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Rebellious Mexico

MEXICAN rebellion is nothing unique. When a new one looms on the horizon it is given but a passing notice. The rule is rebellion; the exception peace. Those belligerent outbreaks, however, are not due to an innate desire on the part of Mexican peons to spill blood. They are sponsored, led, and abetted by the civilized, Christian capitalists of other land.

Had Mexico nothing to contribute to the interests of international capital her family feuds, and bandit rapades, would be strictly considered her own affair. The rival factions could eliminate each other with impunity, and no voice of protest would disturb their recreations from the north of the Rio Grande. At Mexico, to use a biblical phrase, is "neither barren nor unfruitful." Her scarcely exploited natural resources are richest of any in the Western hemisphere. Approximately one-third of the world's silver supply is obtained from the mines of Mexico. Her bearing areas have attracted the attention of financial interests from every capitalized section of the globe. In agriculture, cattle raising, coffee and sugar plantations, and timber resources, Mexico offers a splendid opportunity to the anxious investors of "peaceful" countries.

With these advantages to her credit, we can little wonder that her domestic affairs have been a subject of considerable interest in the financial centres of this and other nations for some time. The destructive proclivities of rival bandit cliques who even go so far, at times, as to lose all respect and reverence for sacred property rights; the wanton extravagance of government officials, and their ruthless methods of levying and collecting taxes; the methods of terrorism resorted to, which inevitably result in scaring the wits out of foreigners residing in their midst, and who are not accustomed to seeing, or reading about, anything of a sanguinary nature in their home land; have called forth the righteous indignation of all countries whose ruling class has capital to invest.

What the world wants right now, we are told, is good and raw material. Mexico possesses both. She occupies a somewhat analogous position in America what Russia does in Europe. We do not require exceptional memories to bring to mind the attempts of the allies, both Teutonic and Entente, to secure strangle-hold on the natural resources of Russia. In spite of the commendable interest they evinced in their task, the results can scarcely be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Here, again, on this side, is another treasure-house of all those requisites essential to the proper development of industry and commerce. In addition, the situation is much brighter owing to the fact that the Mexican people have not attained the Bolshevik standard of defending themselves. Here, then, is a golden opportunity that must be taken advantage of.

In order to pave the way for the triumphal march of conquering capital, some good and sufficient reasons must be manufactured to warrant an intrusion into Mexican territory. The "disorder" method is considered the cheapest and best solution to this problem. If sufficient bandit groups do not already exist they can be nurtured by British and American capitalists in any quantity desired. The industrial interests of those two enlightened nations are well qualified to supply any deficiency in fighting equipment. Not alone on the battle scarred areas of France and Belgium have they demonstrated their ability in a martial direction but, right at home among their own populations, they have provided examples of military resource and strategy.

In the Mexican oilfields controlled by the Cowdray-Pearson interests the benign influence of bandit warriors has long been appreciated. As the Rockefeller interests provided and maintained a standing army of their own in the Colorado and Montana labor disturbances of a few years past, that was supplemented rather than replaced by government troops, so do we find in Mexico the British oil magnates employing mercenary bands to protect their property, and prevent the forces of the Carranza government from entering the oil districts over which these companies have assumed complete sovereignty.

When sufficient disorder results from such experiments, and especially when foreign lives and property are jeopardized, the reasons for intervention are obvious to all. It would not be in keeping with British and American "honor" to permit ferocious bandits to pillage the property and molest the lives of innocent people. The old biblical injunction about—whosoever poketh thee on the right jaw, adjust thy chin for a swat on the left jaw also—is all right for ordinary individual matters, but becomes automatically obsolete in the case of Mexican peons making faces at members of Anglo-Saxon stock.

One of the really touching episodes in the present Mexican rebellion is the paternal spirit displayed by British and American capitalists. Whatever differences of opinion may have heretofore prevailed among the members of those two camps, and, for that matter, still prevail on other issues, when it comes to Mexican intervention all other quarrels are forgotten and forgiven, while complete unanimity exists in regard to the necessity of "helping Mexico to help herself." On this point, too, we are presented with the beautiful spectacle of old antagonists in the newspaper field like the Los Angeles "Times" and "Examiner," amorously espousing a common cause. The fact that Hearst and the heirs of Otis are each possessors of landed estates in Mexico, appraised at several millions of dollars, has, we hasten to assure our readers, nothing whatever to do with the mutual devotion so recently displayed.

The great stumbling-block in the way of peace and progress is the Carranza Government. The place in the Sun formerly craved by the Hohenzollern dynasty is now aspired to by General Carranza. Diaz, the perpetual president, is lauded to the skies as a great statesman and patriot who sought amicable relations with all foreign governments while promoting the interests of his people at home. Nor can we greatly wonder at this eulogistic outburst when we consider that practically every concession awarded to foreign capital can be traced to its origin in the Diaz regime. Here, also, we find the genesis of those individual fortunes of the Hearst and Otis variety.

That barbarous Mexico and her Christian neighbors will become involved in war at a not far distant date is not at all unlikely. If war is averted it is only because of the fact that British and American captains of industry have secured through threats and diplomacy what would have been their prize through military channels. The proposition is that Mexico contains minerals, oil, foodstuffs, and other things that the world market demands. The Mexican methods of production, just like the South African methods at the end of the past century, are too crude and antique to place those requisites with sufficient rapidity where they are required. Britain and America possess the proper machinery for this kind of work. Having in many cases reached

the limit of investment at home they must either expand or decay. Foreign investment is imperative. But not all foreign lands are suitable fields for exploitation. Russia and Mexico are the two Cathays or Eldorados that magnetize capital. The former is impossible. Her people have adopted a stubborn, mulish attitude of wanting to socialize the means of production, and prevent altruistic parasites from other sections to inflict their brand of democracy and culture. Mexico must be the goat.

That neither Britain nor the U. S. are imbued with anything other than plain, unvarnished, mercenary motives is a fact known to every student. They cannot prevent the Socialist from understanding their game. History is too profuse with examples of other periods to allow us to ignore the conditions of the present.

As for the old cry of cruelties and atrocities on women and children, and the terrible oppression of the workers by an autocratic government, they will soon again be in evidence. But, while we fully realize that class society prevails on the south of the Rio Grande, just as on the north, we are still cognizant of the fact that labor is exploited in a much greater degree in the United States than in Mexico.

The eight-hour day, for which the I. W. W. and kindred organizations have been clamoring for almost two decades, is embodied in the Mexican constitution of 1917. Such a law does not exist in any state in the United States. The measures relating to child labor, so consistently advocated by the S. P. of A. ever since its inception, are, in Mexico, a part of the law of the land. Advanced legislation in regard to woman's status during the periods of parturition and lactation has been placed on the statute books, together with the enactment that the same compensation shall be paid for the same work without regard to sex or nationality.

The adoption of these reforms, however, have not abolished capitalism in Mexico, any more than the nostrums brought forward by pseudo-revolutionary organizations would have such an effect in America. These cannot be a part of the Socialist program. Our knowledge of class society leads us to the conclusion that it cannot be reformed. It must be abolished.

J. A. McD.

SOVIET WIRELESS REFUTES ANTI-BOLSHEVIK CALUMNY.

With a diabolical refinement the Capitalist Governments permit the circulation of all possible lies about Soviet Russia, but withhold from the public the Soviet Government's wireless messages which contain a refutation of them. One lie recently started from Warsaw and widely quoted in the British press was to the effect that the Bolsheviks are preparing to attack Poland. The following reply by the Russian wireless was, however, withheld by the British authorities:—

"Warsaw wireless reports state daily that the Soviet Government is planning a spring offensive against Poland. As proof of the truth of this report, it is stated that Trotsky has been appointed Minister of Railways, Polivanoff, the Czarist minister, has been made Minister of War, and that the Czarist General, Brussiloff, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief. It is further asserted that with the same end in view the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have been abolished and that a twelve hour day has been introduced. All these allegations are absolutely untrue. Trotsky is not Minister of Railways, but remains People's Commissary for War. Neither Polivanoff nor Brussiloff occupies any public post. The allegation that Soviet Russia is planning an offensive at the very moment that her armies are being turned, one by one, into Labor Armies, is simply stupid. The Soviet government has never even considered the question of jettisoning the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, and a twelve hour day has never been decreed."

The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Article No. 7.

THE TREND OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

In order to complete our analysis of the existing social order, and to appreciate to the full the task of future statecraft, it is essential that we examine the trend of social evolution today.

My last article revealed the necessity of close analysis of the economic structure of society, and traced the evolution of human society from ancient society to modern capitalism. It is now our task to submit modern capitalism to the searching rays of economic determinism, to ascertain the trend of the economic structure of modern society.

The change from Feudalism to modern Capitalism was an industrial revolution. As we have seen, the advent of machine production spelt the doom of individual production. Instead of the individual craftsman working with his own tools on his own raw material in his own home, we have large factories, elaborate machinery and vast masses of workers under one roof and one management. In other words, the change from Feudalism to modern Capitalism was the painful evolution of society from individual production to social production. But although Capitalism brought social production, it maintained the old concept of individual ownership of the essentials of wealth production, so that this contradiction between socialised production and individualist possession manifests itself, as Engels ably states, as "the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie."

This antagonism between workers and capitalists resulting from the individual possession of the machinery of wealth production, prepares the death-bed of modern Capitalism. Just as Capitalism was born in the death throes of Feudalism, so Socialism will come from the womb of decadent Capitalism.

Everywhere can we find ample evidence to justify this assertion.

We saw, in a previous article, that the tremendous economic gulf between the House of Have and the House of Havenot is the inevitable result of the private ownership of the machinery of wealth production. The individual ownership of that machinery compels the wage-earners to hand over to the possessing classes a very considerable portion of the wealth which they produce. **Surplus-value, created by the workers and appropriated by the capitalist class, is the means whereby the capitalist class live and have their being.**

Let us examine this socialised production and capitalist appropriation a little more closely.

The worker works for eight hours, but, for the greater part of that time he is laboring for the especial benefit of the capitalist class. He produces, that is, a greater quantum of wealth than he receives in wages. **All that he produces, over and above his wages, is divided among the capitalist class as rent, interest and profit. In other words, the working class produces more than it consumes.**

In Feudal society practically the whole of this Surplus-value was consumed by the class which appropriated it. This is not so today. A very considerable proportion of this Surplus-value is employed by the capitalist class to form new capital. There is a gradual and steady accumulation of capital, and, de facto, a greater and greater production of use-values, or commodities.

The inexorable law of capitalism is accumulation of capital, increase in output of wealth. But the consuming power of the workers is less than its productive power, so that we find the wheels of modern industry checked and even stopped by an over-supply of goods, which cannot be sold by the possessing class at a profit. Since the year 1825 these "industrial crises" have visited modern society at fairly regular intervals and with greater misery and

suffering with each industrial depression. Says Engels:

"In these crises, the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of exchange is in rebellion against the mode of production.*"

These industrial crises which sprang from the antagonism between socialized production and individual appropriation prepare the way for other and still greater crises. During the financial panic and general industrial chaos which such a panic brings in its train, the principle of "natural selection" is operative. It is the survival of the fittest in the realm of industrial warfare. The strongest and most powerful industrial and financial concerns are able to weather the storm at the expense of their smaller and less powerful antagonists. In other words, **the crises which spring from the individual appropriation of the social production of wealth, result in still greater accumulations of capital, in still further increasing the economic gulf between capitalist and wage-slave.**

The economic antagonisms of modern society are still further increased by the absolute necessity of new and larger markets. The tendency of modern capital to accumulate at the expense of the power of consumption of the mass of the people, forces the capitalist to search for markets abroad. At first this was no very difficult task. Africa, Asia and parts of South America offered him a new and a vast market for his constantly increasing supply of commodities. But capitalistic methods of production, seeking new and greater markets for its over-plus of capital, cannot forever continue its mad race. The time comes when the capitalist system of production has established itself all over the world, when the difference between the capitalist's variable and his constant capital becomes acute. Overproduction has become chronic; the struggle for markets becomes more intense; industrial crises follow each other with greater rapidity—larger and more powerful combinations of capital crush under their iron heel the smaller and weaker organizations.

Trusts, Combines, Price-rings and Kartells—these are the inevitable result of capitalist accumulation. The capitalist class are forced to recognize the economic futility of industrial competition and the economic advantages of combination. These financial and commercial combinations grow in magnitude and in power, and the capitalists who preside over these cosmopolitan combinations take to themselves powers which no Feudal king possessed.

The Trust is the last refuge of demoralized Capitalism, as it is the finest example of socialized production. In such a combination the problem of the social production of wealth has been completely solved, and the highest plane of economic evolution heretofore has been reached.

But we must not forget that if the Trust is the last word of economic evolution upon social production it is certainly the last word upon industrial monarchy. **The Trust is the best example of Capitalism of the inexorable antagonism between socialized production and individual appropriation.**

Feudalism gave place to Capitalism, and as the result, individual production made way for social production. So do we find that Capitalism gives place to Socialism and as the result social production and, individual appropriation make way for social production and social ownership.

Let us hear what Karl Marx has to say upon this all-important phase of scientific Socialism. He says: "That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization of this ex-

propriation of the many capitalists by the few, develops on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the world-market, this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The land of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

The Trust or Society—that is the choice which lies before us. On the one hand the class ownership of the machinery of wealth production for the purpose of class possession of surplus-value: on the other hand the social ownership and social control of that machinery for the well-being of all.

The antagonism inherent in modern Capitalism speeds the day of economic emancipation. Industrial crises, world wars, financial panics, increased capitalist combinations—they spell the doom of capitalist appropriation. More and more does the State encroach upon the powers of capitalist and landlord. In many cases, the State has deemed it essential to assume the ownership of great monopolies. And there are not wanting those people who see in this State ownership of industry a form of Socialism.

It cannot be too often proclaimed that the Socialist Commonwealth does not consist of State owned and operated factories and mines. Capitalism, it is true, forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production into State property, but those State owned industries can, by no stretch of the imagination, be called Socialized Industries. But it does show the way to accomplish this revolution. It gives the workers political power, it enables the mass of the people to direct and guide the government of the State, and it will be the next step in social evolution when the workers of the world unite, throw off the chains of economic servitude, and turn these Trusts and State-owned industries into **Socialized means of the production and exchange of wealth.**

In other words, **Socialism is the historical sequence of modern Capitalism.**

Next article: "The Soul of Man and Socialism."

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Economic Causes of War

Article No. 4.

Why did Russia go into the Great War? For the purpose of an extension to the Mediterranean and the acquisition of Constantinople. In 1914, a Russian Dr. Mitrofaroff, said: "The expansion southward is for Russia a historical, political and economic necessity, and the foreign power which stands in the way is an enemy power. . . . It is briefly and precisely, everywhere and at every point throughout the Levant Russia has been and is being, in trying to solve her most vital problems in the Eastern question, the resistance of Germany, acting either alone or as the ally of Austria. . . . It has become quite clear to the Russians that everything remains as it is the road to Constantinople will have to be carried through Berlin."

On June 3rd, 1914, in the "London Times" we read this: "There are signs that Russia has done her defensive strategy. The increased guns in the Russian Army Corps, the growing efficiency of the navy, and the improvements made or planned in strategic railways are, again, matters which cannot be left out of account. These things are well calculated to make the Germans anxious." All previous British policy in the East was opposed to the Russian possession of Constantinople. The Crimean War was fought to prevent this Russian expansion. The "Daily Chronicle" war book says: "It was in British interests at that time to resist the natural ambition of Russia for an outlet to the Mediterranean." Russian ports all being frozen up during the winter months Constantinople would have been the all year port for the shipment of their agricultural products. Russia fought Turkey on behalf of the massacred Christians in 1878-79, and at that time we had a duel of platitudes between the political parties of England. The following extract from McCarthy's "History of our own Times," illustrates the situation:

Gladstone: "Be just and fear not."
Beaconsfield: "No sentiment."
"The public conscience," said one, "the interests of Britain," said the other. "The Crimes of Turkey"—one cry: "The ambitions of Russia"—the other cry.
The position of Turkey was precarious, and when Russia headed for Constantinople Britain sent a fleet up the Dardanelles and checked her. Miliukoff, the Russian Foreign Secretary of March, 1916, who had declared himself against the neutralization of the Dardanelles, said: "The timely realization of the peril of the Berlin-Baghdad movement helped Russian diplomacy to attain agreement among the Allies last April (1915) regarding the disposal of the Straits."

Russia purchased Austria's neutrality in the Russo-Turkish war by recognizing Austria's right to an indefinite occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina which territory Serbia desired. Previous to 1908 Russia had only used Serbia as a pawn to keep Austria quiet. In 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, this move being approved of by Russia in exchange for a promise of Austria's diplomatic support when the question of the Straits was raised, with a view to the abrogation of sundry European treaties prohibiting the access of Russian warships to the Black Sea. Owing to Austria failing to keep this promise Russia turned and used Serbia as a tool against her. Russia having her designs frustrated after the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars started to expand Eastward to the Pacific Ocean. She became active in Korea and Manchuria, and between 1901-04, American commerce suffered considerably from Russian competition. Russia occupied Newchang in 1901, during the Boxer uprising, and established a measure of military control over Manchuria. In the same year the Chinese Eastern Railway was opened under Russian control. Russia pursued her policy by discrimination of railway rates, diverting trade through the port of Dalny and subsidizing fourteen steamers, and by advancing

large sums to Chinese merchants (to purchase Russian goods) through the Russo-Chinese Bank. The same bank established a commercial bank to sell Russian oils and sugar. At this time, when foreigners were excluded from the interior, Russian subjects were to be met everywhere, building flour mills, developing mines and selling Russian goods. Because of Russian oil being imported free from tax American sales of kerosene at Newchang fell from 3,172,000 gallons in 1901 to 603,180 gallons in 1902, and American flour was almost driven from the Chinese market. Russia obtained Port Arthur when Russia, France and Germany stepped in after the Japanese-Chinese war and told Japan to keep her hands off the spoils.

Then, again, Russian economic interests lay also in the vast timber limits of Korea. In 1903 the Royal Timber Company, in which the Tsar was well represented, scooped up millions of profits in the Yalu River valley. This led to the Russo-Japanese war, when the pagan Japanese were financed by good Christian Americans to slay their Russian Christian brethren. After the Japs had defeated Russia, Japan retained control of the railway I have mentioned, the financial system of Manchuria, with a certain amount of control over the currency, and established a strong banking system. After the restoration of peace, American trade in Manchuria seemed to have a clear field. The subsidized Russian lines to Port Arthur and Dalny had disappeared and the disorganized conditions of the country had caused the Russian flour mills to close so that American flour became in greater demand than ever before. American kerosene was in full control of the Eastern market. Since 1908 and 1909, however, the American trade has again fallen off because Japan controls the railway and to a certain extent the financial system and diverts trade by discriminating rates just as Russia had done. (I will give the reader more details when dealing with Japan): This curtailment of Russian policy in the East brought her back again to expansion southwards, toward Persia and the Mediterranean Sea.

The policy toward Persia brought about its division with Britain in 1907 against the wishes of the Persians. The "Daily News," January 11th, 1912, said: "On the 31st August, 1907, Sir Ed. Grey made a solemn covenant in which this country and Russia mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia. What has Sir Ed. Grey done to keep the pledge he made in our name? He has defended Russia's action in seizing North Persia; he has insisted in Persia putting her finances under the charge of the bitterest enemy in that country of British enterprise. What does he intend to do? Two things—to seize Southern Persia and so complete the annihilation of Persia's integrity and independence and to help build a railway across Persia which will connect Russia with India. Sir Ed. Grey's record in Persia is to have undone the work of more than a century of British statesmanship."
"Why has Sir Ed. Grey chosen this disastrous course? Nobody dares to suggest that he or anybody in England believes that the annihilation of Persia or the dismemberment of China are good in themselves. They are universally confessed to be disasters; but it is suggested by Sir Edward's scant following that they are part of a greater good. What is that greater good? The key to Sir Ed. Grey's policy is the fatal antagonism to Germany. . . . The time has come to state with a clearness which cannot be mistaken that Sir Ed. Grey as Foreign Secretary is impossible."

The secret treaty with Russia during the war gave her full power in Northern Persia and Constantinople. Britain was to acquire the neutral zone of Persia. (I hope to deal in more detail with Persia in another article). All the Liberal papers of any standing in England were opposed to Grey's policy and even hinted he was bringing on an European

Armageddon. If we read the British "White Papers" of the Great War, we find in No. 17 a report from Buchanan, Ambassador at St. Petersburg: "Russia could not allow Austria to crush Serbia and become a dominant power in the Balkans, and if she feels sure of the help of France she will face all risks of a war." The powder was ready for the match, and that Russia's attitude was the match is the conclusion I have arrived at through a study of the British White Papers. Again, Sir Auckland Geddes, speaking on the Man Power Bill, January 15th, 1918, in the British Commons, said: "It is right that the country should realize what the events in Russia mean to those nations which came into the war as a result of Russia's action in 1914." (Poor Belgium). And in the report of an interview with Baron Rosen, late Russian Ambassador to the United States of America, the "Manchester Guardian," February 27th, 1918, says: "As one who saw the inside of the Tsar diplomacy, I knew the war was coming as far back as 1912. Behind the curtain of Russian secret diplomacy I saw that war was being made inevitable by the rising tide of revolution from below. A clique of Ministers round the Tsar's court knew that their only hope to stave off the revolution was by setting the armies marching."

A war to "defend small nations"; and yet, "John Bull's" poster in July, 1914, had written in large letters: "To Hell with Serbia," and Sir Ed. Grey in the British White Papers, July 24th, 1914, No. 6, said "Direct British interest in Serbia was nil, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by the British public."

PETER T. LECKIE.

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.
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EDITORIAL

MENE TEKEL

FOR the past year, all eyes have been focussed on Russia. Bolshevism has been the all-absorbing topic, and the movements, virility, progress and stability of its Soviet Government have been—and are—the key to the main activities of the Great Powers. The dilatory conferences, the vacillating policies, the blundering diplomacy of allied councils, have been but the reflex of the varying, yet continually successful struggle of Bolshevik Russia for proletarian supremacy. And the end is not yet, nor is triumph secure—completely. But the field has been prepared, the conditions evolved out of which alone can that triumph come. With that fundamental and essential task accomplished, the portals of the West have been opened to the new saga of the Dominant East.

The economic extremity and social confusion of the world are the inevitable result of capitalist production. The war has aggravated the situation. Still, the war was but the medium through which the prime cause acted, is itself, indeed, the necessary result of that production. Were the war the cause of social destitution and suffering, with its cessation society would soon right itself. But it isn't and society does not right itself—and cannot, for the main cause remains unaltered.

Without the foreign market, capital cannot exist; to gain that market was the war fought. Now that the war has been fought, and without winning the market, capitalist society is in trouble and desperation. Industrial stagnation, with all its concomitant detail, lies dark as midnight upon a world prostrate in the strangle-hold of capital. For five fat and luscious years, the war market tickled the palate of profit. But it also co-ordinated production in complete social co-operation, directed and controlled by monopoly. With the war market collapsed, and the peace market a financial hope, social organization in terms of social co-operation, finds its further movement barred by this monopoly ring, and the panic-fraught effort of this financial power to maintain its commercial dominion and extend its orgy of accumulation, results in and explains the kaleidoscopic changes and vacillations of international politics.

Capital suffered defeat in this first triumph of Sovietism. Foiled in its attempt to control rich Russia by force, it adopted the infamous "cordon sanitaire," endeavored to maintain its supremacy by isolating Russia from the world. But the East was the only open sesame of the social forces of developed capital. Without the East those productive forces, demanding expansion, could not be exercised. There was the one source of supplies to stay the march of industrial stagnation, and social destitution of war despoiled Europe; the one place in the Sun where exploitation might have been carried on for yet a little longer. But the blockade closed the door in the face of opportunity. By isolating the East, Western stagnation was intensified; American finance and exchange became impossible; the Allies of war became rivals in the new alignment of commerce—the very end and purpose of the Allies was definitely blocked by their own blockade.

Now comes the inevitable result, and Germany—first of the Western nations—has started on the toil-

some steep of social regeneration. The social reconstruction of profit, of watchful waiting for opportunity, of class privilege and interest, begins at last to yield to the pressure of social necessity. And that necessity must succeed; and on the rising flood of that necessity will come the victory of proletarian philosophy. Willing workers are aplenty, means and material of production are abundant, consumers a mighty multitude, and monopoly, like the flaming sword of Eden, stands between them and the maintenance of life, both individual and social. Before such a combination, no privilege or class, or profit can long survive.

The capitalist press informs us that the latest offspring of statecraft is a royalist bid for supremacy. Haply it may. But the function of the capitalist press is to dissemble the news, and it fulfils the function with an efficiency uncanny in its versatile cunning and duplicity. We know how it handled Soviet Russia; the Great War; Democracy; International Labor. We know how it handles every situation in which the producers are vitally concerned. We know further, that the conditions of Central Europe are conditions of revolution, not of reform, conditions where society and its necessities must take precedence over dynasties and privilege. It is significant that the industrial regions are in revolt, that Republican troops are fighting, not royalists, but Spartacans, and that the shouting is loud on every subject, but the subject that lies nearest to the heart of capital — the suppression of the working class.

The buffoonery, the sophistry, the frenzy of the ostrich press, is evidence of frustrated interest,—the consternation of an effete ruling class, gazing on the strange writing on the wall. Without Russia, and without Germany capitalist civilization is doomed, and with Russia, and with Germany, comes revolution.

R.

NEWS PRINT.

ORDINARILY, we manifest but a passing interest when we read of rising prices, and the certain inconvenience that obtains in the intervening period until readjustment takes place of prices relative to that of the commodity immediately affected. But we are now shocked into a more than passing degree of interest by the skylarking antics of the price of news-print which, in Vancouver, since our last issue has stepped up from 6½¢ to 10¢ per pound, with the promise of a stride forward to 14 cents as soon as our rather shaky financial structure betrays evidence of ability to withstand another application.

A recent court decision decreed that since news-print is not a "domestic" commodity, government regulations concerning prices do not apply to it. The immediate affect of this is a wider market and a consequent greater demand, and Canadian paper manufacturers are free again to sell paper wherever they can. The price of news-print in Seattle to-day is 16 cents per pound, and the effect of the sudden rise has proven disastrous to the life and well-being of many U. S. publications which, among intelligent men and women anyhow, never will be missed. The immediate effect upon us is that we must increase our foreign rate, which is now 16 issues instead of 20 for one dollar. Our foreign subscribers will kindly take notice.

The conclusion of peace has allowed European publishers a free hand to attempt output upon a pre-war basis, but while the consumption of paper supply has nearly reached the volume then used, the sources of supply of raw material have not all been available to the present market.

The largest timber port in the world is Riga, on the Baltic Sea, which has practically been a dead port since 1914. Those markets for paper which were formerly supplied from the forests of the Baltic are now eating into supplies from other sources, and the effect of the blockade on Russia is felt wherever the printed page is read.

THE I. L. P. CONFERENCE

BY a vote of 529 to 144, the I. L. P. Conference at Glasgow resolved to withdraw from the Second International (Geneva), and at the same time rejected a motion to affiliate with the Third International (Moscow), by 472 votes against 206. A

resolution for consultation, enquiries, and a special conference to be summoned by the Swiss Socialist Party to draw up the basis of another International meantime called the Fourth was adopted, receiving 529 votes.

This desire to occupy a half-way Socialist house is characteristic of I.L.P. nursery politics, and in leaving the wreck of the Second International they have followed the lead of most of the parties of Central and Western Europe, who, like themselves are experiencing internal discontent and a prevailing uncertainty in the matter of policy. The increasing class-consciousness and education among the workers within organizations such as the I. L. P., which is not class-conscious as a body, must necessarily lead to these vacillating policies, and while such evidence of disagreement exists within their own ranks as is shown by the vote recorded, and which no doubt finds a parallel among the other parties with whom they hope to confer, there surely can result no unity or common understanding.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Some surprise has been occasioned the Dominion Labor Party by the refusal of Winnipeg Local of the S. P. of C. to co-operate with them in the Manitoba Provincial Elections to be conducted this summer. The D. L. P. evidently does not yet understand that we do not stand for the reform of any institution under capitalism—not even the criminal code. Our activities have always been directed towards the complete overthrow of capitalism, and to that end we have concentrated our attention upon the education of our fellowmen who are engaged in wealth production and who are exploited in the process. Our educational policy is based entirely upon an explanation of the historical process of man's development, and of the situation in which he finds himself today, so that he may understand the events with which he is immediately connected, and the underlying causes of their being. No party or organization which devotes itself to what it considers to be the proper readjustment of the tail-ends of capitalist entanglements can have an alliance with us. Sometimes it is very hard to distinguish the difference between the right wing of labor, and the left wing of the bourgeoisie. The Dominion Labor Party occupies what is to us an uninhabitable house.

We are asked by Local Smithers to publish the amounts received towards the Socialist Hall (building fund) there. Further donations will not be refused, as some work is necessary to finish what has already been done.

An enquiry is to hand from Blairmore, Alberta, where the comrades propose organizing a local, so that educational work may be carried on systematically.

Our Here and Now column is greater in amount this issue than last, but we are losing ground on individual subscriptions. Comrades are requested to see that renewals in their districts are secured. District lists will be supplied on request.

The price of news-print means the high cost of living to the Western Clarion. Other papers, capitalist, labor and near-Socialist, carry unpicturesque advertising matter that usually is as great a nuisance as it is an eyesore to the reader, besides taxing his patience in exploring the columns. We have been able to maintain the Clarion without the inclusion of these irritating blotches, let us continue to so maintain it.

A facetious wag suggests that the price of news-print is accounted for by the inflation of paper currency.

HERE AND NOW.

Following, one dollar each — T. Wight, J. B. Shiels, J. Fraser, A. J. Kivi, G. M. Barrett, C. F. Gale, J. Harrington, J. Turnbull, R. Norris, Jno. A. Evans, T. Hanwell, Alex. Shepherd, J. E. Palmer, Harris Bennett, F. H. James, A. Leopold, K. Dengg, J. J. Albers, J. Smith, M. Gordon, S. E. White, J. Grieder, R. F. Mackenzie, H. Schwartz, F. Archibald, M. Goudie.

Following, two dollars each—Morgan Cassin, J. A. McD., Joe Johnson, J. R. Wilkinson, Wm. Hart, Alf Emery.

Following, \$1.50 each—S. Lowery, R. Sinclair, B. A. Walker.

Following, four dollars each—T. Feary, F. J. Connert, J. F. Maguire, R. Inglis, B. E. Polinkos, \$6; N. Booth, \$5; H. C. Mitchell, \$2.50; Mrs. Mathieson, \$3; J. J. MacDonald, \$5; W. Breeze, \$7; A. McEwan, 50 cents; A. E. Faulkner, \$3. Total, 27th April to 10th May, inclusive, \$90.50.

Co-operative Societies and Revolution

THE Co-operative movement is a creation of petty bourgeois ideology. It is an attempt by sections of the working-class to mitigate some of the evils of Capitalism as they affect themselves, by entering into the fields of capitalist manufacture and trading on their own account.

Co-operative trading is capitalist trading, though a large number of small shareholders are involved, and both share capital and dividends are limited.

Co-operative trading, like all capitalist trading, has a corrupting tendency, and creates in the workers engaged in it a bourgeois psychology and the employers' spirit. Hence, it is not uncommon even to find cases of gross sweating by co-operative societies, and the general conditions of co-operative employees differ little from those of employees in similar private firms. As Co-operative trading is carried on within the capitalist system, and Co-operatives are compelled by their customers to sell at the market rate, they could not remain solvent if they were to raise the conditions of their employees much above the general capitalist standard. As a matter of fact, when profits beyond the assigned limit for dividend are made, they are usually devoted, not to increasing wages, but to reducing prices, or extending the scope of the enterprise.

The corrupting influence of co-operative Capitalism is shown by the fact that co-operative employees have found it necessary to band themselves together in a special organization of their own, because the ordinary trade unions are reluctant to press co-operative committees to grant trade union conditions, to their employees. The lockout of members of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees by the Co-operatives last year is a striking instance of the kinship between capitalist and Co-operative trading. Co-operative societies of producers, in which all the employees are partners in the enterprise and take an equal share of its profits, avoid many of the objectionable characteristics of Capitalism, which are inevitably acquired when the enterprise is owned by consumers and shareholders who do not work in it, but are the employers of the producers. Nevertheless, even the producers' co-operatives cannot avoid being modified by their capitalist environment, and must inevitably conform very largely to its conditions. Moreover, Co-operative trading by produc-

ers has a tendency to separate these producers from the mass of the proletariat, and to obscure their realization of the class struggle.

As the basis of co-operative trading and manufacture is capitalist, the co-operative societies tend to oppose the proletarian revolution. In Russia, the Co-operative Societies took up an attitude of bitter opposition to the Soviet power, and allowed themselves to be used for counter-revolutionary ends by all sections of the bourgeoisie. When the Co-operative Bank was the only non-Soviet bank remaining, it allowed itself to become a bulwark of counter-revolutionary forces. The Soviet Government has striven to bring about the absorption of the co-operatives into the general machinery of the Co-operative State, and to strip them of their power for evil.

The Allied Governments recognized the counter-revolutionary tendency of the co-operatives when they offered to allow trading through them, and not through the Soviet Government. The representatives of the Russian co-operatives in London are hostile to the Soviets. The intention of the Allies was to re-establish private trading in Russia, and to bolster up the power of the co-operatives in opposition to the Soviets.

British co-operatives possess extensive productive and distributive machinery. If a clash should arise between Capitalism and a reformist Labor Government, the co-operatives would probably use their machinery in support of the Labor Government. But the Co-operatives would either act against, or, at the least, hold aloof from a Proletarian Revolution, until that Revolution had certainly conquered the power of State, when the Co-operatives might possibly offer their services to the revolutionary power in order to stave off their own extinction.

In a Communist society, the co-operatives, as they now exist, could have no more than a temporary place; all their shareholding dividend and private trading apparatus must be swept away. The productive and distributive industries in which the co-operatives are concerned, must be carried on on the same lines as other Socialised industries. The workers in the industries now under the co-operatives must have, under Communism, the same workers' control that applies to workers in other industries. —Workers' Dreadnought (London), April 17, 1920.

The Old Story

AFTER a "fair and impartial trial," before an upright judge, and an open-minded jury of "equals," eight men have been declared not only lacking in respect to the majesty of law, but guilty of conspiracy to overthrow the order and authority of the existing regime. Which came upon us neither with jolt nor surprise. In this charming age of capitalist democracy how could the result be otherwise?

The chief lesson of the affair is the old, old lesson of the social ignorance of the slave of his slavery. It is this ignorance that is the fountainhead of governmental power, and its ethic of privilege, and while that ignorance remains it is in vain that individuals "kick against the pricks." Social life conditions foster social discontent, thrust that discontent more cogently upon the social consciousness, yet, at the same time wreak heavy vengeance upon whoever gives voice to that discontent, and preaches the crusade of the inevitable revolution.

To be spokesman for the proletariat is a doubtful honor—and a certain risk. None the less, while society is herded in slavery there will be spokesmen; while life's necessities are frustrated and denied, there must be spokesmen. For with the passage of time, chaos, deprivation and devastation must curl deeper and darker in slave society, and for the preservation of its very existence, society must move, must act, must take the onward step. But the onward step is revolution, since no society can progress from chaos to peace without substituting a new social order, and no autocracy, however strong, no law, however drastic, and no force however powerful, can obviate its certainty.

But this movement is not caused, nor is it brought about by individuals or by organizations. Nor is it hindered by them. It comes to pass because of the forceful necessities generated by the mode of production within society itself. Man and his organizations are but the reflex of those social forces, the media through which they react on society. These forces are the wider and aggregated products of social evolution, and are quite unaffected by human legislation, regardless of class and its desires. Still this does not detract in any way from the worth and work of those who blaze the trail. Rather does it enhance their prestige, since knowing the conditions of social change, they are yet great enough and virile enough to face the powers arrayed against them, cognisant of the struggle ahead, and the uncertainty of the movement behind.

Nevertheless, the social change cannot come until the social potentialities of the system have been completely developed. The world is now being intensively combed over for capitalist opportunities, and this combing process will help to stay the final collapse of capitalism. While the productive forces can supply society with semi-necessities, it would seem that society can continue to exist, even amidst appalling misery and destitution.

Both bourgeoisie and proletariat are driven along, they know not whither, by forces they do not comprehend. It is this misunderstanding, this impotency of reasoning power, when confronted with social sentiment, that enables the powers of reaction to ride rough shod over the forces of progress,—that permits repression to triumph over freedom, that darkens the councils of proletarian interest,

WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION

WE have heard much lately regarding the female question. The bourgeois press in every civilized country is exceedingly generous in bestowing bouquets on the fair sex and the part they have played in the war. Whole columns have been taken up eulogizing her heroism as a Red Cross nurse, and what is more vital to the capitalist, her ability to take man's place in industry. In England, some years previous to the outbreak of the little altercation between Germany and England, there was quite a movement among a certain section of the female element, well known as suffragettes, advocating votes for women. Many were the tactics these fanatics pursued, and many were the amusing scenes that occurred when they came in contact with the myrmidons of the law. Under the martial leadership of the astute Mrs. Pankhurst and her amazonic progeny, they met defeat after defeat. At this period, they were much of a nuisance to the master class, and the press with its staff of crawling lick-spittle artists, ever ready to pander to the needs of the masters, reviled them on every occasion. Woman's place was in the home, nursing kids and frying mush for their gentle and loving husbands, to whom they belonged. Then came the quarrel; the suffragettes immediately buried the hatchet and like the good petit-bourgeois they are, they formed patriotic societies, war-baby homes, etc., in order to help win the war. They stumped the country, delivering speeches to the crowds of assembled workers, telling them to fight for their country. In the course of time, as the man-power began to be depleted, and the replenishing of gun fodder began to assume an alarming aspect, they pointed out how the girl could do her bit for the empire by following out the doctrine of old Jehovah to his chosen flock by being fruitful and multiplying.

But this wasn't all that woman could do. Men being more urgently required elsewhere to do their masters' bidding, woman, was needed to take his place as a producer, thereby releasing the lucky or unlucky male member (whichever you will), in order that he could prove the truth or otherwise of that old adage: "One Englishman is worth a half-dozen Germans," not to mention the uncountable number of Frenchmen, etc. (Proletarians of other countries, please note).

And now we hear that woman has proven herself. No longer is the home her place, no sir! She is even better than her previous lord and master was at the job, and therefore she must stay. What all the ranting and tearing of the imbecile suffragettes could not accomplish, economic conditions have brought forth in full blossom. Woman has been emancipated from the hovel and few pots and pans she called home. She is necessary today in the process of commodity production, and she's got the vote. All hail to freedom! But is she free? Far from it.

Instead of now relying upon the husband's wages to keep the house going, she is obliged to compete with him on the slave market.

The socialist has nothing to fear from the admission of women into industry on such a scale as it bids fair to assume. We have been reviled long enough with wanting to break up the home, yet methinks there is very little home left even now for the workers.

Capitalism stands condemned. It is hoist by its own petard. The bonds of private ownership are cracking. They must and will burst asunder. Socialism will triumph and Marx will be vindicated of all the vile calumnies heaped upon him by vermin who never could nor never will be able to understand him. So we invite both men and women to pull for the shore, for the harbor lights are shining brightly, and only on reaching its shores will woman as well as man, be emancipated from the greatest blight in history—wage-slavery. J. C.

and clouds the social transition with the storming fury of class conflict. By experience alone—and that slowly—do we learn, and the social vision, and social sentiment of freedom will only come with the impending reconstruction of the social forces of production. Through chaos and confusion we are now heading for that reconstruction, and from the ashen plains of dire necessity will spring the new organization of social sanity. R.

Feudal Institutions

IN my last article to the "Clarion" dealing with the events occurring during man's early career we saw that the chief agents responsible for the overthrow of primitive communism were the discovery of agriculture, the domestication of animals and the inauguration of human slavery. The settling down to town life organized on a political basis brought into play other forces necessary to control the antagonisms created by the free development of private property. The State as a power of coercion had to be installed to keep the lower orders in their proper place. When the old order of things had disappeared and the new machinery of law set in motion, Greek and Roman institutions grew and developed, raising the people to still greater efforts and higher achievements. The flocks and herds of domesticated animals were brought in close proximity to the town, to be fed on tame grasses and raised to a higher standard of perfection. The demand of the people to meet their increased desires accelerated the movements of the slave owners. The principal means of production at this period being that of Chattel slavery, the burden of maintaining the city populace fell principally upon the slave. The products of slave labor were produced in large quantities, enriching the property owners beyond the power of their imagination. The leisure time provided by the institution of Chattel slavery presented the opportunity for the study of art, science and philosophy, and the rather inquisitive nature of the Greek led him to indulge in the effort to solve the riddle of the universe. Greece was the cradle of crude philosophy and science, but the products of the Greek mind only lasted so long as outside interference of military prowess kept without her Athenian walls. The Roman Patrician is more in harmony with the desire for power and the accumulation of riches. The leisure time of the ruling class of Rome was given more to the building up of a large army and a military State. The perfection of a military machine, with the desire for the seizure of more territory, moved the Roman rulers with their armies towards Greece when they succeeded in annexing the classical home of the ancient world. The conquerors carried back to Rome the products of Greek art and many of the Greek philosophers.

The success of Roman arms enriched the empire, quickening the pace for greater ambitions for wider fields to establish a market for the huge mass of products produced by slaves. The Roman provinces, flooded with Chattel slaves captured in war were highly productive, producing large volumes of luxuries that swelled the Patrician purse, thus creating a band of drunken Epicures indulging in every possible vice to satisfy their strange desires. Princes of note, armed with knives and daggers are recorded to have visited the fields of slave owners, murdering slaves for the mere pleasure of killing. In the event of injury a freeman or slave had no redress, but the offenders being of the higher orders escaped with impunity. Roman judges gave no quarter to those of inferior rank when brought before the court for disobedience. Roman law, not unlike modern capitalist law, was a conspiracy of the rich against the poor. Violent eruptions developed within, owing to the degradation of the rich and the oppression of slaves; this with other inequalities among the civil population, plunged the Roman world into a period of retrogression. So unbearable were the conditions forced upon the slaves, that open revolt threatened to engulf rich and poor alike.

During the Roman conquest peoples from many quarters of the globe were brought under Roman subjection, and following the success of Roman arms, commerce and industry were developed, bettering the condition of the conquered peoples in many cases, but the flourishing period of Roman arms reached its zenith when her producing class were reduced to poverty. The wealth necessary to maintain a huge army taxed the farming class, bleeding them almost to death, driving them in desperation

to abandon the land and flock into the cities, thus creating the necessity for the state to plunder the granaries of the conquered estates to feed her starving citizens. The great highways of commerce and industrial progress now show signs of decay. Markets for slave products begin to flounder, shaking the slave institutions to their very foundation. The owners of large estates were in many instances compelled to free their slaves. The release of the downtrodden, despised and rejected human automatons revived the idea of the lost communities. A revival of the virtues of communism gripped the brains of men that now begin to strive for the destruction of the advanced stage of human progress, to return to the old period of barbarism. We have instances of men in this modern age preaching the destruction of the machine to return to the old system of petty competition and handicraft production. Conflict raged between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction which ended in the extermination of millions of blind and reactionary communists. The reigns of Claudius, Caligula, and Nero were blotted with the blood of the victims of a bunch of fakir disciples, leading the people along the pathway of retrogression. Pliny, after the wholesale murder of ancient working people, looked with compassion upon the motherless and fatherless children running hither and thither, naked and bleeding, homeless and starving. A strong feeling of remorse crept over the guilty conscience, and Pliny, in order to save the children, erected the first charitable institution in human history, an institution that has been a curse to human society ever since its inauguration.

From now on the Roman Empire withered and crumpled. The endless struggle internally, and the continuous movement of arms to combat the invasion of the barbarians of the North, brought the Empire to ruin.

When the Roman slave-masters were relieved from the obligation of caring for their slaves, the responsibility of maintaining the freemen rested with the individual receiving his or her liberty. In many cases the liberated slave remained on the estate of his old master, paying so much for the use of the land, thus fertilizing the nucleus of the Feudal social system that must follow the system of Chattel slavery.

The invasion of Italy began in the year 406 by the Goths, and by the year 476, the Northern barbarian tribes in great numbers rushed down upon Rome and completely overcame the tottering Empire, when General Odoacer was proclaimed King of the old capital.

The chiefs of the Germanic tribes were made Land Barons; then again the land was subdivided by the new lords among other successful warriors, but the rank and file of the people were freemen, serfs, and slaves performing duties similar to those in use during Chattel slavery.

From the village communities of Britain evolved the Feudal system, but by a different process from that of Central Europe. Those early communities had their chiefs, but like the other members they were under the dictatorship of the village council of deacons. As those ancient communities were subject to invasion from other neighboring tribes, the need arose for the erection of a castle with a high tower built on the most conspicuous spot near the village. This castle was enclosed in a huge enclosure protected by water and a draw bridge. The chief and his family were placed in the castle to be on the watch from the tower and warn the villagers of an approaching danger. The new residence demanded additional duties which necessitated a change in the old custom of selecting the chief annually, consequently from this point the chief held his position for life. The leisure time acquired was given to study by the chief when all the cunning of priestcraft and trickery of every description was applied for self aggrandizement. After the Roman invasion the village chiefs and Roman officials cunningly devised schemes that deceived the commoners in making the chief's position hereditary. At a later date, with his hereditary position, the chief seized the castle with its enclosures and all its fortifications in perpetuity.

The chiefs being clothed in the role of Feudal Lords appointed their king when titles of ownership were granted to the successful manipulators, when again the land would be divided and subdivided among the bravest of warriors.

Feudalism now begins its career with a complete set of institutions, religious and political, differing in degree from those adapted to the system of Chattel slavery.

GEO. PATON

"Progress"

"PROGRESS—the advancement of the world, moral, mental and material as exhibited in history." (Encyc. Americana).

There is no question in anyone's mind that society has progressed greatly during the past few thousand years. This rapid progress, in the last analysis is largely due to a certain section of society possessing leisure. Of course this does not necessarily mean that "leisure" alone is the main factor. There are other factors which we have to take into consideration. Before the days of slavery, the human race progressed very slowly comparatively speaking. There are certain individuals who claim that there was no progress during the days of primitive communism. The invention of the bow and arrow, the discovery of fire, the invention of the canoe and other epoch-making inventions should be sufficient to convince those sceptics. But it must be remembered that according to most authorities, the human race existed under primitive communism for over 100,000 years. Comparing that with the few thousand years of slavery, we notice a huge difference.

That difference is due as stated before, to the presence of a leisure class. When man is compelled to devote his entire time towards satisfying his wants, he has very little time to devote to the liberal arts, to analyzing effects, and searching for causes. "Time is the room of human development." (Marx).

With the advent of slavery, a certain section of society was able to live without working and thus had a considerable amount of leisure. Some members of the ruling class devoted their time to sport, others to debauchery, while a few busied themselves with Art, Music, Science, etc.

Prof. Odin, of Sofia, in a rather comprehensive work published many years ago proved beyond a shadow of doubt that 95 per cent. of the geniuses of the past few hundred years were possessed by the ruling class. The remaining 5 per cent. were either proteges of the wealthy class, or those whose biographies were unknown. He also showed that practically all men of genius possessed a thorough education. How many workers ever see the inside of a university?

After proving that practically all the scientists of the ages were recruited from the ruling class, Prof. Odin asks the following question, which he is unable to answer:

"What is the cause of this extraordinary superiority, the more remarkable because rich young men having absolutely no need to think of the morrow, are only too much inclined to idleness or to kinds of activity directly opposed to labors of the mind?"

The answer to his question can be found in Veblen's "Theory of the Leisure Class." Unfortunately Veblen hails from Boston, and to the average worker his books are more or less masses of meaningless words. Either Veblen must realize that he will have to use simple language if he desires his books to be read by the working class, or the working class will only by a comprehensive study of the English language, be able to understand his books. The future alone will tell. Here is the passage that made Veblen famous.

(Continued on page 7)

From My Notebook

By H. M. Bartholomew.

I notice that Clemenceau told the Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor the other day that:—

"I find your aspirations legitimate. In 1789 an unworthy nobility was wrecked. Today, the middle classes have shewn themselves incapable of rising to the level demanded by the occasion. *The moment has come for you to follow in due order of succession.*"

And that Lord Northcliffe told an American interviewer that:—

"As the result of my observations, I am convinced that the working men will eventually control the Government, and by their votes will demand a changed England, an England that will be as much a surprise to the present owners of capital as it may be to the present owners of land."

These statements are true. A change is rapidly coming. Capitalism will give place to the Social Commonwealth. The predictions of Marx and Engels, based upon a scientific analysis of the existing economic order are proving true. The seats of the mighty are trembling.

This change can come, however, only when the "present owners of capital" and the "present owners of land" cease to be the possessors of the essentials of wealth production. I wonder if that is the "surprise" of which the Newspaper King speaks?

Did you read the report of the Supreme Council on the present economic situation? It lies before me as I write these lines. I am informed that the Supreme Council is composed of the supreme minds of the world, and when I picked up this report I did so with due respect. But I might have saved myself the trouble.

The Supreme Council tells us that:—
"Since 1913 general wholesale prices have advanced 120 per cent in the United States, 170 per cent. in Great Britain, and 300 per cent. in France, Italy and Belgium."

A little further they gravely inform us:
"Excessive profit making, known as profiteering, has resulted from the scarcity of goods."

Dear me—What a wonderful discovery! Eighteen months has this Supreme Council been investigating, and they gravely inform us that there have been extensive profits. They will be telling us, after a while, that high prices are due to high profits. But, not yet, not yet!

The Supreme Supines recommend that:
"Not only the Governments of each country, but all those engaged in the task of production, should encourage better output, improved machinery and the elimination of profiteering."

And:
"Each government should at once consider means for urging upon its nationals, in every rank of life, the vital necessity of suppressing extravagance."

Dear reader, if I had been one of the Supreme Council myself, and had been paid a high salary for the purpose of fathering nonsense upon you, I am sure I could not have hit upon anything so indescribably silly as the above.

In the first place we are to produce more, use better machinery, work longer hours of labor, eliminate waste—we must produce more wealth. When more wealth is produced we shall all be richer and better.

But wait a moment. Shall we? If we work ourselves thin, if we pile wealth mountain high, have we any guarantee that all this wealth will not be diverted into the pockets of the possessors of land and capital?

Of course we shall "eliminate profiteering." There is only one way to do that—by displacing Capitalism by Socialism....And until we so do, it matters little whether we produce much or little—the great mass of the people will be poor.

But did you notice that we are not merely to produce more, but we are to consume less? Is not that a charming piece of economic nonsense? It reminds me of that learned professor who wrote a learned treatise to prove that industrial crises are due to spots on the sun!

But it may be that this Supreme piece of Wisdom is too Supreme for me! The high intricacies of the economics of the Supreme Council at Paris may be a

little too much for my small brain! Because I would like to know, if we are all to produce more and consume less, who is going to enjoy the ever-growing surplus of wealth?

Turning from the Supreme Stupidity of the Supreme Council to a little book written by Prof. Goode, entitled "Bolshevism at Work," I read a charming picture of the summer seat of the late Grand Duke Sergius, outside Moscow, which has been turned by the Soviet into a home of rest for the workers of the city.

"Where formerly were two people, waited on by an army of servants, were now 150 people of all kinds enjoying a well-earned rest, famous professors, and chauffeurs, high officials and children, Soviet workmen and women, and the chairman of the co-operative machine for all Russia.

"The only title heard was "tovarishtch"—comrade—no matter to whom it applied, and this, though it strikes queerly at first, ends by making its own appeal—it is so useful and all-embracing. And a moment's thought of the use formerly made of the vast green fields between river bank and forest opposite the terrace front of the house—Sergius used to send for soldiers, who had to march the 35 versts from Moscow to parade here and relieve his boredom—with the cheerfulness and joy around me, made me glad to have such a day with others in one of the homes of rest of the Soviet Republic."

I read that the total war debt of the world amounts to \$160,000,000,000. Truly is the downfall of Capitalism at hand.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(Continued from page 6)

"The ulterior norm to which appeal is taken is the instinct of workmanship, which is an instinct more fundamental, of more ancient prescription than the propensity to predatory emulation. The latter is but a special development of the instinct of workmanship, a variant, relatively late and ephemeral in spite of its great absolute antiquity. The emulative predatory impulse or the instinct of sportsmanship, as it might well be called—is essentially unstable in comparison with the primordial instinct of workmanship out of which it has been developed and differentiated."

What Veblen is trying to show is that inactivity is painful. The pain resulting from inactivity is called ennui. "While want is the scourge of the lower class, ennui is the scourge of the upper class and all the hope that is held out for the future is a choice between the torments of hell and the ennui of heaven." (Schopenhauer). The instinct of workmanship, if it be no other form than fear of the hell of ennui, is the great and unremitting spur that drives and goads all men to action.

The fact that the great majority of the men of renown are members of the ruling class has been used to disparage the intelligence of the working class. Is this phenomenon due to a biological difference between the classes? Assuredly not.

Prof. Odin shows that in order to be a man of renown, it is necessary to possess a thorough education. A thorough education is out of reach of the great mass of workers. Immediately after birth, the child of the worker labors under a heavy handicap. The failure of the worker to assimilate achievement is due to his economic position in society. Society has never and nowhere been so organized as to transmit the knowledge of the past to more than a minute fraction of its members.

"It was shown that about eleven times as many talented persons belong to the wealthy or well-to-do classes as to the poor or laboring classes, although the latter are about five times as numerous as the former. The chances of success for the same degree of talent are fifty-five for the former class to one of the latter. The extremes of course are very much greater and for absolute poverty or uninterrupted long hours the chance if success is necessarily zero no matter how great may be the native talent or genius. Indigence is an effective bar to achievement. On the other hand, the resources of society may be enormously increased by abolishing poverty, by reducing the hours of labor, and by making all its members comfortable and secure in their economic relations. Any sacrifice that society might make in securing these ends would be many times repaid by the actual contributions that the few really talented among the hundreds of thousands thus benefited would make to the social welfare. For talent is distributed all through the great mass in the same proportion as it exists in the much smaller well to do wealthy class and the only reason why the latter contribute more is because their economic condition affords them opportunity."

Lecter C. Ward (Applied Sociology), p. 228.

We therefore see that the real barrier to progress is the division of society into classes. Society cannot make any real progress until classes are abolished.

JOHN TYLER.

Labor Defence Fund

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

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth Avenue East, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 1, 530 Main Street, Winnipeg, Man.

Reading and Reading

OF the mass of reading matter that comes before the individual with an enquiring turn of mind, none is so coldly and dispassionately scientific as the work of socialistic writers.

The truth and logic contained therein immediately stamps it as the product of courageous minds.

These articles, stories, etc., shine from out the conglomerate mass of piffle with which the reading public is literally swamped, as the dazzling rays of a powerful searchlight pierce the encircling darkness.

Their brilliance penetrates and bites deep into the hungry brain of the nauseated seeker after knowledge. The world was never more in need of these socialistic teachings than it is today, and to those who are in search of truth, the writings of these advanced thinkers come as cool water to a thirsty, tired traveller.

They not only point out the vicious iniquities of the present state of society, but with the weapon of truth give the intelligent reader the key wherewith to unlock the door of his own mind, to enable him to find the remedy for the many ills from which he as an individual, and the rest of the world in general are suffering.

It is undoubtedly correct to state that the average worker will not have truth thrust upon him. A dollar for a sweepstake can be more easily extracted from the average worker than a dollar for a subscription to a journal of scientific socialism.

He cannot be blamed for this; the thoroughness with which the hirelings of capitalism have done their work is only too apparent.

Blame, however, can be attached to those intellectual prostitutes who sell their principle and ability by writing the wretched drivel with which the average worker is regaled. Under the capitalist system, no intelligent person will deny that might dictates right, for under the calm scientific analysis of a socialist, present day conditions prove the truth of that statement.

Socialists have been and are being persecuted and ridiculed by the very people they seek to benefit, but they are not discouraged. They know that ultimately, conditions will force people to recognize the truth of what they write. They are always

ready and willing to point out the path along which the earnest seeker after knowledge must travel. Based on science the writings of socialists fully explain the cause of the present intolerable state of existence, and by the same token prepare the reader for the vast changes which will undoubtedly come about in the future.

What is of more importance than explaining the cause of our misery? Socialist writers give us the remedy. Their literature, pregnant with indisputable truths is placed before a suspicious and poisoned public many of whom have very limited education, which prevents them from viewing with an unbiased mind the many unpleasant truths brought before them. Though bitter the medicine must be swallowed.

Man's nature is such that he would much rather be caressed than told his faults, hence his natural dislike to the paper that tells him just what a fool he is. Truth to the majority is never pleasant.

In the field of politics the average man has hitherto been too lazy to think. He preferred to allow his newspaper to think for him, contenting himself with being praised and petted, and finally enmeshed in the tangle in which he now finds himself. Hitherto, the power of the capitalist press has scarcely been challenged. By first pandering to the wishes of the masses, the press has been able to create a weapon which it now uses to their disadvantage, and instead of having representative government they have a government controlled by a few big monopolies who in turn control the press.

It is this state of affairs which socialist writers have the courage to expose. To adhere strictly to socialist teachings requires a high standard of courage, for very few writers have the moral strength to withstand the economic pressure brought to bear upon them.

Socialistic journalism attracts only the very cream of the writing profession, which fact accounts for the extremely high quality of the work, and the consequent small quantity. Socialist literature and periodicals are the oases in the deserts of ignorance, prejudice and corruption. Read them for education. G. P.

Reconstruction in Russia

The bourgeois and Social-Democratic press never tire of enlarging upon the economic ruin of Russia. It would be foolish to assert that, after six years of war, the blockade, the sabotage by the Intellectuals and the passive resistance of the peasants, the internal economy of Russia could be in a flourishing condition. But it is necessary to inquire whether the crisis is past and Russia is already on the road to reconstruction, or whether the ruin—as her enemies maintain—proceeds apace. It would be a sufficient answer to these charges to point out that a State rushing headlong to ruin cannot have great victorious armies from one end of the country to the other, and this after more than two years' existence! This would of itself be sufficient to prove that production cannot be in such a parlous state as the enemies of the Revolution would have us believe. But we desire to call attention to the following data just arrived from Russia as further proof of the economic soundness of the Soviet Republic.

The Iron Industry.

The organization of the iron industry of the Urals, with its obsolete methods is being feverishly tackled. Two works are engaged in turning out rails—both narrow and wide gauge—besides nails, wires, telegraph material, etc. In the repair works at the same place ten to fifteen locomotives and 500 to 600 wagons are repaired every month.

Platinum.

By the re-conquest of the Urals, Russia possesses almost a monopoly of platinum products. Two factories are engaged on this work. The workers, technical experts and engineers of Soviet Russia have brought production in this field to the highest point of efficiency in Europe. Soviet Russia can produce platinum for all technical, medical and scientific purposes.

The introduction of the "Communist Saturday" in places in which railway works are situated has produced splendid results. From May 1st to June

1st, 1919, the output of locomotives rose by 4.1 per cent. The entire number of locomotives under repair or awaiting repair on May 1st was 52.5 per cent, and on June 1st only 46.6 per cent.

The Baltic factory repaired two locomotives and 252 wagons, thereby carrying out 100 per cent. of its programme, while the factory engaged in preparing signals accomplished 37 per cent. Equally good results were obtained in the repair of ships and river-going vessels.

Agricultural Machinery.

In Saratov, a new factory has been opened for the manufacture of agricultural machinery. The monthly output of this establishment is 112,000 machines.

Many more machines were supplied to the peasants in the year 1918-19 than in the preceding one. There were delivered 107,141 parts for ploughs, 171,868 harrows, 1,420 sowing machines, 479,000 scythes, 3,563 reaping machines, 2,438 winnowing machines etc. The output was more than double that of the previous year. The Commission recently appointed by the government expects to have in the near future 1,000,000 mowing-machines for sale.

We could add much more data of a similar nature, but sufficient has been said to show that there is no sign here of progressive decay. The facts point to hard and successful work carried out under great difficulties.

—Socialist Information Research Bureau (Scotland), 196 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, March 15, 1920.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

J. Fraser, \$1; R. Gooding, \$1; J. Purnell, \$1; G. M. Barrett, \$1; H. C. Mitchell, \$1; Sympathiser, 20c; A. E. Faulkner, \$2. Total, 27th April to 10th May, inclusive, \$7.20.

Smithers Socialist Hall

The following donations have been received towards the building fund:—Chas. Neil, \$22; Ed. Kennedy, \$22; Jas. Carson, \$20; Jas. Kotow, \$10; Mah Yoke Long, \$10; S. Carlson, \$10; John Wander, \$10; A. McKenzie, \$10; A. P. McCabe, \$6; Axle Anderson, \$6; Tom Mace, \$5; S. Neshudin, \$5; Brede Miller, \$5; W. S. H., \$5; J. M., \$5; S. E., \$5; E. Nelson, \$5; J. McCuish, \$5; Lars Anderson, \$5; J. S. K., \$5; Phil McGettigan, \$5; H. Fotherby, \$5; Dave Bird, \$5; P. Richardson, \$5; Jack Aldrich, \$5; Fred Miller, \$2; R. F. Allen, \$2; D. B. and J. M., \$4; B. F., \$2; Gus Sycho, \$2; Andy McNaught, \$1; L. Kelly, \$1; Geo. Smith, \$1; H. Ponder, 50c; D. E. Moore, \$5; Shorty Davitt, \$5; Fred Collins, \$1; W. J. S., \$1.50; Axle Peterson, \$5; Martin Dahl, \$2; John Larson, \$1.75; R. Duff, \$2; Frank Conway, \$5; Geo. Wright, \$5; R. C. Mutch, \$5; Peppercorn, \$5; S. Grierson, \$2; Guy Farrow, \$5; Pat McGettigan, \$5; Mark Wilson, \$2; John Vick, \$5; Dan McLeod, \$5; Otto Lundberg, \$5; Chris., \$1.

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There is quite a little work to be done in order to complete the building, and further donations may be sent to R. C. Mutch, Smithers, B. C.

ALL VILLAINS WERE WORKINGMEN!!

Only workingmen and women make life possible; but in spite of much talk about their usefulness to society, they don't inspire much respect. Indeed, one of the worst names in the language is, in its origin, a word that meant a workingman—a VILLAIN! Consult a dictionary and you will find a villain means (although the word is spelled, villain) a forced laborer attached to an estate, a serf, a bondman, a peasant and, lastly, a KNAVE or SCOUNDRELL. Of course, villeinage takes us back to the days of the Feudal System.

But why should a word that once simply meant a serf or forced laborer, now have come to mean a person who is base, vile, wicked, depraved and mean? The answer is easy! As a villain was depressed down to the position of the Brutes, no more educated than they and, like them just one of the fixtures on the land he naturally developed so many repulsive vices that it was not possible to think of a villain, without thinking of his repulsive characteristics. In course of time the personal qualities swamped all recollection of the man's working duties; then behold, its new meaning—a scoundrel!

The modern workingman,—feared, hated, kept in ignorance and looked on with contempt, has no more come into his own than had his ancestor, the Serf. But history shows how class after class rose to power. At one period the kings, like the ex-Kaiser and the late Czar of Russia, were absolute; then the Nobility clipped their wings; next, the Capitalist Class, who are the class in power today, got on top, and have so mismanaged affairs and abused their power that the next class, the Working-Class, is everywhere in revolt and preparing to assume management.

Says a famous Socialist writer—"By degrees there rises out of the despised, maltreated, degraded Working-class a historic power before which the powers that be have begun to tremble. Thus, a New Philosophy, a class that grows daily in numbers, in compactness, in consciousness of its mission, in intelligence, and into an economic necessity." As there is no class below the Working-class, they can only rise to power when they put an end to all economic classes and make the whole nation one working-class. That is the MISSION of the WORKING-CLASS of which the author speaks, for theirs is the noble task, in freeing themselves, to free the whole human race from the British struggle for bare necessities. Already wealth is socially produced by great factory-groups of workers. It is also their mission to complete the process by socializing the DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

"Progress."

NOTICE.

Donations to the Manitoba, Provincial Election Campaign Fund of Local (Winnipeg) No. 3, may be sent to E. MacLeod, Secretary, Dominion Executive Committee, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B.C., from whom collection cards may also be obtained.