

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

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Twice a Month

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FIVE CENTS

Current Topics: the European Tangle

ARTICLE 1— BY ROBERT KIRK.

THE peace of the world is still in doubt; obstacles no less formidable now than when the Treaty of Versailles was ratified on January 10, 1920, still block the road.

They are certainly much more formidable obstacles than the literary scullions of the press, who serve our dear old public with its daily mess of "tripe," are aware of.

The first obstacle encountered by the "peacemakers,"—and which, after strenuous political exertions, in one kind of conference or another since January, 1919, they have never succeeded in disposing of to "everybody's" satisfaction,—is the terms of the peace treaty itself.

Very rarely has an official document ever contained the elements of comedy or tragedy to any unusual degree, yet this one combines both. And these elements can easily be recognized in the condition of Europe today, which the document itself is largely responsible for.

Paying no heed whatever to the social character of the industrial process in all capitalistic countries, the interdependency of any single part upon the whole, or the institutions which have grown up as a result of this system of production and in support of it, the idea of self-determination of nations is put into effect, and empires disintegrate overnight, as it were making compliance with the terms of reparations a physical impossibility for the countries of middle Europe.

With Slesvig and Upper Silesia, subjoined and exploited by Germany, and Austria-Hungary, connected, acting as German vassals, one can readily see the source of Germany's commercial power in Europe.

Each played a part in the industrial process, whatever affected one had its effect on all. Yet, the Allies, in order to break down Germany's power in Europe, dismember the growing body and expect payment for damages through war which the entire body itself could never pay.

Let us consider for a moment these reparations in full, and which I will quote from J. M. Keynes' book, "A Revision of the Treaty," a sequel to "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." An industrious and very praise-worthy effort to patch a pair of pants, rotten and shoddy, every inch of them.

FRANCE

1.—Damage to Property (Reconstitution Values).

	Francs (Paper)
Industrial damages	38,882,521,479
Damage to buildings	36,892,500,000
Damage to furniture and fittings	25,119,500,000
Damage to land	21,671,546,225
Damage to State property	1,958,217,193
Damage to public works	2,583,299,425
Other damages	2,359,865,000
Shipping losses	5,009,618,722
Damages suffered in Algeria and Colonies	10,710,000
Damages suffered abroad	2,094,825,000
Interest at 5 per cent. on the principle (33,000,000,000 francs, in round figures) between Nov. 11, 1918 and May 1, 1921 or 30 months) say in round figures	4,125,000,000

II.—Injuries to Persons.	
Military pensions	60,045,696,000
Allowance to families of mobilized men	12,936,956,824
Pensions accorded to civilian victims of the war and their dependents	514,465,000
Ill-treatment inflicted on civilians and prisoners of war	1,869,230,000
Assistance given to prisoners of war	976,906,000
Insufficiency of salaries and wages	223,123,313
Exactions by Germany to the detriment of the civilian population	1,267,615,939
Total of the French claims	218,541,596,120

Military pensions	French Frs	1,637,285,512
Allowances to families of mobilized men	French Frs	737,930,484
Civilian victims and prisoners of war	Belgian Frs	4,295,998,454
Total	Belgian Frs	34,254,645,893
Total	French Frs	2,375,215,996

The other claims may be summarised as follows:

Japan.		
Shipping losses	Yen	287,593,000
Allowance to families of mobilized men	Yen	454,063,000
Total	Yen	832,774,000

Jugo-Slavia.		
Damage to property	dinars	8,496,091,000
Injuries to person	francs	19,219,700,112
Rumania.		
Property losses	gold francs	9,734,015,287
Military pensions	gold francs	9,296,663,076
Civilian victims and prisoners of war	gold francs	11,652,009,978
Total	gold francs	31,099,400,188

Portugal	
1,944,261 contos (1,574,907 contos for property losses)	
Greece.	
4,992,788,739 gold francs (1,883,181,542 francs for property loss).	

Brazil.	
£1,215,714 (shipping £1,189,144), plus 598,405 francs.	
Czecho-Slovakia.	
6,944,228,296 francs and 5,614,947,990 kroner (war losses).	

Siam.	
9,179,298 marks, gold, plus 1,169,821 francs.	
Bolivia.	
£16,000.	

Peru.	
£56,236, plus 107,389 francs.	
Haiti.	
\$80,000, plus 532,593 francs.	

Cuba.	
\$801,135.	
Liberia.	
\$3,977,135.	

Poland.	
21,913,269,740 gold francs, plus 500,000,000 gold marks.	
European Danube Commission—1,834,800 gold francs	
15,948 francs French, and 488,151 lei.	

In these claims here presented by French representatives of the ruling class we find the estimate of damage to "property" exceeds by 62,873,709,968 francs the injuries to bodies. While those claims for injury to Belgian property exceed the injuries to persons and the destruction of human life by 23,283,432,299 francs. Life is cheap, eh!

But, I must not waste space on sentiment, for the workers of the world have never yet set a price or should I say "value" (!) on themselves. Consequently they must continue to be reckoned as the cheapest things on earth.

And we will now return to a more careful analysis of the terms of reparations in order to discover to what degree they affect the peace of the world.

A peace, be it observed, which means nothing more or less than uninterrupted exploitation of the earth's resources and the wage-earners everywhere for the benefit of a rapidly multiplying parasitical class and non-producers.

This detailed consideration, for reasons of space, must necessarily be held over to the next issue of the "Clarion."

Socialist Party of Canada Propaganda Meetings

BRING YOUR FRIENDS—ESPECIALLY IF
THEY DON'T AGREE WITH US.

STAR THEATRE, 306 Bloor, Main Street

April 2nd	J. D. Harrington
April 9th	R. Kirk
April 16th	W. A. Pritchard
April 23rd	T. O'Connor
April 30th	J. D. Harrington

AT NORTH VANCOUVER.
126—2nd Street West.

April 2nd	H. Adie
April 9th	S. Earp
April 16th	C. Stephenson
April 23rd	R. Kirk
April 30th	S. Earp

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

Great Britain.	
Damage to property	£ 7,936,456
Shipping losses	763,000,000
Losses abroad	24,940,559
Damage to river and canal shipping	4,000,000
Military pensions	1,706,800,000
Allowances to families of mobilized men	7,597,832,086
Pensions for civilian victims	35,915,579
Ill-treatment inflicted on civilians and prisoners	95,746
Assistance to prisoners of war	12,663
Insufficiency of salaries and wages	6,372
Total British claims	2,542,070,875 7,597,832,086

Italy.	
Damage to property	Lire 20,933,547,500
Shipping losses	£ 128,000,000
Military pensions	Francs 31,041,000,000
Allowances to families of mobilized men	Francs 6,885,130,395
Civilian victims of the war and prisoners	Lire 12,153,289,000
Total	Lire 33,086,836,000
Total	Francs 37,926,130,000
Total	£ 128,000,000

Belgium	
Damage to property	Belgian Frs 29,773,939,099
(present value)	
Shipping losses (present value)	Belgian Frs 180,708,250

The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

Chapter IV.

THE EARTH'S MOTION

Before we can really discuss the origin of the earth, we must get a clear idea of what the world is, where it is, and what it is doing. I told you that the earth revolves on its axis, to bring day and night; and the rate of revolution is, say, a little more than a thousand miles an hour. That is wonderful beyond all comprehension. Then, when you have wrestled with that problem, till your head is muddled, you have got to remember that the earth is flying round the sun, to bring Christmas and New Year's Day, at the rate of one thousand miles a minute! The fastest cannonball is a slow creeper compared with that, and yet before you can understand what the world is, and how it came to be, you must understand something of what it is doing.

Thus I have told you of two motions that the world has. When you have always been thinking that the world was firm on its foundations, and solidly fixed, the centre of all the heavenly movements, it is a bit surprising to find that it has two very rapid motions. But now I want to tell you about a third motion, which is even more surprising, more amazing, more incomprehensible, than the other two. You will see from this third motion that the question of the origin of the world is by no means a simple one. If you once come to understand what the world is, what the people on it are, and what is our true place in nature, it will not only make you wiser, but it will make you better and sweeter and more patient and lovable. The old Greeks, hundreds of years before Christ, affirmed that knowledge was virtue. And they were not far wrong. One of their poets named Euripides, who lived almost four hundred years before Christ, said:—

Happy the man whose lot is to know the secrets of the earth. He hastens not to work his fellows hurt by unjust deeds, but with rapt admiration contemplates immortal Nature's ageless harmony, and how and when her order came to be. Such spirits have no place for thought of shame.

You want to know "the secrets of the earth," and I am glad that an Australian girl, in this twentieth century, has that ambition and desire, and dares to ask about the world, "how and when her order came to be." I would like to explain it to you in one chapter, but that is impossible. Besides, what you learn easily you forget promptly. Everything in the world that is worth having has to be worked for, and the things you get easily or for nothing are rarely worth having.

What I want to make clear to you now is this: Our world circles round the sun at a distance of, say 93,000,000 miles. But ours is not the only world that belongs to the sun. We are not the only pebble on the beach. There are other worlds than ours, circling round our sun. Some are larger, some are smaller than ours. Some travel more swiftly, most travel more slowly. You can see some of them in the sky sometimes, and they look just like stars, except for this: none of them twinkle!

There are four brother worlds which are visible to the naked eye from this world. One is Venus, a bright planet which is nearer to the sun than we are. Sometimes it is an evening star, sometimes it is a morning star, and sometimes it is out of sight entirely. It is not a star really, for the stars are suns, burning, flaming, gaseous suns, just like ours; and it is the flaming gas of which they are composed that makes them twinkle. The planets ("planet" means "wanderer") are solid worlds like ours, and are quite black; and you would never see them except for the light of our sun being reflected from them, just as it is from the moon. These four planets are visible to us because the sun shines on them; and in the night-time, when our sun is hidden from us, we can see the planets in the darkness. They are the sun's children, just as the moon is our

child, our planet.

The moon is 240,000 miles from us, and it is a dead world, a slag, a cinder circling round this world. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the American poet, says it is drifting dead and still, "without its crew of fools." That is, there are no people on it. We would never see the moon with the naked eye if it were not for the sun shining on it. When the moon is "full," it rises in the east, just as the sun sets in the west; and we see the whole circumference of the moon, and we say, "The moon is full tonight." But it is not. It seems so only because it is opposite to the sun. When the moon is on the same side of the earth as the sun, we say there is no moon, but there is: only we are not able to see it. There are really no "quarter" moons or "new" moons or "full" moons at all. The moon is going round and round the earth all the time, at nearly the same distance; but the ancient people thought it disappeared. We cherish their traditions in our language. We have wrong ideas about nearly everything, and that is why we have war and crime and poverty and misery and woe untold on the earth.

Our sun has eight worlds circling round it; the nearest one is almost thirty-seven million miles distant from the sun, and the furthest about 3,000 million miles away. The story of the planets is a very interesting and wonderful one, but I must not stop to tell it now. One planet which you can see in the sky is about 1,300 times larger than our earth, though it looks just like a tiny moon in the mighty depths of the dark blue sky. But all the sun's family would make only a mouthful for our father the sun. There are hundreds of little worlds called planetoids drifting through space between Mars and Jupiter, and they are held in their places by the same law that keeps our world in its place—that is, the attraction of gravitation; and I think I shall have to tell you about that before I will dare to tell you how the world began.

What I want you to understand now is very simple, and it is this: Our sun is in the centre of a family of worlds, and the children are for ever circling round their daddy. Our world is travelling round the sun at the rate of 68,000 miles an hour. The outermost planet that we know of is Neptune, and it travels more slowly, at a distance of, say, three thousand million miles; and our sun and the planets (we are a planet!) are moving in a vast space on—nothing! They are all falling through space. They are upheld by a power which passeth all understanding. Our big solid earth, our dear old world, is a speck of matter flying through space round a central sun. It is too awful, too wonderful, too vast to contemplate, and it changes all our ideas about everything.

Now listen to this, and understand it if you possibly can. Our sun and all his family are passing through space at the rate of thirteen miles a second. Do you believe that? You may take my word for it. Our sun is passing through space at the rate of 13 miles a second, and is carrying all the family along at the same rate, so that our world is revolving on its axis at a thousand miles an hour; it is circling round the sun at the rate of a thousand miles a minute, and it is passing—along with the sun—at the rate of thirteen miles a second. Those are three motions only. But it has seven, and we will leave the other four alone. Three are more than we can understand.

And where are we going to? Nobody knows. They used to say that we were travelling towards the constellation of Hercules, but I do not think that anybody really knows. We have only learned our scientific astronomy so recently that you cannot expect us to know everything, and the more we learn the more we find out we do not know, for the subject is vast and wonderful. Yet you want to know how the world began! Ah me!

Next Lesson: "The Law of Gravitation."

SUBVERSIVE

THAT secrecy is a necessary concomitant to capitalism is becoming so evident as to be almost axiomatic.

From the secrecy surrounding the petty pow-wows of the political ward heelers, to that which enshrouds the international conferences, it is clear to the most casual observer that in order to put any thing "across" it is necessary that the rank and file must be kept in ignorance of what is being done. The infinite pains to which the capitalists must go in their efforts to conceal from whence they derive their wealth is shown in the report of the sub-committee investigating radical propaganda in connection with the Lusk anti-sedition bills of New York State.

The report consists of four large, thick volumes, two of which contain an elaborate history of the working class movements, from the formation of the European labor and Socialist movements up to and including the formation of the American Communist Parties, the data for which was largely obtained in the Red raids of 1919, and which is labelled Subversive Movements. The other two volumes designated "Constructive Movements," show the work of Americanization, which is being conducted for the purpose of off-setting the former movements.

That the knowledge by the working class of surplus value would be subversive of capitalism is the nearest to the truth of anything that the capitalists have ever said, and that they are fully alive to its possibility no one could doubt who has access to the report in question. All their old friends and stand-bys are called into action, the churches, press, schools, factories, organizations of all kinds and description for the perpetuation of their capitalistic ideals of freedom and democracy. But that the very weapon which they use will in turn be used against them, and have their countereffects on the minds of the workers whom they try to deceive, does not seem to occur to the capitalistic mind. The question: Why all this sudden solicitude for the workers' welfare? is being raised.

Reports are coming in that the Americanization movement that started off so auspiciously has already petered out. Classes cannot well be conducted in shops that are shut down. Forums started in churches are monopolized by radical speakers, schools are so over-crowded that teachers find it impossible to devote the necessary time to teaching the young ideas on how to hoot patriotically, an above all stands the example of Russia, like a great beacon light throwing its beams to the furthest corner of the earth, an encouragement to the workers of the world to keep up the class struggle to a victorious conclusion.

KATHERINE SMITH.

Things have happened in recent years which bring the greatest changes in the ideas and habits of the Old World. War, which sometimes brings riches for the peoples, finally brings ruin and death, too. There are plenty of examples in history. We shall see new ones which will touch us more closely. It is not impossible that the long conflagration which has desolated Europe, and the peace which followed the war and was only its prolongation, have struck the old civilization of Europe more cruel blows than our ignorance and frivolity believed. We begin to suspect the depth of the evil. England, the great merchant, while extending her plant, is suffering a decline in her commerce and an unemployment crisis, and the end is still unseen. Germany, forced toward bankruptcy, drags France to ruin with her. France is staggering under 35 billions of debt. Italy is suffering, Russia is dying of hunger, Austria is dead. Even the United States is surprised to see its affairs growing worse. Throughout the world the nations are torn out of their ambitious dreams by an unknown disease. The great and terrible lesson is not yet understood. But the time will come when it will make itself understood.—Anatole France.

Spiritualism

IT may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true, that superstitions which would have been a joke to an intelligent cave man of the rough stone age are not only tolerated, but are actually taken seriously by many supposedly intelligent people in these so-called enlightened times.

One can hardly pick up a capitalist newspaper or magazine these days without finding a page or two filled with testimonials written by spiritualists and other mystics telling all about what is happening over "on the other side," "in the beyond," on the "astral plane," or in some other imaginary locality of very little interest, to people with common sense.

Coupled with this, we find many of our more orthodox spiritual advisers worrying about what may happen to the morals of the children if we allow Darwinism to be taught in the public schools. They base their opposition on the theory that if the children are given to understand that the human species is closely related to the lower animals, they will be likely to discard the morality of Christian civilization and adopt that of the beasts of the field and the birds of the air. If we are to judge Christian morality from the reports we get of it on the front page of every capitalist newspaper, it is doubtful if such a change would be for the worse even if it did take place. It is worthy of note, however, that those people who do understand and accept the Darwinism law of organic evolution compare very favorably indeed, as far as morality is concerned, with the average preacher, even from a preacher's point of view.

But let us get back to spiritualism.

Not long ago Mr. James Douglas, editor of the London (Sunday) "Express," being a gentleman of an enquiring turn of mind and having more than his share of curiosity, that most valuable of all the virtues which we have inherited from our monkey-like ancestors, decided he would like to have a little first hand information on the subject of spiritualism. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, one of the high priests of the cult, and "imperial wizard" of the temple of "powwow," kindly undertook to act as guide and to introduce him to all the mysteries of the occult, and if possible persuade him to take the "royal bumper degree."

Then commenced a period of investigation, during which Mr. Douglas saw the ghosts smile and heard them tell, in many tongues, how happy they were over "on the other side." There were times when he listened to the most blood-curdling moans and groans, and other times when the very tables danced for joy. There were lights where there should have been darkness, and darkness where light should have prevailed. He saw photos taken of people who were not there, and heard the dogs barking in the celestial kennels of the blest. After having witnessed and heard many such weird and curious sights and sounds Mr. Douglas pilgrimed back to his editorial watch-tower, seized his trusty quill, and delivered himself of the opinion that spiritualism was "the bunk," or words to that effect. Naturally, such ingratitude on the part of Mr. Douglas sizzled on Sir Arthur's sixth sense like a hand-full of "liberty" steak on a hot griddle. A horrible suspicion that Mr. Douglas had his doubts of the sincerity of the spiritualists arose in the mind of the great ghost herder. In his exasperation he demands, "Are we all liars?" He opens his reply to Mr. Douglas in the form of a letter through the press thus:

"My Dear Mr. Douglas: I admit that I am disappointed at the results of that quest in which you asked me to be your guide. When we set forth upon it I had hopes that we might add your brilliant abilities to that small band whom I call 'God's Own Forlorn Hope.' Our ambition is to devote our lives to the destruction of that materialism which we believe to be at the root of the world's troubles, and at the same time to infuse fresh vitality into all religions by showing that those spiritual forces upon which

they rest are not far-away dead things, but are operative at the present moment. It is not an ignoble ambition. But we have failed to convince you, and we must take our failure as good humoredly as we may."

"God's Own Forlorn Hope." Who would suppose that a God who could create a whole universe out of nothing in six days could have a "forlorn hope"? Who would suppose that a God who is all wise, all powerful and supreme, who is supposed to know everything that has taken place in the past, and everything that is to take place in the future, from everlasting to everlasting, would require a "small band" of ghost herders to help him run the universe? It is not so surprising, however, when we consider that man has been a kind of an outlaw right from the start. It would appear that the human animal never could be persuaded to act according to Hoyle. In the sixth chapter of Genesis we read:

"And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart."

Evidently God did not know how contrary the hombre was going to be before he made him, otherwise there would have been no occasion for disappointment and repentance. And just as God's supreme wisdom failed before he made man so did his supreme power fail afterward. He could not control the situation then, and never has since done so. It is no wonder therefore, that God decided to establish a "forlorn hope" with Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and a few other intellectual giants, at the head of it, to help him to save the world.

Anyhow, the tom cat is out of the basket at last, and a ferocious brute he is since he has appeared in broad day light. Sir Arthur tells us that the ambition of the spiritualists is to destroy that materialism which they believe to be at the root of the world's troubles, and at the same time to infuse fresh vitality into all religions. It is to be regretted that he has not seen fit to explain just what kind of materialism it is that the spiritualists wish to destroy. Could it, by any chance, be the materialism that is based on the slavery and exploitation of man by man, which has been at the root of the world's troubles for many thousands of years? If it is, I agree with Sir Arthur it must be destroyed, but herding ghosts will not help to destroy it. On the other hand, if it is the materialism which has for its object the abolition of all forms of slavery and robbery, as well as superstition and hypocrisy, then spiritualism is indeed a "forlorn hope." And the admission that the object of the spiritualists is to "infuse fresh vitality into all religions" would imply that this last is the materialism that is meant. For religion, in all its forms, and throughout all ages has been the champion of slavery, oppression and ignorance, and the opponent of science and progress. All history reeks with the blood of the victims of religion, butchered either as sacrifice to the gods or because they were suspected of witchcraft, because they had made some scientific discovery, or exploded some superstition. And this is the thing which the spiritualists wish to infuse fresh vitality into. This is their noble aim; at least, Sir Arthur tells us, "it is not an ignoble ambition."

But what else can we expect? Religion always has been and always will be used by the parasitic class of every slave society to help to keep its slaves servile and obedient. The precepts of Christianity in particular prove it to be a slave's creed. "Servants obey your masters." "Love your enemies," "If any man slaps you on one side of the head, turn around and let him wallop the other side as well." "Whosoever shall take away your overalls, give him your shirt also." And so forth. Be content

with your lot in life, and obey the commands of the pastors and masters whom it has pleased God in his infinite wisdom and mercy to place in authority over you, and you shall receive a mansion over "on the other side" after you are dead. The more poverty and misery you put up with in this world, the greater will be your reward in heaven. Thus, it is not hard to understand why capitalist newspapers and magazines devote so much space to the testimony of the famous spiritualists who are trying to "infuse fresh vitality into all religions." And so long as the workers are influenced by such propaganda we may expect to see it continued.

There is, however, another angle to the proposition. This "noble ambition" of the spiritualists is likely to defeat its own end, and that is why it is opposed by the more intelligent capitalists. The drive peddled by the spiritualists is so rotten and so raw that, instead of "infusing fresh vitality into all religions" it is helping to discredit all religion, by making all religion ridiculous. And when we consider the proposition from this dialectical point of view, it is possible there may be some good even in spiritualism.

F. J. McNEY.

HERE AND NOW.

We don't quite know how to approach the subject of our meditations in financial grief, this issue. Kirk has shamelessly abandoned our cause in this department and has cut his acquaintance with Buddy, his quondam friend. Now he's demonstrating to the Allies that it's as impossible for them to get reparations as it is for us to get those ten thousand subs. right away quick. Take a look at the figures here below, then at the bad dream in arithmetic the Allies had (see Kirk's page, this issue), and then proceed to improve our appearances. Here and Now.

We set out to be brief though, this issue; to tell our troubles, state our need, and then buy a whole new pencil to add up the columns that are sure to come by next issue.

But the printer! Are we realists? The printer is! He has a fine eye for a certified cheque and has no ear for our apologies. That is to say, we're "broke." We need every possible dollar that can be mobilized now.

Enter the "shock" troops. They're dying with debility, unhappy, forlorn, worn, and emaciated, clothed in "rags and tatters, shreds and patches"; they are (not to put too fine a point on it) in need of support. Are they to get it, or is it to be a case of R.I.P.?

Following, \$1 each: A. C. Cameron, J. D. McNeill, D. Balnave, J. Hintza, G. Beagrie, A. Sumner, O. J. Girarde, H. E. Mills, R. F. Bayliss, J. Wright, A. Hallsberg, C. S. M. Goudie, C. A. Smith, J. M. Sanderson, H. P. Graham, H. Lahti, Walter Wilson, P. Davidson, A. J. Turner, J. J. Egge, D. Morrison, C. H. Pickles, T. H. Lambert, Henry Myers.

Following, \$2 each: R. C. Mutch, "Pat," R. Kirk, Sandy Fraser, R. C. McCutchan.

Charlie Steen, \$2.50; O. Erickson, \$3; T. Twelvetree, \$3; Local Victoria, \$5.

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By PETER T. LECKIE.

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"Q. E. D."

NOTHING that can be said will make a university man—student or professor—so ill-tempered, as an accusation that his house of learning has a muzzle on it and that its intellectual life and expression is subject to the dictates of the money magnate, in his own interest. To suggest to a college professor that he has to count his nickels and dimes before he speaks his mind on social problems is to invite a worried look. But now and then we find a student body with an interest in the social problem insisting on the truth at all costs.

Somebody has suggested that a university is an athletic institution, where facilities for study are provided for the convenience of the curious. Not so Clark University, of Worcester, Mass. There on 14th March Scott Nearing addressed the students, the subject being "The Control of Public Opinion." Veblen's "The Theory of the Leisure Class" provided the basis of the address, showing the control of public opinion by the moneyed interests through the schools, colleges, churches, press and so forth. The meeting was arranged by the students in an assembly room of the university with the knowledge and consent of Dr. W. W. Atwood, the president. In the course of Mr. Nearing's address Dr. Atwood entered the room, "listened in" a few minutes and then mounted the platform and announced to the astonished and dismayed students and to Mr. Nearing: "The meeting is dismissed." He had to repeat the announcement three times before the students obeyed and dispersed.

Now there's a great how d'ye do in Boston! Mr. Nearing was doing passably well as it was, proving his case, but along came the president of the university and proved it for him. Of course there's a noise being made by the students—the inalienable rights of free speech and all that (!)—and one of the professors confessed that he was ashamed to admit he was a member of the university faculty.

But here's the rub. The university is about to commence a campaign for funds, and what moneyed man is going to pay up to support an institution that will disclose the source of his riches and the means he adopts to maintain them?

INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY.

RHODE Island State troops fired into a crowd of strikers, striker's wives, and strikers' children in Pawtucket the other day, killing one and wounding a dozen more, two or three of whom may die. The Portuguese and Italian consuls are interesting themselves in the situation, hoping to protect others of their children from such murder. There is no other country in the world where soldiers fire so lightly into crowds of workers, yet what happened in Rhode Island is a common story in the United States. Tanks, cavalry, and machine-guns guard the streets of Newport, Kentucky, where the rolling-mill workers are on strike; mounted men ride into workers' homes and machine-guncers fire through them as if they were on a firing-line, in Belgium in war time. In West Virginia real gun and bullet war is chronic. The Ludlow massacre, when State troops fired into a tent colony of strikers' wives and children at the Rockefeller mines in Colorado, is still recent history. Though our history is singularly free from the arm-

ed revolutionary movements that are almost chronic in Europe, no European country has such a persistently bloody industrial struggle to record as we; nor can the force of the state be used against the workers there as casually as here. Yet our general public—the same general public that calmly accepts burning Negroes alive in the South as a matter of course—continues to boast of our "civilization" and of our "highly developed industry." There is something radically wrong when workmen striking against a reduction of wages and increase of the working week can be shot down in cold blood with perfect impunity and immunity.

Thus, "The Nation" (New York). True it may be that U. S. is outstanding as an example of the naked brutality of bourgeois rule, as a State unhampered in the business of governing by any mellowing influences of feudal tradition. But what of Great Britain's claims to State "efficiency," manifested at home and abroad within memory—say from Featherstone to the Rand? Indeed, the printer's ink is hardly dry on "The Nation's" pages when news of government terrorism in South Africa began to break through the press censorship. Tanks, machine guns, bombing planes, bayonets! These proved the effective weapons of government, the sole item commonly used in modern warfare missing in the exercise of the South African government's authority being poison gas; that too, no doubt, would have been used had it been needed.

The whole trouble on the Rand began December last when the coal miners went on strike against a shift cut in wages of 5s. They were even anxious to go to arbitration, but the operators refused, and received the support of the government in the refusal, the argument being that the operators were better able to say what wages the industry as conducted could pay than any third party, and that the miners' claims respecting the cost of living did not affect those considerations. Not until this deadlock had been reached was the native question introduced; the owners discovered then that a greater proportion of black labor would be a "justified operative economy." It was proposed that the proportion of 1 to 8—white and black labor—be changed to 1 to 11.

By the middle of January the strike had spread to all workers (including gold workers) in the mines, engineering shops and power plants; the strike ballot of the South African Industrial Federation resulted 10 to 1 in favor of a strike. From then on various conferences were proposed, always with conditions imposed which if acceded to the miners held would weaken their position. It must here be borne in mind that the South African Industrial Federation stands for a white South Africa. It is easy to see the point of Premier Smuts' remarks in praise of the natives, who "remained loyal."

The miners have been blamed for forming armed commandos. There is evidence enough on hand already, however, to show that no violence developed at their instigation. Following Premier Smuts' appeal to them on February 4th to go back to work, on promise of an "impartial" investigation of their grievances, they agreed to go back on the conditions obtaining before the strike. These conditions the owners would not meet and the modern aids to government aforesaid came into use. The strike is broken, many men are dead and thousands are held captive.

Pawtucket, Kentucky, West Virginia—these are examples of the ruthlessness of government in safeguarding profit production, but "The Nation" will learn in time that the business of shooting men down in cold blood in this manner is a necessary article of faith of the capitalist class—if its rule is seriously interrupted—the world over.

POLICE!

SOME hopeful "liberally minded" M. P.'s at Ottawa who don't know what the function of government is have been telling the Federal house that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police should be disbanded and sent home. This, not because the red coats are inefficient, but because "they're not needed any more." The Province of

B. C. has special mention as a stamping ground for the R. C. M. P. Mr. McNeill (Comox) voices a few innocent remarks as above and is promptly subdued, not only by Mr. Ladner (South Vancouver) who says such a course would give free reign to unrest, nor by Mr. Dickie (Nanaimo) who says the same, but by the estimates for the year, tabled by Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance. True, the B. C. M. P. maintenance appropriation is cut by \$535,971, but the pruning process in this government department is no greater than in others, and not so great as in some where overalls constitute a uniform and not redcoats. The humanity spirit is clothed in the garb of economy—the watchword of financiers here, there, and everywhere else these days.

Vancouver too is in financial tribulation. Charged with the task of reducing his estimates for the year, the chief of police has been scratching his worried head trying to do that and at the same time maintain a force that will uphold law and order. In this he has been subjected to all manner of advice, the substance of which is to maintain police efficiency. Economy comes after that. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, known chiefly as the son of his father (one of the fathers of Canadian Confederation), and secondly as a legal light hereabouts, joins in the chorus.

The result would cheer up even the dead and gone humorists. Announcing his "cuts," the chief solemnly proposes to save \$300 "by not increasing the salary of a high police official, as contemplated."

Red flag street parades have been offending civic dignity now and again during the winter. Now that the winter is nearly over the mayor announces that the Red Flag will no longer be tolerated as it "angered a very considerable portion of the citizens." We venture to hope that our "force," even reduced by "six constables, five dry squad officers and one chauffeur" could easily keep order among the irate "citizens."

EMMA Goldman's scream now "released" in the press is no invention of the latter although, it need hardly be said, the press minions will help out where they think more color is needed. She and Berkman, claiming themselves to be refugees in Norway from Soviet persecution, have had a joint manifesto published in "Freedom" (Anarchist; London, Eng), charging persecution and violence against anarchists in Russia by the Soviet government. Her present efforts are obviously a process of passport writing, for herself, back to America.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

Comrade Stephenson's contribution, promised in last issue, in continuation of his analysis of the problems and considerations arising from a study of Veblen's "The Engineers and the Price System," will appear in our next. Chris. has gone back to nature, but finds it difficult to wrestle with Veblen because others have gone back with him, and they all live in the same camp bunk-house.

We have a review on hand by Comrade Harrington of "The Philosophy of Marx," by Harry Waton. This is unfortunately held up this issue but will appear in our next. Jack will also review for us soon Van Loon's "The Story of Mankind," under request of the comrades in Victoria.

Now that his class-work (in various places) is drawing to a close with the end of the winter season, we hope to have "Geordie" at work again soon in the "Clarion" columns. Our commands also are upon Comrade Pritchard to look into the ink pot.

A rather queer request came to us the other day which we pass on to the upward and onward. Here it is: "Wouldn't it be possible for some of your writers to give a short article on 'Theosophy' in the 'Clarion,' together with reference books (titles, etc.,) and a criticism of same?"

We pass it up. There are three things we don't know anything about. That's one of them. (We just forget what the two others are).

Clarion finance is a subject of worry these days. Cash returns per issue do not meet printer's costs. Clarion readers are exhorted to do their utmost to help increase our lists.

The Burning Bush

ONE need not labor the point that the present world is in dire trouble and confusion. And there are probably few who could clearly deny that its conditions indicate an immediate relief. But denial or not, there is but one way to relief—to understand the factors involved and implied in the situation. That is, by clear concepts of our social relations, and thence, a solution of their discords.

The understanding here implied, is not the classical imprints of yesterday; nor any bourgeoisie hash of eclecticism; nor merely the applied sciences of advanced industry. It is, at once, a simpler and more fundamental thing; and yet for all its simplicity, wide as the rim of the world, and deep as the heart of its life; simple and wide and deep because it is the understanding and satisfaction of the common needs of common life. Any education which does not understand that is but a travesty of fact, a worship of appearance; and ultimately lends itself—consciously or not—to purposes, ulterior and unsocial.

School and high school, college and university, are invaluable institutions. They are the basis of the knowledge that is power; the home of the science that is truth; the keepers of the light that is reason. And to whosoever has worn their colors goes prestige and authorship. But in the hands of a class, their prestige is the rule of caste; their authority the ethic of law. Their knowledge is the power of dominion; their science the handmaid of profit, and their reason the policies of expediency. It was for this cause that Jevons connected sunspots and unemployment; that Darwin thought it was not good for the masses to know the whole truth—yet; that Haeckel and Huxley, Spencer and Mill balked at the shadow of the social revolution. And it is for the same cause that a concourse of far lesser lights bracket labor and capital together in harmony; turn evolution into miracle; and think to transform society by transforming the heart of man. Not because man is incapable of reason and thought, but because thought is distorted by class interest, and reason aborted, or neglected by class rule.

But how to acquire the institutions of learning? By the same methods as their present rulers acquired them. By re-establishing them ourselves. But their present rulers did not establish them by the grace of god, nor the power of will, nor the logic of superior intelligence. They were the resultants of new (or transformed) understanding; of an understanding conscious of its needs. They were the creation of class necessities and along with growing and changing necessities class education flourished and progressed. In the days when individualism was young, science was acclaimed free and unhampered. For growing commerce demanded improved technique. When the bourgeoisie, untutored and parvenu, came, with political recognition, more and more into contact with "aristocratic culture," classical education became a necessity. For the lack of it handicapped the would-be aspirants of trade to "honor" and "distinction," and in their ignorance of traditional political expediency, they were terribly apt to be short changed. But when commerce "became a man it put away childish things." It gathered science to itself, and developed its own education of technique and craftsmanship. With the triumph of finance it bought the prowess of secret diplomacy, adopting—and adapting—such of the relics of the old order as were found expedient or utilitarian; and with the accumulations of corporate monopolies, it devised its own peculiar secret servitors and agencies, reviving, in modern form, and with all the additional subtlety of progress, the "lion's mouth" of the Venetian Doge.

With the security of the cult of "success," both method and form and need of education assumed new aspects. "Business" was all engrossing; it was the real god of the new rulers. Fetes and saint

days were denounced as idolatry; merrymaking was taboo; natural life and its normal and healthy satisfaction was "sin" to the distorted thought of trade prudes. Because, it dissipated the "thrifty" energies of money making. Its moral aspect was but the concealing draperies of class regulation. Romance disappeared before the steam engine as naturally as Santa Claus is destroyed by the Canadian stovepipe. The myths of religion were stripped of their medieval ruffs, and re-clothed in the drab frocks of business convention. Classical idealisms were re-organized in the likeness of trade profit individualism; and art and its beauty—developed in an age when time was of no account, when the talent of the craftsman was called forth by his own craft, and concept was not yet poisoned in the city of profit—were either swamped in the mad swirl of the world mart, or (worse fate) abandoned to the satiety of a soulless commercialism.

Thus commerce lifted the concept of education to a new plane, broadened its application and opened the doors to the possibility of a new society. For the education of technique is the education of reasoning thought. It is vastly different from the vague poesy of classic imagination, or the fantastic credulity of peasantry. And altho the steady advance of the forces of progress progressively limit its application, they do so by adding to themselves—to progress—the burden of discontent, on the one hand. On the other the development of business, by closing the world market destroys its own traditions and ideals, thus forcing the red flame of mere discontent into the white thought of logical conclusions. The process is slow and halting, its experience is rude, but it is written in language unmistakable. It is going steadily on. In the coal fields of West Virginia, in the abyss of the steel trust, in the textile mills of New England; on the plains of the Volga; in the unrecounted misery and shame of Europe. They are all lessons for our reading. They tell us what our rulers are, and who, and the hopes that animate them. They show us the nature of the struggle and its only solution. They show us the way of sacrifice and achievement, and class conscious union, of international perception, and the futility of action that is not based on the comity of political understanding. And last, but not least, they prove that the passion of discontent has not yet visioned the fundamental reason. The prime necessity and sole power of a class whose mission is the emancipation of society from class rule.

The way commerce goes is the way we must follow. For the means of life are in other hands than ours. Mechanical development is far ahead of social education, and ruling class consciousness is far more developed than that of the working class. In the very nature of things, the dice are loaded against us. We have no economic power because our life needs are controlled. We have no social education because we are victims of lying propaganda. To overcome the former involves the mastery of the latter. Without class consciousness we cannot "arrive." It is hardly to be supposed that socialism must of necessity, and of itself, come forth from capital. The beneficiaries of capital can endure the handicaps of the system quite as well, and as long, as the workers. Our apathy, our discords, our weariness, may awaken sympathy—from political aspirants—and pity—from idealist reformers—but they cannot disturb the status quo of "laissez faire"—the one thing that must be disturbed.

Socialism will not be handed to us in waxed paper. It will not fall on us like "the gentle rains from heaven," nor drift in from nowhere on the spring tides of hope. We must work for it. And the only effective work for us meantime, is to offset the propaganda of commercial interest by the propaganda of social reality. That, in conjunction with the momentum of capitalist development, and the understanding which the process must entail,

will awaken society to a consciousness of its condition, and to the non-necessity of capital. With that awakening society will go on to the new civilization of the social commonwealth.

But to achieve we must understand. To understand we must realize, not merely that there is "something wrong," not merely disappointment and discontent, but that political democracy is a delusion; that we are slaves in a slave society; that we are exploited, not in low wages, but in production; that there is no unity of interest between the capitalist class and the working class; that none but ourselves can effect our freedom; and that the one issue at stake is the social control of the means of life. That is the base on which our hopes rest. That is the key to social harmony and happiness. That is the prelude to the full development and triumph of social ability; the one way to the unshackling of thought, and the fruition of its golden promise. That is the struggle before us. And facing it we must recognize that evolution is not towards the "higher things" of an abstract morality, but the necessary sequence of causation; that the heart of man is not changed by grace and prayer, but by thought and practice, and that life condition is the mirror of social relationship. R.

DIPLOMATIC

These prime ministers—how they do run true to form. Poincare said he would have no more conferences. Now, less than six weeks in office, he and Lloyd George are at it again; and the same old movie men and staff photographers and special correspondents photographed their handshakes and reported their smiles precisely as they have been doing for the previous prime ministers every so often for these past three years. "The important thing is that we are in agreement," Lloyd George assures the respectful newspapermen. "The rest is detail." It reminds us somehow of Keynes's account of this same Lloyd George's antics at previous conferences:

At each of them he pushed the French as far as he could but not as far as he wanted; and then came home to proclaim the settlement provisionally reached (and destined to be changed a month later) as an expression of complete accord between himself and his French colleague, as a nearly perfect embodiment of human wisdom, and as a settlement which Germany would be well advised to accept as final, adding about every third time that if she did not he would support the invasion of her territory.

It would be refreshing if sometime the old bluffer would emerge from conference and frankly say: Poincare and I scuffled steadily for three hours. He's perfectly impossible—stubborn as a mule. We didn't agree about a thing, but finally we doctored up a statement, which did not say anything definitely but seemed to imply that we had agreed about something, and decided to let it go at that. We're going to hold the Genoa Conference, you see—that's my victory; but it will not discuss reparations or other essentials—that's Poincare's. England gives France an alliance in case of "unprovoked aggression" but England decides what "unprovoked" means. We arranged it so that we both could claim a triumph. —"The Nation," (N. Y.).

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Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

Lesson 1: CAPITAL

THERE are three factors in Wealth Production. These are:

1st.—Land; a passive factor, because it has to be worked by labor before wealth can be produced.

2nd.—Capital; is the auxiliary factor because it helps labor to produce more abundantly.

3rd.—Labor, is an active factor because it acts and fructifies the earth, or natural resources.

The subject of our lesson is Capital.

The first question that arises is: "What is Capital?" Open any of the capitalist textbooks on economics, used in our educational institutions, and you will learn from them that capital is treated as if it had existed in primitive times. They generally describe the tools of primitive man, e.g., a sharpened stick, a canoe, a spear or his bow and arrow. Such a savage became a capitalist, we are told, because he was endowed with the capitalist virtues of thrift, enterprise and ability. I suppose all the others were a shiftless lot and the proletariat are their descendants.

The Reformation, eliminating so many religious holidays, with their entailing pleasures, gave way to the Puritan tenets of thrift, frugality, industry, temperance, prudence, etc., calculated to immediately further accumulation, although this is now succeeded by indolence, luxury, ostentation, waste, drunkenness, and general demoralization of the capitalist class whose functions are now performed by salaried employees. The economic virtues are as desirable as ever in the working class, since by the practice of such the workers increase the margin of exploitation to which they can be subjected to. Hence, thrift, frugality, industriousness, temperance, along with patience, obedience, respect for law, and contentment, are morals for the slave class. The Chinese workers having all those virtues and with rich natural resources, comprise the outstanding field of exploitation which now the nations represented at the Arms Conference at Washington are so jealous of. They are trying their best to agree how they will exploit China and the Chinese peacefully.

Lafargue tells us: "Capital in the modern sense dates back only to the 18th century." He says: "The Dictionnaire de Mots Nouveaux," published 1802, says, 'Capitalist was a word wellnigh unknown outside of Paris. It designates a monster of wealth. A man who has a heart of iron and has affections, less metallic ones. Talk to him of land tax and he laughs at you, because he has no land to tax. Like the Arabs in the desert who have plundered a caravan, and who bury their gold in fear of other brigands, the capitalists have hidden all our money. "The term capital, although a Latin word, has no equivalent in either the Greek or Latin tongue. The non-existence of the word in two such rich languages is a proof that capitalist property did not exist in ancient times, at least as an economic and social phenomena."

Let us take some illustrations of Capital from some of the economists.

Henry George in "The Science of Political Economy," New York, 1893, conceives of "A savage who finds a fruit tree in full bearing. If he eats all of the fruit, he merely satisfies his present needs. He is just a common savage. If, however, he eats only a part of the fruit and, thinking of the future desires, plants another part of it, or exchanges it with some other savage for other desirable things he is a capitalist." This is some idea of a capitalist, among people that lived in direct contact with nature.

The capitalist has therefore, "forethought." The professor I sat under told us that "Capital was the result of past industry, used to aid the work of future production." He then gave us an illustration

of a man living in a summer cottage going to the river every time he was thirsty, to drink, or living by direct acquisition. But by his personally acquired skill he produced a vessel. As pottery was a great step in progress, he saved time going for a drink and he remarked, "this being a labor-saving invention, it was capital." Therefore we see this professor's capitalist was able to build a summer house before he could make pottery.

Unterman, in his "Marxian Economics" tells us of the German economist Roscher, who does not need as much capital as a crude stick. He says: "Imagine a fishing people without private property in land and without capital, who live naked in caves and subsist on sea fish, which, being left behind by the receding tide, in pools, are caught with the bare hands. Let all laborers be equal here, and let each one catch three fish per day and eat them. Now some prudent man reduces his consumption to two fishes per day for 100 days, and then uses up the stored supply of 100 fishes he saved, to devote 50 days to the making of a boat and nets. By the help of this capital he catches from now on thirty fishes per day."

In the first place I would like to know where he would get a market for his thirty fish a day, when the other fellows could get their own fish so easily in the pools with their bare hands.

Unterman says: "You will readily see the absurdity of it, when you think of him storing fish for 100 days, in a climate where people go naked, which would become putrid in a week," and then he asks of the professor ever tried to subsist on two rotten fish per day and build a boat with his bare fists. The only resemblance, he adds, between this capitalist of primitive man and some modern capitalist is Roscher's savage makes capital out of rotten fish, while the modern capitalist makes capital out of rotten beef, shoddy clothing and poisoned groceries. But with this difference—Roscher's capitalist consumes his rotten fish himself, while the modern capitalist are not so crude. They label their goods with fancy names, and sell them to an unsuspecting public at as high a price as possible.

Karl Marx calls them vulgar economists who look upon the savage with the eyes of a 19th century Anglo Saxon. To them the capitalist has existed from the very beginning, and they fail to see the changes in the mode of production which brought forth the capitalist system.

How does Henry George explain, or the others like him the change from the self-supporting savage "capitalist" to the non producing parasitical capitalist of today? They absolutely fail to explain it.

All economists admit that capital is stored up wealth; that wealth is the product of labor. Ricardo says, "Capital is that part of wealth used to produce more wealth." He defines wealth "All articles of use or luxuries that are produced by human labor."

Adam Smith says, "Useful human labor applied to land and raw material creates all wealth and all values."

Now we Socialists say, Capital is not a mere thing; it is fundamentally an economic relationship between an exploited and an exploiting class.

Capital is that part of wealth devoted to the production of more wealth with a view to a profit, a profit obtained as a result of the exploitation of labor.

Our professors don't like that part "with a view to a profit," as I pointed out in our first lesson, dealing with unemployment and over-production.

Monkeys use stones to crack nuts, therefore, by using a tool to produce more wealth a monkey would be a capitalist.

There is a legend that monkeys will not talk because they are afraid of being put to work.

In this respect he resembles the modern capitalist.

Wealth devoted to the production of more wealth has existed for ages and through all forms of society—savagery, barbarism, slavery, serfdom and capitalism, but the character of that wealth has changed. Under feudalism, for example, production was for a local market and local consumption, called production for use, the producer taking his goods to the market himself, to exchange for the things he needed for his own consumption. Goods were exchanged for goods, and money was practically unknown. The demand was known, and over-production could not exist.

Today, production is on a large scale carried on for a world's market and, mainly, exists for exchange. Instead of goods exchanged for goods, it is money for money.

In the development of production we had commodities exchanged for commodities, or C x C. Then, with the introduction of money as a medium of exchange we had commodities exchanging for money, and money exchanged for commodities or, C x M x C. Today we have Money x Commodities x Money, or M x C x M.

The capitalist invests his money, which is converted into capital, not for the purpose of obtaining the necessities of life, but to obtain a surplus value. The first is production carried on for consumption only, the other is means of exploitation. The problem of the capitalist is to get more surplus value, through greater production, with increased exploitation.

Marx says, "Capital is a social relationship."

Capital is based on the production of commodities in which men produce, not for their own wants or consumption nor that of a feudal lord or slave owning master, but with the view of a market where the capitalists can realize the surplus value exploited from labor.

Land may be capital. Tools may be capital. Articles of consumption and raw materials may be capital. But none of these are capital unless they are stamped with the typical mark of capital. **That mark is that these things must be the means to rob the laborer of the product of his toil.**

Labor and labor power can never be capital in the hands of the laborer. So long as the relationship of capital and labor remain, labor is always the exploited part. It is very convenient for the exploiting class to define capital as wealth used to produce more wealth. So long as they don't tell who produced the wealth and under what conditions it was produced and who get it, that phrase is harmless.

It is equally harmless to tell us that wealth is stored up labor. The dangerous question is, whose labor and stored up for whose benefit and by what means?

Now the things used as capital are not in themselves capital. They may become capital under certain very definite social conditions, under which different economic classes struggle for the control of the product of labor. It is on this rock that we Socialists split with our capitalist economists who conceal the secret of capital by ignoring the main source from which it springs, i.e., the exploitation of the labor of the working class.

This exploitation was put very clearly in a letter to the paper called "American," March 6th, 1920, dealing with government ownership of the U. S. A. railways. A part of the letter says: "The workers paid the cost of the railroads as they were built. . . . If the railroads were built by the government there would be no question but that the people paid for them. By looking at the railroads or the Panama Canal one could not determine whether they were built by the government or by private capital. **All economic value is social value.** The costs to the people are the same no matter who dir-

The Myth of a Guilty Nation

ects its expenditure. The expenditure of the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations are as much a cost to the people as though they were taxed the full amount. Both foundations do not own money but own capital to the full amount of their resources. By spending they make a levy not on their own property but on the annual production of the workers."

Rogers, in his "Political Economy," p 59, says, "Wealth will not be employed as capital except with a view to a profit."

The professor I sat under said, "Capital involves more production than consumption but is obscured by money."

He said, "Capital's first form was the supply of wheat, over and above the needs to the next harvest, which was used to feed those who made the roads or built mills and provided a teacher, as the earlier settlers of Ontario did." He continued, "Capital is the result of past industry, making production more efficient. Capital existed primitively as commodities of consumption." He pointed out the railway cost of \$5,000 a mile was consumable goods to the railway workers doing the building. He said, "War was a social loss, which is really surplus food which does not serve to produce further commodities." This was an awful calamity as, "All capital is for more production." He warned us good Canadians we should consume less than we produce, and use the surplus to retain our hold on the country instead of getting loans from America, and use the difference of our consumption and production, or savings, as capital to increase production. He told us that the story of the spendthrift giving more work was a fallacy. This is some advice when we find we were told to produce more, if our prices were to be lowered and everybody to have prosperity, and now we are told to buy, buy, to get the wheels of trade started again, and poor Hery Dubb has no money to buy with and no prospect of a job to get the money.

I have already shewn that we started with C x C, then C x M x C, and now we have M x C x M.

When the capitalist goes to the bank for a loan, it is not the money he wants, it is the commodities, such as raw material, labor-power, the factory and machinery the money can command, so as to produce a surplus.

It then, labor produces all wealth and exchange value, and commodities on the average sell at their value, how it is the capitalist obtains a surplus value?

Now let us get this. We are told that labor produces all wealth when applied to natural resources, and that Capital is wealth used to produce more wealth. Why then has labor no capital?

Because labor-power being a commodity, is sold like every other commodity, on the average, at its value.

This is the most significant commodity on the capitalist market, that is, the brain and muscle power of the workers who have no other means of existence but the sale of their labor power to some master for a stipulated sum.

What the laborer sells is not his labor, but his commodity labor power, vested in his body.

This commodity differs from other commodities, like the raw material, etc., because it not only transfers its own value but an increased value to the finished product. This we will discuss in our next lesson.

There are other capitals, such as constant and variable capital, which are units of capital and which we will discuss when we come to the subject of surplus value and profits.

In conclusion of this discussion let me again point out that Capital is not a concrete thing, but a social relationship in production, carried on by exploitation in view of a profit.

For example: If my wife has a sewing machine for the family use, that machine is wealth used to produce more wealth. If, however, she hires girls to work the machine and exploits their labor for profit, the machine then becomes capital. Therefore, capital is a social relationship.

THERE is an ancient fable of the fly who rode on the rim of a wheel, crying "What a dust I do make!"

These writings of "Historicus" (Albert Jay Nock) reprinted from "The Freeman," are instance of how modern bourgeois justice, riding along on the wheel of economic development, raises the same cry.

Nock says: "The only thing that can better our own situation is the resumption of normal economic life in Europe: and this can be done only through a thorough reconsideration of the injustices that have been put upon the German people by the conditions of the armistice and the Peace Treaty. Of these injustices, the greatest, because it is the foundation for all the rest, is the imputation of Germany's sole responsibility for the war."

So, in the interests of a return to normalcy, he proceeds to smash "the myth of a single guilty nation."

Perhaps some cynical realist may observe that his labor is in vain, for, whether this "fundamental assumption" of Germany's sole guilt in causing the war be false or correct the terms of peace would be but an expression of the wants and the powers of the victors.

Nock is a readable "devil's advocate" against the Allies. Much of his evidence is, no doubt, familiar to "Clarion" readers; but in these days of reviving jingoism it may not be a waste of space to restate the salient points. That Germany did not pounce upon a sleeping world is made evident by several facts.

Firstly, in 1913 Russia and France provided for a military establishment of 2,025,572 men, while Germany and Austria together provided for only 1,295,607 men. In naval matters we also find Germany behind. In 1901 Britain had a superiority of 112 per cent. and she spent more in each succeeding year than did Germany: from 1909-14 Britain's expenditure on new naval construction was £92,672,524 and Germany's £66,099,111; while France spent over 43 million sterling and Russia over 38 million sterling.

Secondly, Germany did not inspire the quarrel between Austria and Serbia. The murder of the Austrian Archduke was committed, not by German agents, but by three Serb officers, members of a Pan-Slav organization, with weapons obtained in Belgrade. According to a report of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, British Ambassador to Vienna, Austria offered to accept mediation. Had Germany desired to start a war she could have done so far more advantageously in either 1908 or 1912.

Thirdly, secret agreements were entered into by Britain, France and Russia against Germany; one in 1904 between France and Britain, violating a previously published agreement, to keep German economic interests out of Morocco, in favor of France; one in 1906 to support France in case of war with Germany; a third between France and Russia, with the knowledge of Britain, completed the triangle. The treaties were published by the Soviet Government of Russia. On the manner in which the diplomats received them, Nock comments: "It is amusing now to remember how promptly these treaties were branded by the British Foreign Office as forgeries; especially when it turned out that the actual terms of the armistice—not the nominal terms, which were those of Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, but its actual terms—were the terms of the secret treaties!"

These treaties led to a critical situation over France's entry into Morocco in 1911; but the powers thought it better to defer matters until they were more sure of their success. Two busy years of negotiation to reinforce their secret treaties followed. The naval and military expenditure of Britain, France and Russia expanded rapidly. Russia's

naval expenditures jumped from an average of three million yearly since 1909 to 12 million sterling in 1913, and 13 million in 1914; France from an average of five million to nearly nine in 1913 and nearly 12 in 1914; England from an average of 14 to 16 million in 1913 and 18 million in 1914. Germany's naval expenditure actually dropped, being but £11,016,883 in 1913 and £10,316,264 in 1914. In the part of 1914 prior to the war the military expenses of Germany and Austria together were £48 million, and of England, France and Russia £94 million. Thus the stage was set for the "thunderbolt out of the blue." Nock describes the appearance of the stage, thus:

"Almost at the moment on 1st August when Germany ordered a general mobilization, Russian troops were over her border, the British fleet had been mobilized for a week in the North Sea, and British merchant ships were lying at Kronstadt, empty, to convey Russian troops from that port to the Pomeranian coast."

And what about Belgium?

Only three men in the British Cabinet (Asquith, Grey and Haldane) knew of the secret treaty promising to support France against Germany. Poincaré wrote King George reminding him of this obligation. This resulted in a schism in the Cabinet, and it was then, the 2nd of August, that the Cabinet first considered using the neutrality of Belgium as a plea, for all that Lord Salisbury's administration in 1887 had decided that these treaties of 1831 and 1839 did not bind Britain to preserve the neutrality of Belgium. A significant feature of this neutrality is that the Belgian troops were all on the east front and none on the west.

The evidence should make one conclude that Germany was concerned rather with a commercial offensive than with a military or territorial one; and that the war was largely the outcome of British determination to destroy German competition.

The attitude of Nock towards the economic basis (*) and his ability at exposition makes one wish he would turn candidly introspective and write "The myth of a Liberal opposition to the system that breeds war."

F. W. THOMPSON.

(*) Concerning "the economic basis" see Leckie's "Economic Causes of War." Consult our literature list.—(Ed.)

Senator King says:

"Those who dream of great national economy are due for a rude awakening. This nation (U. S.) will spend upward of \$300,000,000 a year on development of other means of defence while dismantling capital ships under the treaty clauses.

"What the United States saves in capital ships she will spend on submarines, airplanes, torpedo boats, destroyers, airplane carriers and monster mines along with other naval weapons yet to be developed."

In order to place the American Mercantile Marine on a competitive basis with the British a State subsidy is proposed by the United States Government. A direct subsidy of 34 million dollars is proposed and a fund of a hundred million dollars will be created, and lent to American ship owners at not more than 5 per cent. interest. Government-owned ships will be sold to Americans at prevailing rates, and in order to encourage shippers in the use of American ships deductions will be made for income tax on goods sent by American vessels. The Government will also create a non-profit making corporation to offer marine insurance to American vessels at cost. Legislation will be passed assuring at least 50 per cent of the immigration traffic to American ships.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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EGYPT AND INDIA

VIRTUALLY all the burning questions of European and Asiatic politics are wrapped up with the Egyptian situation. In the Near East the spectre of more war between Greece and Turkey with its incalculable possibilities of embroiling greater powers again terrifies the chancelleries of Europe.

The menace is a direct outgrowth of what Mohammedan India considers the "perfidy" of David Lloyd George. That dominating portion of India which is Islamistic and acknowledges the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliphate (or Turkish Empire) has not forgiven and will not forgive the British Prime Minister for agreeing in the Treaty of Sevres, after the World War, to assign Thrace to Greece. Indians declare they possess a solemn promise from the British government that such "homelands" of Turkey would not be severed from the Islamic realm.

Great Britain is not in position to undo the Treaty of Sevres and keep her promise to her hundreds of millions of Mohammedan subjects in India. Her inability to do so, as Mr. Sastri, India's representative at the Washington Conference publicly said on repeated occasions, is an important factor in the movement against British domination in India.

Thus some authorities feel that the British government, with its invincible genius for compromise, seeks to appease the Mohammedan universe with Egyptian "independence." The people of Egypt like the Islamic population of India, are loyal to the Caliphate, even though Egyptian soldiers fought under Allied banners in the World War after the Turks assailed the British on the Suez Canal.

British authorities do not conceal the necessity of a strong British hand over Egypt's foreign relations and particularly over the Suez Canal. That celebrated waterway, bequeathed to Queen Victoria by her adoring Disraeli as the most priceless achievement of his Premiership is as vital to the integrity of the British Empire as the Panama Canal is vital to the national security of the United States. Cut the Suez and you sever Britain's imperial jugular vein. Place it unrestrictedly at the disposal of a vengeful Egypt, ready perhaps some day to ally itself with an aggrieved Turkey and a sullen India, and Britain would take the first step in the direction of imperial suicide.

That is why David Lloyd George has determined to "watch his step" on the Nile. The thorn of Ireland having been removed from the British side, as the wily Welshman of Downing Street thinks, Egypt for itself, and for the immeasurable possibilities, dormant India is next to be pacified. If the Egyptians accept the pipe of peace London has offered Cairo, there can be little doubt India next will be asked to smoke from the same briar—the Englishman's favorite instrument.

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