profit.
- (c) Unlimited supply of free and propertyless laborers.

But even in the matter of simple agricultural rent Ricardo's theory of rent does not explain the whole of the payment made to the landlord. He makes no allowance for those many and diverse circumstances in modern society which affect the size of the amount of money paid to the landlord in the form of agricultural rent. Advantages in transportation, improved machinery, distance from market—these are the most important factors out of many which affect the sum of money paid as agricultural rent. These factors are surely not covered by Ricardo's bald statement regarding the "original and indestructible powers of the soil?"

Moreover, as hinted above, agricultural rent by no means covers the whole of competitive rent under modern capitalism. Deadrents and royalties paid in mines are a source of much revenue to landlords today. The investigations of the Coal Mines Commission upon this subject in Great Britain has thrown a veritable flood of light upon the tremendous sums of money which these royalties divert into the pockets of those who "toil not neither do they spini." Here, too, rent arises from a monopoly of a portion of the earth's surface accorded by society to an individual.

Then we come to the rent of land in cities and great industrial centres. In this we find ourselves completely outside the "original and indestructible powers of the soil" and that the Ricardian theory of rent does not apply to this huge and ever-increasing toll of the landlord. The prices paid for small tracts of land in the centres of large towns are simply enormous, the rent charges are tremendous—surely these sources of revenue cannot be due to the powers of the soil, *per se*?

These enormous and increasing rent charges are due to the tendency for the bulk of the world's population to concentrate within comparatively narrow limits, to huddle together in towns, not, as in the Middle Ages, for protection, but because of the economic necessities which find their cause in machine production for profit.

It is natural that the competition for the most favorable spots within these narrow confines becomes from social causes extraordinarily keen, with the natural result that the prices which the landlord can demand for the employment of his land are enormous. The tremendous price paid for small plots of land each year are due to the private ownership of that land, and to the capitalist system of

wealth production which everywhere obtains.

It will be seen, therefore, that Ricardo's theory of rent is not wide enough to cover the whole of the rent paid in modern capitalist society to the landlords. Hyndman suggests that:

"Rent of land is that portion of the total revenue which is paid to the landlord for the use of plots of land after the average profit embarked in developing such land has been deducted."

Needless to say, this is not a perfect definition of rent, but it is one which covers not only agricultural rent, but all payments made for the use of land.

It will be seen that Rent is a payment which is made to the landlord by those who work for the use of his land. **The payment of rent pre-supposes private ownership of land, the possessors of which are able to demand their own terms for its use.** Rent, in short, is a large portion of the wealth which has been produced by human labor-power diverted into the pockets of the possessors of land.

To return, for a brief moment, to our Cotton King and the production of cotton goods.

We find that he is compelled to either own or rent portions of land for his factory. If he pays rent for the ground upon which his factory stands, he must share a goodly portion of his Surplus Value with the landlord in the shape of rent. If he buys that plot of land he includes that in his capital and the amount of Surplus Value to be produced by the cotton-spinners is just as great as if the land was the possession of a landlord who is not directly interested in the production of cotton goods.

Our brief analysis of the capitalist method of wealth production is now complete. We are enabled, as a result, to understand many and apparently diverse problems which previously baffled our understanding. We are able to take a bird's-eye view, so to speak, of the whole of the economic system prevalent to-day, and to find a solution for that great and growing problem of discontent with which we dealt in the first article.

To recapitulate:

The possessors of land and of capital are rich, whilst the laborers are poor.

The creation of wealth is consequent upon the exercise of human labor-power to land and capital. Land and capital are owned by landlords and capitalists who employ the propertyless laborers for wages.

The laborers can demand no higher terms because the essentials of wealth production are the exclusive property of the privileged few.

The laborers, who receive wages, work upon the land, and with the capital of the landlord and the capitalist, and the articles which they produce, are the property of the landlord and the capitalist.

Into these articles they have embodied a greater quantum of value than they have received in the form of wages, and when these commodities are sold they yield to the landlord and the capitalist Rent, Interest and Profit.

The laborers are poor because they are deprived of a considerable portion of the total wealth which they produce.

The landlord and the capitalist are rich because, they are enabled, as the owners of land and capital, to take a very considerable portion of the wealth produced by the propertyless laborers and call it Rent, Interest and Profit.

We find, then, that modern society is divided by a great economic gulf. On the one hand are the few who are as drones in the human hive, who by virtue of their ownership of the means of wealth production are enabled to own a considerable share of the total wealth of the world; on the other hand the great mass of propertyless workers who toil early and late for a bare pittance. This relentless and implacable class warfare continues and grows in bitterness, and it is criminal folly to expect that the social reforming of this or that manifestation of its evils will land us any 'forader. **Not by bandaging limbs and digging graves can we remedy matters; it is only when we STOP THE WARFARE ITSELF that we shall have done something substantial along the line of economic and social progress.**

Next Article: The Nemesis of Nations.

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EDITORIAL

THE GERMAN LESSON

Famine and human distress are usually the parents of revolutions. The German revolution of 1918 established a republic, with perhaps a little hope engendered that the Allies would more generously treat with a government clothed in democratic draperies. The terms of the peace treaty and recent events have demonstrated the relentlessness of the Allies in pursuit of their objective.

The much advertized disagreement between France and Britain over the French advance East of the Rhine will not develop into a very serious rupture; indeed, if our masters' need arises British troops will share in the occupation of that region, and the objective will be the maintenance of the capitalist order to suit their needs.

The lesson read to the proletariat by their rulers is becoming well understood. The Jacobin "will of the people" of '93 found a new expression through the Communards in '71; the Bolsheviks in 1917 have proved their sound understanding of the lesson, and now the German workmen give evidence of their understanding of the terms of dictatorship—the dictatorship of the military at the direction of their capitalist masters—or of themselves—the proletariat.

JOIN THE NAVY?

Every letter that has come to us from the United States during the past few months has had its postage-stamp cancellation effected by an inked imprint which directs us to "JOIN THE NAVY." Now, we have no particular choice in navies. If we felt like joining the navy, the U. S. fleet of war canoes would probably suit as well as any other, for it's a perfectly good navy, in spite of the lying testimony of one or the other or all of those inglorious mud-pilots who have been so impolite, each to the other before the U. S. committee of investigation now sitting.

But in addition to the admonition on those postage-stamps, now comes a leaflet issued from the **NAVY RECRUITING STATION** entitled, "A Plain Business Proposition from the Navy." It is a statement of fact concerning wages and is directed to the attention of the impoverished wage-worker, and considered from that standpoint anyhow it has reached an appropriate destination.

After outlining the monetary reward accruing to the enlisted dupe, it says to the wage-worker: "It makes no difference what you are earning,—can you save anything like the above—under conditions now prevailing?" And it plainly asks, "How much have you saved." And, of course, this is a weighty argument, for if every hefty young male who could truthfully answer "nothing" should thereupon join the navy, the entire world's battle fleets and mercantile marine could never shelter the recruits.

A note of warning to the ambitious young man is contained in this passage: "Do you know—statistics show that at 65 years of age, 85 per cent. of the **MEN** then living are dependent on charity, relatives or children. **DO YOU EXPECT THIS?**" (The black face type belongs to the leaflet). "Do you know that at 45 years, 15 per cent. of the males are dead, 15 per cent. are wholly or partly dependent, 65 per cent. are still self-supporting, but only 4 per cent. have saved anything?"

Now, in recent memorable years, we have bashfully resisted persistent and pressing invitations to tilt a lance against the Kaiser's clattering legions of

ironmongery on the field of battle—invitations made to us upon the pretext that in so doing we would be protecting small nations and thereby safely securing the inviolate integrity of democracy, not just plainly saving ourselves selfishly from a lingering dearth by starvation.

But while we shall enter no dispute against the figures presented, we have paused to wonder how it is that the workers produce the world's requirements in food, clothing and shelter, build the railways and ships required to transport them, year by year in ceaseless toil, and still have a monopoly on poverty, with an official prospect of its continuance.

The truth of the matter is that those things are private property and are for sale—not human use, are produced for the realization of profit—not to contribute to human comfort and wellbeing, and as such are held under the ownership, not of the producers themselves but of their masters, in whose interest a full manned navy is essential and is maintained.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Contributions in our columns on Morocco, Egypt, and European affairs generally will appear shortly from the pen of Comrade Leekie, whose second article on the "Economic Causes of War," appears in this issue. His efforts towards working-class education will therefore benefit a larger section than hitherto, for his efforts have been largely confined to Ottawa, in lectures on economics and history.

The editorial by J. H. in our last issue **The German Revolution**, contains two errors: **November, 1917**, should read **November, 1918**, and **January, 1918**, should read **January, 1919**. This unfortunate mistake is due to an oversight on our part.

We are glad to say that "The Evolution of the Idea of God," by Grant Allen, will be on hand shortly, according to advices just received from Watts & Co., London, Eng. Those who have the book on order may expect delivery very soon. The price is 55 cents, post paid.

We are glad to announce that the S. P. of C., Hall and reading room at Smithers, B.C., is now completed and occupied. Any comrades and workers generally, visiting in and around that district are cordially invited to make use of it.

Comrades in Alberta and Saskatchewan will do well to note the address of the **Alberta and Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee**, and its energetic secretary, Comrade John F. Maguire, Box 785, **Edmonton, Alberta**. Correspondence relative to the affairs of Locals should be addressed there.

W. Bennett again heads the "Here and Now" list.

From My Notebook.

By H. M. Bartholomew.

A friend of mine has sent me a copy of a religious paper published in New York, which bears the title "The Golden Age." And when I opened it, a few facts and figures met my eye in an article entitled "England's Child Slaves." This is what this article tells us:—

"It is useless to claim that a child laboring in a factory is anything less than a slave. . . . The great city of Manchester boasts 6,000 little workers of seven to fourteen years, including 1,500 girls. Warrington has the distinction of having 700 child slaves. No mill city exists in England that cannot point with pride to its hundreds or thousands of these invaluable infants of the industrial and social order. Girls work twenty-one hours a week for 11 cents, or half a cent an hour. . . . Little boys if eight slave ten and one-half hours a day for 20 cents."

Such are the inevitable conditions which obtain in an industrial system which is based upon the private ownership of land and capital.

In contrast with the above read what Prof W. T. Goode says about conditions in Soviet Russia. You will remember that Professor Goode was sent by the "Manchester Guardian" to investigate conditions in Russia under Bolshevism. His report is to be found in his recently published book: "Bolshevism At Work," and this is what he says of child life in Russia to-day:—

"One of the things most carefully impressed upon me just before leaving Reval was that in Moscow I would find no children under ten years of age. All younger, I was informed, were dead. The truth is, that both Moscow and all parts of Russia I visited swarm with young children from babies in arms upwards, and in no country in the world with which I am acquainted is so much care and thought lavished

on children by any government as here in Russia. In saying that, I speak with expert knowledge for my life has been spent in educational work. Up to the age of sixteen food and necessities are supplied gratis, according to the rate of the highest category. . . . Education is gratuitous, and has been placed on a footing and planned with a lavishness that bids fair to cope with the dense ignorance of millions of illiterates."—(The italics are mine).

To make the contrast between child life under Capitalism and child life under Bolshevism more striking the reader should secure Professor Goode's book and read his vivid pen pictures of the lavish care expended by the People's Government upon the "citizens of to-morrow." Here is a quotation from "Bolshevism at Work," which tells us a little of the great work being done by the Moscow Soviet:—

"There is the provision of seven theatres in gardens and elsewhere, where on Sunday afternoon, special performances are given free for children only. I went to one in the Zoological Gardens, where I saw some 2,000 children of all ages up to fourteen intensely interested in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I went among them specially to note their appearance and condition, and came to the conclusion that they would compare favourably with a similar audience of London children."

I see by the newspapers that the new British Ambassador to the United States is Sir Auckland Geddes. The representative of the Associated Press reports Sir Auckland as saying recently that:

"The chief possibility of friction or ill-feeling between the peoples of the two countries in the near future lies in the inevitable rivalry between the two because of their paramount position at the present time as the two greatest commercial powers in the world."

The truth will out at times! The Socialists have been telling the people for years that war and the whole militarist machine are the inevitable products of social production for private gain, but it is somewhat a departure for an ambassador of "a great power" to tell the people that international "friction" arises from trade "rivalry." I wonder if anyone has given Sir Auckland a copy of "Militarism"?

Some of our heaven-born statesmen seem to be wondering why there is so much discontent in the world at the present time. If they would read the report of the Women's Municipal League of New York concerning an investigation into conditions of home life in the great metropolis perhaps they would cease to wonder. This is what this report says:

"In one block there were 1,050 families, 165 white and 385 colored. Rents were from \$18 to \$33 in the Phipps houses (better houses built by a wealthy philanthropist), and from \$8 to \$14 in the old houses. . . . The character of the other houses varied with their owners, but in general they were old, dark, dirty, and not fit for human habitation. A high grade of cleanliness was not possible in the best of them, and in the worst there was practically no sanitation. The cellars were damp and full of rats, the halls were not even lighted by gas jets, the four flats on each floor were served by two toilets in the hall, the plumbing was old and often out of repair, so that the air was foul. . . . Physicians attending cases of illness in the block traced them in many cases to this filth. . . . These were the homes of the general run of wage-earners in New York."—(Italics mine).

Such are the conditions which fall to the lot of the real creator of wealth—the worker. If the reader wishes to contrast this condition of affairs with those which obtain in the charmed circle of the "suckers of society," I must refer him to the society columns of the press.

In a recent copy of the "Labor Leader" I read:— "Lancashire's luck still holds good." The latest story is of a man who secured £32,000 for shares bought for £4. Recent figures confirm the possibility of this. Springhead, £19 for 30s. shares; Grove Mill £29 given for £5 shares; Brooks and Doney, £45 for £10 shares. The Iris Mill, Oldham, has just paid 200 per cent."

That is enough to make the much lamented Shylock turn green in his grave with envy! It reminds one of that statement made by an Eastern manufacturer before the Pringle Commission some time ago: "We are not running our mill for the glory of God or anyone else." Socialists have told the workers that for a good many years, but when the same is told them by a boss who reaps a harvest of something like one hundred per cent. there is a chance that the truth will sink in to their dazed brain.

These capitalists who are reaping this rich and plentiful harvest seem to be taking a leaf from the book of wisdom of Omar. It was the Persian who sang:—

"How sweet is mortal Sovaranty!" think some:
Others—"How blest the Paradise to come!"
Ah! Take the Cash and let the Credit go,
Nor heed the music of a distant drum."

Saving Us

Have you read of the Inter-Church World Movement?

Well, it is a move on the part of the clerical wing of capitalism, to cure the world's unrest, by "faith."

In the last week of April, the sharps in charge, will unite in a universal howl for funds to carry on the "good work."

We invite your attention closely to this. They tell us their precious faith can remove mountains and still they have to beg for funds. They complain that many of heaven's shop stewards exist on less than \$20 a week. So the Lord evidently doesn't always provide. In their appeal to the faithful they also assert: "Democracy owes its very life to the message of the Master."

Strange again; vividly we recall the colorful appeals on the war posters alongside the compelling, distressed Christie drawn damsel, "Buy a bond and save Democracy."

The message of the Master was "Love ye one another."

The message of one of his alleged principal followers, the stenchful Hillis, is: "Put the reds on a ship of stone with the wrath of God for a gale and hell for their destination."

So, we are moved to ask: "Whose message?"

And yet again, we must query: **What Master?**

And now, we are on the trail. Don't think for a minute that this bunch of Pharisees are getting back to first principles. Not much. See who is behind this carefully organized move to dull the uplifted sword of Labor. Quite brazenly they tell us, as though it is a recommendation to our tribe, that the "financial" editor of the New York Evening Post cabled from London "The world needs a genuine religious revival," and he added, "this is the view of hardheaded business men." The same type that were once going to find it easier to go to hell than heaven on account of their riches, according to the **original master**.

But now-a-days they seem to be the piper calling the tune. Is that what they mean by **THE MESSAGE OF THE MASTER?** When the modern Prince of Bethlehem, Charles Schwab, passes them the glad hand with a "in a strong religious sentiment, lies the **FIRMEST FOUNDATION** for **OUR** civilization." Do you think he doesn't know his best friends?

When the President of Princeton University unbosoms himself thus: "The spirit of christianity alone can successfully cope with those influences **steadily growing** in our country that tend to destroy our great institutions, both religious and **POLITICAL**." Sure; "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars." He's on to his game, isn't he-

And Roger Babson, their economic watch dog, also gives the "Message of the Master" to the tune of "For **OUR** sakes, for **OUR** children's sake—let **US** business men get behind the preachers and the churches—upon them ultimately the value of all **WE** own depends." Oh my, Roger; but for the Master's sake; when you get **BEHIND** the preachers, have the good sense to keep out of sight. Otherwise, we catch on, especially when Hamilton Holt, editor of the "Independent" fearfully laments "—when the very foundations of society are rocking we need **TO STRESS** the great moral principles of Christianity for they alone can save us."

"Slaves obey your masters" we presume he means by great moral principles, but if they alone can "save us" (them) it is a poor outlook for them. Henry Van Dyke enters the lists with this diplomatic "message from Garcia." "You can protect civilization by law. You must reform it by **LOVE**—one man at a time."

It would take so long, don't you see, that diplomats and other liars need never worry. Haven't they been doing that for 2000 years, with occasional mass lovings and purifyings like the recent attempt "to make a world fit for heroes to live in?"

However, let us take heart of hope. They admit that millions of young people are growing up in American with no religious training at all. Which helps some.

Besides this interchurch outfit, it appears as though the Pastor Russel cavorters have some backing from the "Master." A perfect flood of their

pernicious dope seems to be swamping the land. And so cunning are they! In one periodical, presumably a review of world events, there were columns of admissions regarding the outrageous conditions of labor, and predictions of Socialism, or some millenium coming very soon now. But, **EVERYTHING HAD TO BE LEFT TO THE LORD OF CAPITAL.**

Some of the devil chasers are quite alarmed over the ouija board. It must take members with good solid cash away from the fold. And most assuredly it destroys the brain. Numerous cages of insanity have followed its use. A certain rattle-brained, irresponsible "radical red" in Washington, a school teacher, one who used to glory in flaunting "Solidarity," "Industrial Worker" before people's gaze, who used to cover his fence with chalked inscriptions insulting our aged "Master" King John of Tarrytown, has recently ceased his ribald work. Calling on him one day he produced a ouija board and invited the writer to join him in making the table answer his question as to "who would make his coffin." Nothing happened—but arm-ache. He was puzzled for a while, then said: "Your spiritual nature has been stunted by your economic views."

"No doubt," I replied, "but at least the views are scientific." "Oh, but the best scientists in the world are believers in spiritualism now." "Yes, who are they?" "Well, I can't recall their names," but he went on "the savages who can't read or write all believe in spirits, and intuition is greater than reason."

All such trashy drivel, from orthodox ritual to spooky ouija, spell mental degradation or death. Our masters are not fools; long ages of experience in such matters, on the part of all preceding master classes, have put them wise to this game.

There is no doubt a widespread plot to strangle the growing mental vigor on the slave's part with this paralyzing propaganda.

But the "pie in the sky" is losing its glamor, as we surely demonstrate the possibility of getting it here instead.

It is all a matter of education, till we have enough class conscious workers to get it.

F. S. F.

Human Development

We are now living in a world of great perplexity. Human society has once more entered the throes of a gigantic struggle with the forces of retardation. The battle between progressive elements and static forces is not new. Struggles by men with circumstances created unconsciously beforehand originated at a very early period in human history. Prehistoric man, during a long and painful process, built up step by step the structure that grew too large for its shell. The pregated nucleus of a social system found its womb in the forest when man lived in a restricted habitat. He wandered around picking up in some form of food what nature provided. By some method of friction produced in the rubbing of two sticks together he discovered fire and its uses for cooking purposes. Man was now able to leave the shelter of the forest and dwell along the banks of rivers and on the shores of the sea coast. Fish speared in the river by some roughly pointed implement when cooked along with shell-fish gathered on the sea coast added greatly to the forest menu. This discovery marked an epoch in human development. It widened man's vision and spurred him on to higher achievements. The elasticity of certain kinds of wood when formed into bow shape, held in position by some kind of a thong, gave birth to the impression of velocity, and the savage, while backward and feeble in mental ability, invented the bow and arrow. This invention enabled primitive peoples to again change their environment by leaving their old surroundings and dwell inland on the great plains. Wild animals were killed in abundance by the arrows shot from the bow. The flesh of the animals was used as food. The skins dressed were made into tents and used as a protection against climatic changes. The hunting life had a wonderful effect; it developed the idea of higher social relations. The organization of the gens and group marriage now made its appearance. For the first time in man's career the idea of some form of government was found to be necessary to regulate

his actions. Laws at this period were more in the form of customs and every member of the gens acknowledged it their bounden duty to follow rules and customs out to the letter. The gens, phratry and tribe grew and developed; progress in inventions and discoveries still prevailed. The process of making pottery, the weaving of baskets and mats with the fingers, the bark and the dug-out canoe, the flint-pointed spear and other implements marked another stage in the building up of the embryo of the primary social system of human society. The discovery of iron ore and the invention of the process of making iron, lifted man a step higher in the social scale. It produced implements of greater resistance that accomplished feats almost impossible with the softer metals. The discovery of agriculture and the domestication of animals brought mankind close to the gates of civilization. Being the greatest achievement so far, agriculture paved the way for a momentous period of further progress. Inventions now came hard and fast. The building of roads and bridges, reservoirs and irrigating canals, the shuttle and the crude loom, and last but not least "Human Slavery." The cultivation of land and the making of adobe brick for building houses presupposes a settled life.

The culminating point is reached when man began to record his thoughts. The art of reading and writing coupled with the development of the idea of private property in the ownership of land and slaves ended a long and painful primitive communism through all its embryonic stages to the point where it has become too large for its shell; and it must in order to comply with the laws of human progress burst the shell and give birth to a new social order.

When Grecian society settled down within walled cities learning the idea of municipal control, the whole mode of life of the people was being changed. Many of the Greek population were being enslaved for debt. The survivors in the struggle for property ownership were seeking for greater privileges. Members of other gens scattered around the Mediterranean were flocking to Athens and settling down to city life along with Athenian tribes. The old institutions of primitive communism were still being maintained and as no person outside the Grecian gens had any say in the management of city affairs, strife and general dissatisfaction arose.

The improved methods of production and distribution, the rapid increase of human slaves, an improved military system, the seizure of land for debt, the unquenchable thirst for private gain created a situation similar to that which modern society faces today. Things went from bad to worse until society produced a great law-giver in the name of Solon. In the year 594 B. C. Solon took the helm. He divided the classes into four, endowing them with certain responsibilities and allowing them votes according to wealth and their position in life. The improvements on property relations modified conditions but little. Solon, to pacify the restless folk made concessions, but he still clung tenaciously to the old form of government adapted to communism when everything was held in common. He lingered for many years but his inefficiency to satisfy the needs of Grecian society proved Solon's downfall. It required a greater genius than Solon to lift ancient society from its miserable position and assist its logical development.

That necessary genius was found in Cleisthenes, who succeeded Solon. Cleisthenes had a wide vision, a man with foresight far in advance of his predecessor. No doubt the whole of the movements of the Grecian people with their economic development produced the man in the form of the Athenian that solved the problem by establishing Political Society based upon territory and property. This ended the system of primitive communism, which gave birth to the state and a system of government that still prevails in the world today.

Modern society in every nation of the world, excepting Russia, is striving to modify conditions with the vision of a Solon or a Numa. Present day society is groaning under a burden that demands a Cleisthenes or a Servius Tullius. It is perfectly evident and widely recognized by Socialists that no individual can take the world out of the abyss that is threatening to engulf it. The working class as a whole only can cure the evil.

GEO. PATON.

The Labor College, London

By James Griffiths, South Wales Miners Federation Student.

EDITORS NOTE.—The following description of the nature and origin of the London Labor College has been sent by Comrade Griffiths in response to a request made to him with that end in view. The curriculum as outlined hereunder should prove interesting to those who are interested in the systematic education of the working-class.

Its Origin.

STRIKES have played a very significant role in the development of the British working class movement. Though they often fail to achieve their immediate objective, the experience gained from those failures has been productive of much good.

Thus out of an obscure strike of compositors in London was born our only Labor daily paper, "The Daily Herald." The nearest approach we have to an industrial union, the National Union of Railwaymen, is the result of the bitter experience gained by the railway workers in the strike of 1911.

It seems, therefore, fitting that the Labor College should have been born in a strike, as well as being indicative of the mission and character of the College. In order to understand the why and wherefore of the college, it will be an advantage to know something of Ruskin College, the parent that the child (The Labor College) has disowned.

Ruskin College was founded by two Americans, Mr. Walter Vrooman and Dr. Charles Beard at Oxford in 1899.

At the inaugural meeting Mr. Vrooman thus expressed the purpose of the college:

"We shall take young men who have been merely condemning our social institutions and will teach them how to transform those institutions."

Ruskin College came to be looked upon as a Labor College; the bulk of the scholarships were provided by the trade unions, but the trade unions did not control it. The trade union students desired that Ruskin College should not only be looked upon by the labor movement as its own college, but that the movement should also control it. The efforts of the university to draw the college into its bourgeois arms spurred them to form a Plebs League with the avowed object of securing that end, viz., control by the labor movement. The then Principal, Mr. Dennis Hird, associated himself with the league and its object. This brought down on his head the wrath of the authorities of the college, and ultimately he was dismissed.

This was the signal for action on the part of the students, and they went on strike. The outcome of the strike was the founding in 1909 of the Labor College. The objects of the new college were set forth as being to "train men and women for the industrial, social and political work of the labor movement."

The college has had a very stormy career. The students, and other friends of the cause of independent working-class education, have fought valiantly for it. They carried on a persistent propaganda to get the trade unions to realize the need for such an institution as an integral part of their activity. In 1914 their efforts met with partial success when the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen decided to jointly own and control the college. Efforts are now being made to get other trade unions to join in the ownership and control of the institution—with every hope of success.

What Kind of Education Does It Impart?

In conformity with the objects of the college, the curriculum is confined to those subjects that are of vital importance to the labor movement in its work. Those objects are officially set forth as "To teach trade unionists the sciences which afford a penetrating insight into the deepest foundations of society, which disclose the processes by means of which social structures arise and function, and which, therefore, provide the enlightening knowledge of those ways and means to be adopted by the labor movement for the accomplishment of its historical task."

Labor's problems being social problems, the college concentrates upon those social sciences that serve as a key to the understanding of those problems.

The history taught is the history of labor, a study of the development of social institutions, of the means of production at different stages in the evol-

ution of industry, leading up to a study of the modern working class movement.

In economics it is decidedly Marxian. It does not ignore other schools, for the curriculum includes a course on the history of Economic Theory. It is important to know the opposing point of view. It is far more important to have a thorough knowledge of our own. So, aided by Marx's monumental "Das Capital," it concentrates on the task of unravelling the mysteries of the economic structure of capitalism.

Other important subjects are given careful attention. The Science of Understanding (based on the works of Joseph Dietzgen), Evolution, Sociology, Economic Geography. Political and municipal questions are all included, while auxiliary subjects such as English grammar, foreign languages and elocution find a place in its work.

How the Work is Accomplished.

The two chief methods by which the work is done are residential tuition at the college itself in London, and social science classes in the provinces.

A—Residential Tuition.

The college is situated at Earls Court, in the south western district of London. There are at present twenty-seven students in residence. There is an efficient staff at the head of which is the Principal, Mr. W. W. Craik. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the college that two members of the staff, including the Principal, are products of its training. The method followed is that of lectures, followed by questions and discussion. These are followed up with private study and essay writing.

The scholarships are provided by the trade unions, generally for a two years' course. The fee is £100 for board and tuition.

B—Provincial Classes.

There has been a remarkable development of this branch of the college activity within recent years. It is computed that there are over 6,000 students attending these classes during this present winter. The subjects taken are mainly, Industrial History and Economics. Most of the tutors are old students of the college. It would be impossible to estimate the influence of these classes upon the labor movement in this country. From them are recruited the advanced section, the left wing that forms the dynamic force of our trade unions and labor and Socialist organizations.

Such is a brief outline of the work that is being carried on by the college. There is a remarkable awakening of interest in independent working class education in this country.

The tasks that confront the labor movement are many and difficult. The greatest need is education. The college exists to meet that need, and it is fulfilling it right worthily.

TRUSTS AND THE LAW OF VALUE

BETWEEN the cannibalistic Fuegians of South America (who also in hard winters as related by Darwin, killed and ate their old women, when they spared their more useful dogs' lives), and civilized man, how vast, in command over Nature, is the difference! It is our perfected Tools and Organization of Production and Distribution that makes most of this difference for, without the Tool, man is Nature's Slave, and as the tool becomes perfected the Slavery declines. But, the tool or organization having come into existence, they who have none, or own tools of antiquated and imperfect nature, become the slaves of those who own the best tools and organizations....Now, the TRUST is that best and most efficient Tool and Organization. But until the nation owns the trust, the nation will remain the slave of the trust. The "Law of Value" shows that goods are exchanged according to the amount of labor-power embodied in them and socially necessary for their production. Now the goods, made and distributed by the operator of Superior Capital, being more numerous and turned out with Less Expenditure of Labor-Power than the goods turned out and distributed by the operator of Inferior Capital, are cheaper. They, therefore, drive the small, inefficient man's goods out of the market. An outcry arises because the Big Capitalists seek to monopolize the trust for their own exclusive benefit. The small, inefficient, reactionary capitalists, who are being ground to powder by the

trust's Superior Competition, want to tie up and hamper the trust, thereby throwing back Civilization. But it is only the Working-Class and those intelligent enough to support that Class, who aim to administer and control the whole of the machinery of wealth-production, so that its benefits may be enjoyed by all.—"Progress."

The Odd Trick

(Concluded from last issue)

The introspective moralists, Christian, Positivist, or what not, are therefore right when they insist on the satisfaction of material wants not being regarded as the final end of human life. They are only wrong in not seeing that until obtained they must necessarily seem such to the vast majority of men. The signal failure in history of the doctrine of repression, whether it take the form of the "holiness of the Christian, or the more plausible "ascetic" discipline" of the Positivist, after a reign of two thousand years ought, one would think, to give these good people pause as to whether repression is, after all, so conducive to the higher life of man as satisfaction.

The true telos of human life, the "rational activity" of Aristotle, "the beautiful, the good, the true" of the young man who is taking to literary composition, may be compared, not to speak it profanely, to the odd trick in whist, which, though it is the object of the hand to win, yet presupposes the winning of six other tricks. Now the amateur of the "goody-goody" morality—the perfectionist of individual character—thinks to make the odd trick without having completed his regulation half-dozen. The Socialist is rather concerned that the human race as a whole should each and all "make" the first six tricks, called respectively, good and sufficient food and drink, good housing, good clothing, fuel, untaxed locomotion, adequate sexual satisfaction, knowing that before these are secured the "odd," which is the final purpose of the "deal," will be impossible. With bad and insufficient food, with small and squalid dwellings, with scanty and shoddy clothing, with insufficient firing in cold weather, and the lack of change, and with inadequate satisfaction of a sexual kind, man may exist; but he (i.e., the average man) will see nothing but these things in front of him, his ideal will still be them and nothing else but them. When once he possesses them they become a part of his ordinary life, and he ceases to think about them. His horizon is then extended. He sees the final purpose of his life in things of which before he had never dreamed.

Once more, I repeat, let us make no mistake, all asceticism, all privation, is in itself an unmitigated evil. It is doubtless true that there are occasions when it is our duty, living in a period of struggle, to deprive ourselves, to sacrifice ourselves, for a better society. But even this deprivation, this sacrifice, is in itself an evil. It only becomes a good if it is undergone with the purpose of putting an end to the sempiternal privation and sacrifice which civilization imposes on the majority of our fellow-creatures. One can well appreciate the sacrifice of ourselves, the men of this generation, when necessary for the future, in all the respects named; but I confess that did I, like the Christians, the Positivists, and the sentimental Socialists, such as I understand Count Tolstoi to represent, believe privation and sacrifice (even "ascetic discipline") be it in the most groveling of material matters, to be the permanent lot of Humanity, my ardor in the cause of progress would be considerably damped.

One can scarcely conceive the nobler life which will result from generations of satisfied (rather than repressed) animal desires, once they are the lot not of this or that class, but of all. With food, drink, and other creature comforts to be had for the asking, they will cease to occupy the attention of human beings to an extent previously unknown in the world's history. Then for the first time will the higher aspirations and faculties of man have free play, the "something more," the "odd" trick, which is the real goal of human life, will assume a new character and be pursued with an energy rivaling that hitherto devoted to personal gain, ambition or glory, since the path to these things at least in the old sense, will have been closed forever.

PSYCHOPHOBIA

THERE is a peculiar disease prevalent at this present time which might be termed psychophobia. It is a strange malady, finding ready victims among those possessing wealth and riches in abundance, which said wealth accrues to them, not through any undue physical effort in the line of labor on their part, but by virtue of their owning everything worth owning, and on which human life depends, or to use a stereotyped phrase, the machinery of wealth production.

This class of people, sometimes termed capitalists, sometimes Captains of Finance, Robbers, Exploiters and Parasites,—all according to one's temperamental outlook or knowledge, are not the only ones to suffer from the peculiar and distressing malady.

There are others who, due to their position or manner in which they get their living within this society, and commonly known as lackeys, flunkeys and intellectual prostitutes, are ready victims of this dread malady.

This disease owes its birth to the origin and rise of private property, and manifests itself most violently at certain crucial periods in the history of mankind when ideas in regard to said property and its ownership come into conflict, leading to a squabble between those who own, and those who do not, but are very desirous of possessing.

What hitherto seemed to be a very happy family suddenly becomes a raging maelstrom of discontent and strife, and the owners of the family property develop an acute attack of psychophobia and begin to bring in repressive measures through their control of the family government, by which instrument they have held on to their possessions to the detriment of the others.

Eventually the former holder of the property are ousted from the head of affairs and a new class takes their place.

After the change has taken place the disease seems to have died out, but alas! "things are not what they seem."

The disease so far from being dead has but spread itself over a larger field, until we have now reached a period in history where it has again made itself prominent, not only in certain given localities, but all over the world, thanks to capitalism.

In the past men have tried to lay this dread spectre once and for all time. But alas, such was not to be. In ancient Rome the slaves thought their only hope lay in the land beyond the sky. After the fall of Rome, and with it the last and greatest empire built upon chattel slavery, feudalism gradually came into being, and the Catholic Church of Rome became the head of the family. But after a time the dread disease of psychophobia began to raise its ugly head. The vested interests of the church began to be imperilled.

Under Tonquemada there began a system of fiendish oppression of all those who began to express ideas inimical to the interests of the powers that be, but although thousands were burned at the stake and thousands more tortured on the rack, the ideas still persisted in a most exasperating manner. The gauntlet was eventually thrown down to the Church of Rome by Martin Luther and the feudal system got its knockout delivered to it by the forces of Oliver Cromwell.

Once again it looked as though the disease was squelched. But no; with its wonderful theosophical nature it has again made its appearance, but this time it is doomed to extinction, for we have learned an awful lot since Oliver and his Ironheads ruled the roost.

All kinds of doctors arose on the horizon professing to have the remedy to cure or kill the disease. None could be hailed with success, however, until there appeared upon the scene a man of such an inquisitive nature and blest with such deep perceptive faculties as were possessed by none of his fore-runners, and very, very few who have followed since, his name was Karl Marx.

Aided in his work by a most capable assistant, Frederick Engels, the two soon began to show results. In 1848 they published their historic "Com-

munist Manifesto."

Not content with this, Marx immediately proceeded to apply his genius to proving that Psychophobia could be banished once and for all time. In 1859 he published his "Critique of Political Economy," a work which foreshadowed his crowning achievement, "Das Capital," the first volume of which made its appearance in 1867. In 1883 Marx died, but the work in which he was engaged was carried on by his faithful co-worker, F. Engels, who saw to it that volumes two and three were delivered to the world.

These works are a thorough and complete investigation into what is known as the capitalist system. Its workings are all laid bare. Tracing it up from the single commodity, which Marx thoroughly analyses in a most skilful manner, to the complex mechanism of social production and exchange, he shows the inherent contradictions contained within a system based upon social production and private ownership of the goods produced by a few individuals, who by virtue of their ownership of the machinery of production not only take what has been socially produced, but are able to control the lives of the producers.

To consolidate their right to the ownership of the means of livelihood they assume control of the state, and through the power of this organ they are able to pass laws to their own interest, and of course to the detriment of the dispossessed class. Whenever the vested interests of the ruling class are at stake they usually begin to pass repressive laws, which are carried into effect by the lackeys, flunkeys and opportunists—spawn of the capitalist system.

Ever since the breakdown of the Russian Empire under the rule of the Czar, and the coming into power of the Bolsheviki, the disease of Psychophobia has spread with as great a rapidity as Spanish flu, and the reason for its spread is not far to seek.

Nick Lenine and his fellow Bolshies are trying to apply the Marxian formula, and that is to destroy the breeding ground of the disease.

Insofar as Russia goes, they have made a pretty good job of it. Their success has but served to scare the capitalists of other countries; so much so that in America we are getting the full benefit of their attack. They have arrested Reds throughout the country by the thousands, holding many for deportation and have deported others.

Just now they have made themselves the object of ridicule by prohibiting five New York "Socialists" from acting as assemblymen after they have been regularly and in full compliance with the rules of "law and order" elected to such positions.

Of course the raid upon the Reds was to be expected as they are a political party, and as such in the campaign for the coming Presidential election much propaganda could be done, and so to stop any such possibility, they have resorted to raiding.

A few months ago, Canadian workers had a manifestation of Psychophobia. This was during and after the great strike. A few individuals have been made to suffer for the awful crime of being elected to take charge of affairs while the strike was in progress, and to what extent vested interests are willing to go to secure a conviction has been shown by their attitude in the Winnipeg trial case.

This appearance of Psychophobia can only make its appearance in a system containing classes of possessing and dispossessed. It makes itself most strongly felt just before a vital change is imminent.

Marx has shown us in his works that we have now reached a point or mark in man's history where there are but two classes: A Capitalist class owning all and comprising the minority, and a majority dispossessed of everything except their power to labor.

These two classes are rapidly nearing a clash, which must result in the abolition of all classes.

With the erasing of class distinctions we finally slay the dread spectre—psychophobia.

No, dear reader, Psychophobia is not contained in a Noah Webster. A short terse definition is "brain quake."

J. CONLAN.

The World Mart

PROFITS, markets, commerce,—commerce, markets, profits—so runs the circle of capitalist thought, its measure of success, its understanding of society and its movements. In one breath it is "democracy" in the next "markets," unconscious that the two things are mutually exclusive. Here the watchword is "freedom,"—to trade—and trading, the objective disappears. There, a "market,"—that obtained, becomes an implacable rival. The identity of capital and labor is our golden text, and labor bows in unremitting toil, while capital squanders in unremitting exploitation. We are nurtured on an integrity, that, in practice becomes vice, on a creed that is a lie, a justice that is plunder, a law that is slavery, an order cankered with sophistry, hypocrisy and deceit. In all things, commerce and contradiction, in all things, their reflex—anarchy and corruption. Could society assume a lower form, concept of man be meaner, ethic more ignoble?

But the market.

To secure commercial supremacy, the warring States incurred enormous debts during the war, and for the prosecution of the war production attained a new high level of efficiency, exploitation a higher pitch of intensity, while purchasing power declined. Thus is the magnitude of debt increased. This debt is a charge against the industry of the future; from that industry it must be taken, and taken by high-power production.

The market of the Middle and Far East was the goal of the Bagdad Railway, the protege of the grand fleet, the inspiration of the Soaring Eagle. Its territory is vast, its resources untouched, its potentialities unlimited; its peoples innumerable,—alike it has intoxicated Briton and American, French and Jap. It lures them with dreams of treasure, dazzles them with its loveliness,—and conceals from them, that it is buried in the roots of the rainbow.

The capture of the East, by the Bolsheviki, and its re-opening to trade, is a fatality to imperial capital. As a capitalist market the East is gone, because capitalist exploitation is limited by the new and higher life condition of Soviet Russia. Commerce, as it always does, will become advocate of the new society: the barrage of censorship will be thrown down; the empirical reality of the social East, confound the falsity of the "democratic West."

The economic ruin of Germany closes the doors on another market, and the hope of France has perished with the first victory of the proletariat. The market of the nations is the nations themselves. With themselves alone can they trade and expand. But, trading and expanding, they mutually ruin each other, and the more their necessities invoke disaster on their rivals, the more inevitable is the common ruin. They can erect trade walls and barriers, they can make or unmake mandates and protectorates, seize territories and resources, but they cannot create a market.

Thus Britain and America and Japan, are squarely brought to bay. Their necessities demand a market; world reality snatches it away. No diplomacy, however keen, can overreach the pressing urgencies of their developed social forces; no treachery, however black, obviate the law of their economic. Capitalist production must proceed in terms of its own necessity. Nothing can be produced, nothing consumed, save first it assumes the quality of capital. Capitalist competition has given place to capitalist co-operation; individual production to monopolist production for the effective market. Therefore must capitalist concentration go on apace, the market fail, production slacken, and monopoly with its necessity of dividends, inflated price, and restricted functioning, come face to face with the necessity of society. And in that necessity lies the condition of social triumph.

Here do the lines converge. And when the chickens come home to roost—when the closing market tightens the economic screws on production, when bondholders of all descriptions fail of their interest, when taxation climbs to new heights, and credit works its inevitable bankruptcy,—who can doubt that freedom will whisper new thoughts to the questioning slave, will open his eyes, at once, to the grim desert of the past, to the green vales of the future?

R.

SUCCESS—AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

In spite of the experiences through which men have passed during the Great War, the gigantic proportions of which had the effect of calling forth a veritable deluge of moral lessons from those specially employed for that purpose, we find the refining influences of our great purification have not changed very much the commercial atmosphere in which we live. Commercial success is yet the goal of man's ambition.

Anyone who likes to take the trouble can glance through our popular magazines and newspapers and find all sorts of offers, the acceptance of which with the necessary cash will place them on the highway to "success." One thing you will notice is insisted upon. You must "get out of the rut," "cease to carry a dinner-pail," "get out of the habit of punching a clock"—in other words, lift yourself out of the ranks of the wage earners—become a superintendent, a manager, president or "master of men." In order to reach your higher plane you must develop personality, become a forceful speaker, and by giving your "mind" a particular system of exercise, the world is at your feet to do with it what you will. "The mind" has become the wonder of the age—only look around and see some of its latest products—jazz music, "insipid" journalism, investigations into the H. C. of L. and economics, Christian Science (?), ad nauseum. Now, it is not contended that these exhibitions of the "mind" of the present generation are the sole legacy we have received from the much vaunted "discovery" of the part the "mind" plays in our life. These examples are simply what we find "dished up" daily for popular consumption. The diligent and laborious studies and experiments of the real searchers after truth have no look in amongst this flood of worthless piffle. The people don't want to know the truth about anything in particular except getting on, i.e., making money, being "a success." The standard of success is wealth—"a successful business man" the living example, par excellence. Of course one can be successful in other lines, but that only makes you "interesting" unless the commercial successes also recognize your outstanding abilities and you become allied with the "aristocracy of brains." The association of money and brains is still a peculiar expression of the workers, and the expression is often conveyed to one that "money can do anything almost."

It may be noted in passing that one of the chief reasons for the admiration of the workers outside of Russia for Lenine and Trotsky is that they have been able to demonstrate that they are able to handle the agents of "successful" imperialist business nations in such a manner that the "wonders" of wealth do not look so big as they did in 1914. If some of these admirers would take the trouble to study some of the writings of these two men instead of the usual and malicious and often lying reports, they would discover how it comes that they have proved such useful "servants" to the working-class of Russia. (Both Lenine and Trotsky hold important executive positions with the Soviet Government, and the word "servants" is used here for the special benefit of those who do not understand what a Proletarian Dictatorship signifies.)

The outstanding personalities, or at least the well known individuals who are credited with being the "shining lights" in commerce and industry are not the ones who go beyond the shallowest attempts to explain their success. They are usually very silent when questioned, or deliver themselves of such hazy generalizations as to "not watching the clock," "having a definite goal in life," "character is the basis of success," "industry," "perseverance," etc., etc. However, if you cannot find any opening along these lines you can get comfort in the fact that probably you may have been born "under a lucky star," and so confound all these rules of guidance. Is it any wonder that under the influence of all these mysterious messages from an unseen power that the "people" should be continually hoping for some speedy release from the galling position of wage-slavery. Under the present system it is despicable. Your "friends," who do not want your money but only your "labor-power" lament over the fact that your earning power is becoming so great that they do not now how they are going to pay you. Those who work with their brain in industry envy the fortunate manual workers—and they both, the manual and mental workers envy the

great "brains" of those who have evolved the triumphant philosophy of "I should worry;" "Pack up your troubles;" and "Smile, Smile, Smile."

The measure of "success" from a class conscious point of view is another question. The success of a "class" becomes a predominant idea—a social idea in contrast to the individualistic idea—the idea of personal success. One of the outstanding features of the commercial idea of "success" is derived through the competitive system, wherein the individual appeared as the living demonstration of his superior methods. The development of gigantic industry has in actual fact destroyed this "superior" individual, but the illusion remains, and whilst some person has to be the nominal head of any business, the process by which he arrives there is by no means always a question of knowledge or ability: the tradition of the position remains, and the occupant becomes the heir to the glories of the past. A dying "class" lives on the past and for this reason keeps alive as long as possible the ideas that are useful to them. When the capitalists were a rising class they ridiculed the traditions of feudalism. The working class—the present rising class—ridicule the outworn traditions of their masters, i.e., the class conscious workers do. Those who are not class conscious still sing "Smile, Smile, Smile," especially when they hear the system creaking under their "wage demands." Their masters join in the refrain too, though, in fact, they taught that little song to their heroes, the majority of whom were workers. The interests of the capitalists as a "class" are to develop business on a basis of "profit," and in order to do this the wages system is necessary. To be a "success," therefore, under the capitalist system, you must be prepared to maintain the interest of the predominant class. No "system" of success undermines that idea.

The measure of success from the point of view of the class-conscious workers becomes a matter of their class interests. The wages system is not to their interest. The solution of the problem is the measure of the success of the working-class, and the development of the "mind" of the worker is an important element in the problem. Their minds have to function on a basis differing from capitalist education—the problems of "producing for profit" are to be substituted by the problems of "producing for use," an intelligent definite objective of their own. The practical solution by themselves as a class—not how much to "one," but how much to everyone—that is the class-conscious measure of **SUCCESS**.

H. W.

Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.
 The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.
 Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 copies, \$1.50.
 Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.
 The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.
 Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.
 The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.
 Red Heart of Russia. (Bessie Beattie). Per copy, \$2.00.
 Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, \$2.00.
 The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

- A. Fraser, 50 cents; G. R. Ronald, 50 cents; W. Erwin, \$1.50; A. Kellard, \$2.00; T. Richardson, \$2.00; James Mather, Dick Burge and D. Kinninum, each \$1.00.

Total 29th March to 12th April inclusive, \$9.50.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

difficulty was brought about because the Mexican Government's new Constitution decreed that no foreign trust or syndicate was to be allowed to own and work concessions unless they made a special covenant to regard themselves as Mexican citizens insofar as the said property was concerned, and not to invoke the protection of their own governments for the protection of this property, under the penalty of forfeiting the said property to the Mexican nation. This statute, however, has since been modified through outside pressure.

The Liberal papers of 1911 and 1912, like "The Nation," "Daily Chronicle," and some of the Conservative reviews, attacked Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy, and in fact said it would lead to a great European war. "The Round Table," a quarterly review of the politics of the British Empire, of September, 1912, in an article "Australia on Anglo-German Relations," says: "The attitude of England towards Germany in such a position is not altogether creditable; England has treated herself well in the matter of territory, yet if it is announced that Germany has acquired territory in the South Pacific or in South Africa or the West Coast of Africa, a howl arises from the jingo party that Germany is acquiring a strategic point which will command a British colony or trade route. It is idle for such arguments to be used against the progress of an expanding nation. The real reason, of course, is that the British colonies are practically undefended, her trade routes unprotected, and to save herself the responsibility of their protection she seems to be striving to hem Germany up in the North Sea. . . . But to try and avoid these problems of defence by bottling Germany up in the North Sea is folly. It is like putting a dam against a rising tide. . . . The German danger is from a Germany concentrated in Europe, Germany dispersed throughout the world is not a dangerous foe. . . . The very alliance which Britain joins for her own protection is an alliance which Germany for her own protection must smash. There is an irreconcilable conflict here which must go on piling armament on armament till the crash comes." This note was written in 1912, and yet Lord Rosebery said it would be fifty years after the war before we would know its causes. In "The English Review," November, 1917, page 462, Major Stephens says, "My carefully calculated anticipation proved true to a day, as did, three years before this monstrous war, my prophecy that the first shot in the Armageddon would sound on August Bank Holiday, 1914." The Major declares he made this prophecy in the London Evening Times, November 11th, 1911. Poor "Henry Dubbs" was told this war was sprung on us unexpectedly, and yet Britain declared war on Germany and Lord Haldane, speaking in London, March, 1915, reported "Glasgow Herald" the 22nd, said, "The enemy was dealing in the first place with a British army, the commander of which, to my personal intimate knowledge, had been studying the possibilities of a campaign like this for five years or more." Frederick Banbury, M. P., City of London, finance representative in the "Weekly Dispatch," said July 16th, 1916, "So seriously did I regard the prospects of war that months before it broke out I considered it prudent to sell some German securities that I held in my possession." It seems he must have been "in the know" before the Sarajevo murder.

PETER T. LECKIE.

HERE AND NOW.

C. Macdonald, \$1.50; following \$1 each, A. M. Davis, J. F. Maguire, L. Voll, P. Frosbi, J. Reid, J. Pollock, W. Vowles, Alf. May, Bob. Sinclair, W. McMahon, J. Stevenson, Sam Buch, K. Johnson, F. A. Evans, M. P. Dougan, W. Miller, Trevor Maguire, F. D. Hayes, A. P. McCabe, R. H. Cole, E. P. Wahl, Wm. Morrison, J. Hutton, G. R. Ronald, J. Guiffrida, S. Berry, M. D. Armstrong, and A. R. Sinclair; following \$2.00 each, K. Dengg, M. Goudie, N. T. Sachle, A. J. Kivi, C. Martin, Wm. Mulholland, K. Fulerton and H. Robertson. H. Roberts and C. W. Springford, \$3.00 each; M. Stafford, \$4.00; Jas. Mathre, \$8.00; R. C. McCutcheon, \$10; W. Bennett, \$14.50.

Subs. total 29th March to 12th April inclusive, \$88.00.