

# WESTERN CLARION

Official Organ of  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOSOPHY

No. 856

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B.C., DECEMBER 1, 1921

FIVE CENTS

## Working-Class Politics

WHERE the master-class politician and his assistant the "labor-leader" claim, in the mass, a vast political intelligence, the Socialist finds only a vast political ignorance gravitating towards two extremities. On the one hand the slave who says: "Vote for the man with the beautiful promise and all will be well!" and on the other the equally ignorant slave who says: "Politics is of no use to me. I take no interest in it."

The promise dupe is no novelty. Thousands of soldiers after salvaging an entire world, according to the patriots, were enthralled by the magic of the number 2,000—when applied to a bonus. It suggests an incident in ancient history. In the middle of the fifth century, B.C., the Athenians were engaged in the Peloponnesian War, and, being hard pressed, had to resort to allowing their slaves to fight for them, promising them their freedom if they won. The slaves did win the war for their masters and 2,000 of them were escorted to the temple to receive the rites of freemen. There their masters fell upon them with the sword and slew them all.\* It would seem that politicians' promises and the gullibility of the slaves in "falling for" them have neither one altered in the course of twenty-four centuries. The one answer to the promise dupe is the failure of his promise to realize.

### Have Slaves a Political Interest?

To answer the slave who says he has no political interest we look to the definition: "Politics is the business of government." Now, there can be no government unless there are those who govern and those who are governed. Further, the troubles and risks of governing being considerable, none undertake them unless they can gain thereby—and the ruling class is the robbing class. Even in Russia the function of the State is to "expropriate the expropriators." Political interest proceeds from economic interest. Thus politics appears under two phases: On the one hand Master-Class Politics, or the centralized business of robbing and ruling; and on the other Working-class Politics, or the organized resistance on the part of the workers to the rule of the robbers. How, then, can anyone deny that the worker has no interest in politics?

### Our Masters' Political Methods.

Most constant of the methods employed in politics by our masters is that of general miseducation through press, school and pulpit—through the press misinforming us on current events and impressing on us the "democratic" nature of our society; through the school, misinforming us on historic facts and impressing on us the idealistic nature of the development of society, urging that progress results only from the perfection of our own "moral and inner nature"; through the pulpit, teaching us the moral code of "Obey and be robbed." The shirkers realize that their power rests on the ignorance of the workers; and if any capitalist institution is 100 per cent. perfect, efficient, it is their institution for general miseducation.

There is some conflict of economic interest in different sections of the ruling class, resulting in opposing master class political parties—Tweedledee and Tweedledum. In periods of stress these join hands, so slight are the differences between them. However, they are usually a capable means for attracting the slave's attention from his own position

\*Ward's "Ancient Lowly" (Kerr), p. 107.

and interest and directing it towards the weighty problem of which of his enemies to support.

Perhaps the most profitable investment of the capitalist is that of buying up members in the ranks of the slaves. In hard times, when the slaves seem near to waking up there is no consolation for the robber equal to a faithful "labor leader." The economic struggle of the workers might prove not only a loss of profits, but also a valuable experience to the workers, were it not for the potent panegyric of the "labor" press, of the "labor" man in politics, of the verbose organizer, and of that most dangerous of all "sims"—the "sympathizer with labor."

At times the capitalist's ingenious miseducation, his multi-party system, his faithful "labor" men, would avail him little, were it not for the trump card he holds in reserve—the fact that he has force at his disposal. At such times he does not hesitate to use force freely.

### Our Political Methods.

Due to the fact that the enemy takes the initiative, the very constructiveness of our political methods takes on the form of retaliation. To offset the miseducation of our masters we must awaken our own

legedly labor political parties. And as for the masters' trump card—force—we must capture it and make it ours. The force is exerted by members of our own class—and there, if anywhere, is the crying need for suitable propaganda. Moreover we must prepare our own ranks for every conceivable phase of the struggle. Many a bloody massacre of our class is to be explained by the neglect on the part of our class of what every military tactician makes his objective—to take the initiative and thereby have choice of manner, time and place.

### Our Political Problems.

The master class politicians and their friends of the labor parties have been touring the country to tell us what our problems are. According to them we need the unity of all classes, the cleaning up of a corrupt administration, lighter taxes and a revision of the tariff. Which is the great need to you with the tight drawn belts—the unity of classes, or something to eat? Does a corrupt administration trouble you? Since you must oppose it, is not its corruption a help to you? Better turn your attention to the corruption of the canned garbage you eat, to the filth you live in, to the corruption in your labor organization. Which is of the more importance to you—the heavy taxes you don't pay, or the heavy work you do—when the masters let you? Which do you need the most—a tariff to protect your master's goods, or an organization to protect your own interests? This tariff issue is such a pet bauble it is almost worth a second thought. If, by any manipulation of the tariff, conditions should become "good," either here or elsewhere, and the right to be robbed easily secured, would not the freights to that place be full of slaves until the market was glutted? That being so how can tariff one way or 'tother, be of any interest to the slave class?

According to our own experience we are faced with quite a different set of problems. Part of the time we have too much work, the rest of the time no work, and all the time insufficient of the comforts and necessities of life. We face these problems under the menace of war, of insecurity in our livelihood, of the hostility of our masters, of the scabbing and traitorhood in our own ranks. Every one of these problems is to be traced to one cause, and one cause only—that one section of society owns the means of production upon which the rest of us are dependent for our livelihood. It is only because of that that we have not increased our leisure and our standard of living, with every increase in the efficiency of production. It is because we are propertyless that we are slaves to those who have property. The working of the system does not permit us to acquire property, so our emancipation lies in destroying the privilege of those who have property—i.e., in abolishing their property in the means of production. The privileged will resist us. Their power to resist lies in the State—the monster that rules us—whose feet are to be seen in the police and militia and whose head, high above the clouds of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, bids us go forth and be cannon fodder. Freedom for our class can be won only by conquering the State.

This is politics for our class—to acquaint our class with its slave position and its interests, to make it realize its historic mission, to solidify its forces for struggle, cleansing it of reaction, conquer the capitalist state, and establish ourselves over the robbers.

F. W. T.

### DOMINION ELECTION 1921. SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

#### CANDIDATES.

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Nanaimo: W. A. Pritchard.

Vancouver (3 seats)

Burrard: J. D. Harrington.

Centre: T. O'Connor.

South: J. Kavanagh.

#### MANITOBA.

Winnipeg North: E. B. Russell.

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class to their position and interest. There may be much to recommend in a worker marking his ballot for a Socialist candidate; but he will have done far more for the working class political struggle by spreading Socialist literature, by preaching the "gospel of discontent" to his mates on the job, by attending workers' study classes to further clarify his knowledge of the history of his class to further realize its historic mission.

It would seem that where the enemy lacks complete harmony of interests, we would have an advantage over them in enjoying a complete harmony. But such is not the fact. Where the capitalists are invariably united on any important issue we are invariably and lamentably disunited. Since Socialism is but the political integration of an economic class struggle, the work of the class-conscious worker must be to solidify the ranks of his class for the struggle. We cannot retaliate on the loss for buying out members of our ranks by buying out members of theirs; but we can and must, expose the traitors in our labor organizations and al-



# The Politics of the Working-Class

Editors Note: The following article is a report of a speech delivered by Comrade J. Harrington in Victoria, B. C. Victoria forms, partly, the south end of Nanaimo riding in the Federal elections. Comrade W. A. Pritchard is our candidate in this constituency.

NOT a few people are given over to the obsession that Parliament as it stands today is a popular institution. They entertain the idea that it is elected by popular "will," that its purpose is to safeguard their interests and desires, and that by the election of "good" men, i.e., men who have high ideals of public service and human welfare—the various conflicting elements and evils in society can be reconciled and abrogated.

This concept of parliament is continually emphasized by the idealist philosophy and education of the time, and the various candidates of the old parties, imbued with the same notions, play on this theme of "good government," point out each other's disqualifications, and forever harp upon what is done that should not be done, or, conversely, on what ought not to be but is. That is all there is to political campaigning. That, and a silver tongue to give it utterance.

But while that is all there is to campaigning, there is something more to government: Parliament never was an expression of the interests of the common people, that is, of the producing class. In early medieval times every village had its "moot," i.e., its common assembly, delegated from and by the village community for the regulation of its various duties, e.g., for the allotting of land to cultivate; the times of ploughing, sowing and reaping, etc., all the—to us—complex, irksome customs coincident to medieval life. In all matters pertaining to daily life the village moot was, in reality, the expression of common interest.

Gradually, the village fell under the sway of the feudal system, the relation of lordship and serfdom and the consequent regulation of village conduct to the primary interest of the feudal overlord. Concurrent with this evolution was the evolution of the merchant class. Discoveries of new minerals, countries and peoples, evolved markets, and markets meant trade. Towns came into existence, towns whose modes and necessities of life clashed with feudal economy.

Nevertheless, the social forces of development fostered and favored the growth of the merchant class as against the feudal lord. Towns continued to grow, manufactures increased, and with them the power of the traders. The conflict of those traders with their feudal overlords, combined with a variety of other matters, broke the peace of the realm and brought the interference of monarchy. The king invited the leading traders to his residence, ostensibly to discuss their grievances, but in reality as hostages for the good conduct of their respective towns. But they had an opportunity to air their grievances; their conditions were probed; they secured charters and concessions and obtained relief from the growing exactions of needy overlords.

Such were the conditions of the real beginning of parliament. Continually, the merchant and manufacturer gathered power, continually they extended their dominion and increased their privileges and prerogatives. They ousted the landlord from dominance. They established centralized authority; they symbolized that authority in absolute monarchy and finally made and unmade things as their commercial interests demanded. From 1688 until today the story of parliamentary development is but a record of commercial development, a record of a national assembly of traders legislating in accordance with their ever widening interests, styling themselves the voice of the people and dominating all social activity.

The growth of business and the concentration of capital has now developed its inevitable antagonisms between the members of the capitalist class themselves. The same economic laws by and through which they expropriate the common people from the

means of life are now reacting on themselves, reducing their members to the ranks of the proletariat and centering governmental authority in the cabinet—the central citadel of the financial oligarchy. Thus parliament was, and is, the expression of commercial rights and business interests, and never was and never shall be the protector and exponent of the exploited wealth producers—the great toiling, sweating and industrious commonality.

It is obvious that to follow parliamentary tactics and parties, is of no moment to the working class. Neither Liberal, Conservative, Progressive, nor Independent—the latter two being but modifications of the former—can ever solve our problem. Our issue—the issue of the working class—is not the Tariff. Nor it is free trade, nor the development of resources, nor more work, nor unemployment, nor any of the other catch cries of elections. The one issue before us is economic freedom, i.e., freedom of access to the means whereby we live. And that freedom must be achieved by the working class, must be brought about by their understanding of the relationships obtaining in human society. No government can, or will, bring it to pass. Because their interest is our exploitation. That is the fundamental antagonism.

Modern society is organized on capitalist property rights. That is, the right to hold as private property, for private advantage, the social means of life; the processes of production necessary to the whole society. The ownership of the productive plant, therefore, gives the owners power to dictate the terms of labor—and it gives them the titular right to all the products of that production. Industry is operated only, therefore, when it is to the advantage of the possessing class. And it is to its advantage only when a profit can be derived from the process. That profit is only obtainable when the goods are sold in the world market. If they cannot be sold, industry closes down, and the working class stagnates and rots in idleness. That is the cause of unemployment.

Why is there a surplus of goods to sell? Because, by the introduction of machinery and the elimination of unnecessary labor, the working class is able to produce a far greater mass value of commodities than the value of their labor-power, which produced them. The working class receives for its labor-power, the market price of the reproduction of that labor-power, i.e., the amount required to maintain the social standard of life of the working class. Three results follow: (1) As the value of production exceeds the value of the labor-power that produces it, the working class cannot purchase the commodities they have created. Consequently the market is glutted and production stops. With what consequences we know; (2) As wages are determined competitively in the world market, the life condition of the workers steadily becomes worse; (3) with increased production there is increased unemployment. The sole cause of all three is the wages system.

As the cessation of wages is caused by the cessation of industry, and that industry, in time, by the failure of the capitalist market, the only remedy is the abolition of the capitalist system of society. No reform whatsoever can accomplish any alleviation—permanently. Capital is the relationship existing between the owners of industry who do not produce, and the workers in industry, who own nothing but produce everything. Wages, is, therefore, the complement of capital. Without the one, the other cannot exist. Wages is bounded by profits, and profits by markets, and the key to the whole position is capitalist ownership. And the substitution of the collective social ownership and the operation of industry for the full use of society is the one and only means to social peace.

To abolish capital implies political effort. For, since business maintains and dominates governments, governments must protect business. The power of capital in property right is therefore to

capture the state. The state is like the bridge of a modern liner. It is the executive from which issues all authority and action, and whoever commands there commands everything.

But to make the State the servant of our will is to awaken the slave to the perception of his master. All revolutions take place in the brain—first. Not that the mind devises the revolution, but that the determining conditions present the issue clearly and unmistakably. In previous revolutions the determining components of change were comparatively simple—though fundamentally identical—but the material of directive possibility was far less than now. Those new developed agencies are the weapons of the workers to ease the birth pangs of the new social commonwealth. Our eyes are neither on the future nor the past. Our attention and efforts are wholly on the present. The past is our compass through the uncharted present; our goal is economic freedom.

## POPULARITY.

IN the task of educating the workers to an understanding of their true position in society, the writers and speakers of the Socialist movement are open to many and various forms of criticism. The cry is often heard that the movement would be more popular, and the workers would be far more receptive to the truths of Scientific Socialism if the style and language employed in the presentation of the revolutionary position was of a less academic character.

This criticism usually comes from those superficial minds to whom a noisy enthusiasm and a big party membership is of paramount importance. While it cannot be denied that some propagandists are inclined to a somewhat profuse application of ponderous phrases, their desire to be definite and correct is worthy of every consideration. The reason for the ignorance of the working class to their real interests is to be found in their lack of a social perspective, loose, unscientific habits of reasoning, and a vocabularily limited to a few common words. They have been trained only to be slaves in thought and deed. Hence it is that the habit of investigation, unbiased and independent, so important and requisite to the Socialist movement, is difficult to acquire. Inability for the mental effort towards grasping the significance of the phraseology of Scientific Socialism is largely the reason for the Socialist movement being unpopular and misunderstood.

To gain popularity and enthusiasm among the masses, is not a difficult thing to accomplish, as history abundantly proves. The indulgence in sentimental writing and oratory, the teaching of popular slogans easy to repeat without fear of mental strain is, without doubt, a successful method of appealing to the workers in the interests of opportunism and the building up of a big movement. Literature, supposed to be revolutionary, cartooning that arch fiend Capital, small of form, brutally visaged, with the sign of the dollar on his top hat, dancing with devilish glee upon the prostrate form of Labor, the Colossus, garbed in overalls and square paper cap,—this as a form of propaganda is most alluring, but of little effect in clearing away the illusions common to the working-class mind. The seeking of popularity is foolish and dangerous, as many fallen idols know to their sorrow.

The work of explaining the facts of social life in correct language will never be popular, except with the earnest student. As scientific knowledge is valued in industrial and commercial life, so must it be valued by man in his social affairs. Its application by a dependent working class will bring independence and harmony out of the present social confusion. May that day come soon.

S. E.



## In Australia

By J. A. McDonald

It is scarcely necessary to state that any particular country is on the "bum" these days. They all seem to have reached the same degree of normalcy in this respect. Australia is no different than the others. Industrial conditions are terrible, and there are no prospects of anything better in the immediate future. All States in the Commonwealth report the same state of affairs, regardless of their varying shades of political complexion. Some have Labor governments; some have National; and some Liberal. They are all disgustingly similar in their administrative functions.

Here, in New South Wales, we enjoy, or rather endure, a Labor Government. The opposition is composed of two factions—Nationalists and Progressives. I have attended several of the parliamentary sittings and listened to lengthy contributions from the representatives of all shades. One of the most radical of the Labor members was endeavoring to prove the necessity for governmental interference in order to curb the prehensile proclivities of the profiteers. One of the Nationalists answered to the effect that we live in a competitive system, where no monopoly is possible, and competition will keep the prices down to their proper level. At the present session the chief item of social legislation is the "Motherhood Endowment Act." The benefits to be derived from this Act, as one of its ardent supporters stated, is that "it will ensure that all children come into the world properly clothed." Those who consider that there is any advantage to be gained from the election of Labor members, no matter how radical they may be, can have their delusions dispersed by examining results in Australia.

In the revolutionary movement much work is being done. The opportunities for carrying on propaganda in the open air are greater than they are in Canada and the U. S. The Domains, the city streets, and the suburbs offer a splendid field for the

soap-boxer. This is apparently the one advantage accruing from Labor administrations.

As usual, the movement is badly split up. The S. L. P., almost as featureless and functionless as it is elsewhere, holds Sunday night meetings on a small scale, and also participates in the Domain gabfest on Sunday afternoons. They have an official organ which is published twice a month.

There are two Communist parties. Both have endorsed the twenty-one commandments, but neither has been officially recognized by the Council at Moscow, who insist on "unity" at all costs. From my own observations I should judge that there are no grounds for unity. The two factions are totally different, and a passive submission to the Mater Moscovia, on the question of unity, would have no effect in bridging the chasm that exists between them.

One of these parties is fashioned along S. P. of C. lines. The general standard of Socialist knowledge is not so high as in the Canadian movement, but the methods adopted are much the same. Excellent work in this Party, was accomplished by Moses Baritz during his sojourn in Australia, and the lessons he drove home on Socialist policy have been accepted, and made good use of, by the Party members. The official organ of this Party is the "International Communist," which is the nearest approach to a Socialist paper that can be found in Australia. The members are very active. Every Sunday afternoon on the Domain they have four or five speakers. On Sunday evening, between seven and eight o'clock, there are two street meetings conducted, and at night a meeting in the hall, where six or seven hundred workers attend. On Friday nights they have five street meetings, either in the city, or in some of the many-suburbs. About a dozen members can be seen on the street corners, and the Domain all day Sunday, selling papers, and nearly 3,000 copies are disposed of in this way during each week end.

The other "Communist Party" has strong indus-

trial leanings, and is largely composed of ex-"wobblies," anarchists, and the more ambitious of the trades union element. The propaganda is of the Utopian-anarchist-inflammatory type. There are no Marxian students among them, although lengthy passages from Marx and Engels are quoted to substantiate absurdities. Their chief work, at present, is in the capacity of advisers to the unemployed. Meetings are held outside the parliament buildings to awaken the government to a sense of duty, with the hope of receiving the basic wage whether they work or not. Raids on restaurants, the abolition of late shopping, and self-determination for Ireland are other outstanding features of their "revolutionary" programme. They have branches in all the large cities, and publish a weekly paper—"The Communist," which has a circulation of about 2,000 copies per issue.

Apart from these there are other small groups of a political or industrial nature. The Socialist Party of Victoria is the important group in Melbourne. A glance at their paper, "The Socialist," suffices to show what a mixture they are. An attempt was made to establish the O. B. U. some time ago, but was evidently abortive as nothing resembling an O. B. U. exists today. At one time the W. I. I. U. was active, but so was Vesuvius. The last act of the I. W. W. was an attempt to abolish paper currency by the circulation of counterfeit five pound notes. The paper notes are still with us, but the I. W. W. has left.

All in all, the revolutionary atmosphere is fairly good in Australia and, with greater attention paid to real Socialist education, there need be no fear of the future. The average wage-slave is easy to talk to, and those who have once got started on the right road show a keen desire for further study. Our classes during the past three months were well attended, and a good interest was displayed.

## History of the Art of Writing

IN THREE PARTS—PART III.

By Katherine Smith

THE immediate parentage of our English alphabet is not hard to determine, as our Roman capitals are practically identical with letters employed in the third century B.C.

It has been found that the primitive alphabet of Rome was derived from the Greek alphabet prevailing in Boeotia and Euboea about the sixth century B.C. This Euboean alphabet is thought to have been introduced into Italy by means of colonies from Chalcis which were established in Sicily and also central Italy. The Chalcidian alphabet was a variety of the archaic alphabet of Greece, judging from the numerous inscriptions, the earliest of which may probably belong to the eighth or ninth century B.C.

The classical writers agree in attributing the invention of letters to the Phoenicians, from whose trading posts in the Aegean they were obtained by the Greeks. An examination of the alphabet gives evidence through the names, numbers, order and form that they are Semitic in origin. The very word alphabet is derived from alpha and beth, which stand at the head of the Greek alphabet, and are plainly identical with alpha and beth borne by corresponding Semitic characters. In Greek these names mean nothing but they are significant Semitic words, alpha denoting an "ox" and beth a "house."

Down to very recent times the classical tradition was very generally discarded, and the origin of the alphabet was thought to be by the highest authorities an unsolved problem. Now scholars agree not only as to the source of the Semitic alphabet but also to the special place, mode and period in which it

must have originated.

A French Egyptologist, Emanuel de Rouge, in 1839 was first to formulate a theory of the origin of the alphabet. M. de Rouge refers the origination of the Semitic alphabet to the period of five or six centuries during which a race of Semitic kings ruled in Delta. His method of investigation began by determining the oldest forms of the Semitic letters. For comparison with these he selected such of the Egyptian hieratic characters as were used at the time the Semitic people occupied Delta, and as a result he found that the primitive form of almost every Semitic character can easily be traced from the form of its normal hieratic prototype. The secret of his success in solving this problem lay in the fact that he sought for the immediate prototype of the Semitic letters not in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, as so many before had done, but among the cursive characters which the Egyptians had developed out of their hieroglyphics and which had been employed for literary and business purposes. He says that the origin of the alphabet has been placed between the 23rd and the 17th centuries, probably the 19th century B. C.

Recent investigations in Crete reported by Sir Arthur Evans seem to establish the fact that Greece is far older than has been thought and that a flourishing civilization existed in the Aegean at least 3000 B. C. with centers in Crete and probably later in Mycenae; also that there was close intercourse between this civilization and that of Egypt about 2500 B. C. The Aegean script accordingly seems to have been in use long before Phoenicia existed and as Phoenician history only goes back to about 1600 B. C. Phoenicia's chance for commercial importance seems to have come with the fall of Mycean civiliza-

tion. However this may be, we know that Phoenicia was dominant in the Mediterranean and probably took for business purposes the alphabet material that was found and to it added a more practical form.

**Latin Alphabet**—This is by far the most important alphabet derived from the Chalcidian type of the Hellenic; as explained before, the date of the introduction of the Greek alphabet into Italy has been established as being about the eighth century B. C. The ultimate dominance of the Latins brought the abolition of every other alphabet than their own, which, becoming the alphabet of the Roman Empire and then of Christendom secured an everlasting supremacy. Through it the Greek and Roman culture was conveyed to Western Europe and it is now the vehicle of culture of the progressive races of the world.

The Romans used two sets of characters, capitals and cursive, in the early Empire. The capitals were square shaped and used for inscriptions and other writings demanding prominence, as we use capitals now, borrowing the old Roman forms. The cursive or running characters are the originals of our type and were used for correspondence and other purposes where other writing was the object.

To the student of historical materialism it is simple to see the relation existing between the development of the tools of production and the evolution of writings. It was those nations which had developed sufficiently far as trading nations under slave production which were forced to acquire a phonetic alphabet. They either did so by developing more primitive methods or they adopted that of a more forward race.



## Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,  
and Current Events.  
Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of  
Canada 461 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.  
Phone Highland 2583  
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor Ewen MacLeod

Subscription:  
Canada, 20 issues ..... \$1.00  
Foreign, 16 issues ..... \$1.00

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VANCOUVER, B.C., DECEMBER 1, 1921.

### THE ELECTIONS

**N**OMINATION day, November 22nd, resulted in the official entry of five S. P. of C. candidates contesting constituencies in the Federal election, four in B.-C., and one in Manitoba. In Winnipeg, Man., while we had Comrade Bartholemew listed for Centre and Comrade R. B. Russell for North, sufficient funds were raised to meet expenses in but one constituency and thus Comrade Bartholemew's name was withdrawn.

In Calgary, while election manifestos were printed and the name of Comrade Frank Williams was listed as candidate for the constituency known as East Calgary, nomination day passed without his official entry, this too on account of lack of funds. Peculiarly enough, in this constituency, the "labor" candidate, self-styled enemy of corruption—champion of justice, and so forth, charged Frank Williams, representing Local Calgary of the S. P. of C., with the backing of the Liberal party. The "labor" candidate referred to is Mr. Irwin (Reverend), whose book received attention at some length in these columns last issue. Details are given in the following note, sent by Local Calgary, S. P. of C.:

At a meeting in the Collingwood School somewhere near Wimborne, Alberta, on October 28th, Mr. Irwin, speaking in his own behalf as the Farmer-Labor candidate for East Calgary, made the statement that the Socialist candidate opposed to him, Frank Williams, was being backed by the Liberal party. The implication was that the backing was financial. Challenged by some of his audience to substantiate the statement, Mr. Irwin, of course, failed to do so. He was maliciously spreading a rumour implicating his Socialist opponent in a despicable piece of political trading. The statement was a plain ordinary lie, and to politicians lies are useful.

Now, as to our backing, what are the facts? Comrade Williams of Local Calgary, was named by the members of that local, early in October, as the Socialist candidate in the forthcoming election, the riding to be contested being left for later decision. No announcement of any kind was made, however, until November 6th, on which date handbills were distributed, requesting the aid, and particularly the financial aid, of the class conscious workers of Calgary, and publishing at the same time, and for the first time, the intention of the local to contest East Calgary—if funds permitted. In the meantime, subscription lists for the purpose of collecting these funds had been circulated, but had met with no great response. The nickles and dimes in working-class pockets are not numerous these days; and after trying for six or seven weeks to raise enough to see us over nomination day, we have to publish our inability to make the grade. We have not the means to pay the deposit required. Working-class pockets have not been equal to the task of financing a working-class candidate.

The aid of the Liberal Party which we were credited by Mr. Irwin with having accepted (ten days before our intentions were announced) has never at any time been offered, nor has any other sort of aid, except of the working class; neither, had it been offered, would it have been accepted. The "Enemy of Corruption" cannot understand that. He has since said that for the Socialist Party to accept the kind of support mentioned would be good business, and that he would have no bones to pick with the party if it did business in that way. To him it may appear to be all right. To us it is merely a compromise. It is no part of the Socialist Party's function to further the designs of its opponents. The "champion of justice" may see it simply as good business; but to us it is treason. And we remember that he attempted to capitalize even the rumour.

He seeks the support of the workers, on the farm and in the factory. We are out of the fight, on election day, at any rate. At the same time we submit that the Farmer candidate, the author of "The Farmer in

Politics," is neither honest nor informed, neither understands the position of those he seeks to represent nor knows how their evil situation may be remedied. Bob Edwards, in the "Calgary Eye-Opener," of November 19th, says that Mr. Irwin is "purely disinterested—a poor recommendation. He seeks the support of the workers—the farmers and laborers, the disinherited and expropriated; the class to which belongs the Socialist-opponent he slandered. Let it pass. But keep it in mind on election day. And remember, that the only hope for all the workers lies in their taking such action as will lead to Socialism. Champions of Justice have abounded in all times, but the remedy for working class difficulties is still to seek. On election day Frank Williams will not be in the field in this riding, the workers of East Calgary will not be able, then, to vote for a Socialist. They can, however, still vote against their enemies by casting their ballot for

SOCIALISM.

Such matters are important to us. To Mr. Irwin, votes, by any and all means obtained, are sufficient to satisfy his Christian conscience. Thus the "able politician" secures the votes—or hopes to—of a credulous working class. One thing he knows for sure: he will never secure anything but well earned contempt from a Socialist.

In Winnipeg (North) Comrade R. B. Russell's candidature is opposed by a candidate of "The Worker's Alliance," an organization made up of various groups of social democrats, young labor leaguers, Jewish Nationalists, Communists and others. The organization came to life in this form some three or four weeks ago. The various groups, national associations mostly, probably number 2,000 when combined. They have issued a manifesto, in which the numerical "weakness" of the S. P. of C. seems to worry them more than the strength of the master class. We are expected, no doubt, to disagree with and to condemn their policy of nominating a candidate against us. On the contrary, we prefer their open opposition to their support if they are not in agreement with our policy and principles.

In Vancouver (South) Comrade Kavanagh, candidate of Local No. 1 is opposed by a nominee of the F. L. P., under the banner, of course, of "labor." Questions have been asked us—why do we oppose the labor candidate? In this instance, so far as placing an S. P. of C. nominee in the field is concerned, in the matter of precedence the "labor" candidate was the second arrival. Not that we do not have opposed him had he arrived first—we oppose all with whom we are in disagreement—but we await with interest the standard of judgment of the workers of Vancouver South on December 6th. Now's their opportunity to see our differences.

In Burrard, Vancouver Centre and Nanaimo the candidates are simply Socialist, Coalition and Liberal, excepting that in Centre an "independent" is listed. Efforts to organize joint meetings of all candidates in these constituencies have failed, excepting that in Centre, Comrade O'Connor managed to inveigle Mayor Gale (Liberal) to one joint meeting. In Burrard and Nanaimo the candidates of the master class sections have more wisdom, if less courage, than the Mayor of Vancouver, who talked for half an hour or more to an audience of 1,000 people without a murmur of applause at the joint meeting with our nominee.

Altogether, up to this date of writing, we have had many meetings and our propaganda has reached the attention of many people whose interest we probably would not have arrested had this not been election time. Our speakers are few and their energies have been taxed to the utmost. They have laid down the terms of the issue as we see it in this campaign—not tariff adjustments nor the fulfilment of election promises—but the ending of systematic exploitation of one class by another. Now, as always, that has been the keynote of our activities. The settlement lies with the working class.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES

Comrade J. A. McDonald writes from Wellington, New Zealand, to say that he has arrived in that region and has addressed a number of meetings so far. The governmental regulations obtaining there are very tight and John A. doesn't know how long the privilege of "free" speech will last. His letter says he is booked to speak on "Banned Literature," which is a live issue in those parts. His lecture should be instructive for, judging by the list published by the "Maoriland Worker" of banned literature he is thoroughly familiar with his subject. The list published includes the "Western Clarion."

Part two of Comrade R. Kirk's article "War in the Pacific" will appear in an early issue. The job hunting occupation has taken Bob out into the wilderness for the time being. Similarly with Comrade Stephenson. A review of Veblen's "The Engineers and the Price System" is on the order sheet and we'll get it when Chris. has made the final guess on the nature of the contents

### HERE AND NOW

We have not been overwhelmed with anxiety during the time between this issue and last in counting the Clarion subs. that have staggered along weakly day by day. Still we need more of the much despised inflated currency which is the subject of so much discussion and examination these days. The subject of credit finance is one that our economists can explain to a nicety; our specialty seems to be in experiencing the lack of it. Financial credit—an alluring subject—always applies to other people; its practical workings always carefully pass by the Clarion basement. (Therefore we keep on kicking, encouraging, wheedling,—and by the empty echo from the coffers we'll have to keep on at it. Here we introduce the totals added since last issue.

Following \$1 each: H. F. Anderson, P. W. Kobitzsch, A. W. Cantrell, A. H. Russell, N. Sorlie, N. J. Naylor, M. Goudie, F. Noha, Geo. Rupert, F. Reynolds, S. H. Colwell, J. Jenkins, H. Williams, S. Earp, J. S. Merson, Isaac Benson, W. Johnson, R. Thomas, Dr. Curry, C. F. Gall, J. G. Lowe, W. Bowker, T. Carr, W. W. Lefeaux, J. Gray, R. C. McKay, G. A. Brown, A. M. Davies, J. T. Redfern, C. N. Stewart, W. S. Mathews, Wm. H. Hunt, P. M. Friesen, Roy Addy, J. C. Blair, W. Gazeley, C. Stewart, J. H. Reid, J. Elliott, J. Nyholt, R. Green, W. Mulholland.

W. Erwin, \$7; H. H. Hanson, \$9; H. Rahim, 50c; E. J. Fiala, \$4; T. B. Roberts, \$5; Wm. Borney, \$1.25; Frank Cassidy, \$3; G. R. Ronald, 50 c; M. Sanford, \$2; O. Erickson, \$4; W. N. Welsh, \$5; J. J. MacDonald, \$2; C. Lake, \$2.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 11th to 30th November, inclusive—total, \$87.25.

### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

N. J. Taylor, \$4; R. Thomas, 85 c; F. Clarke, \$1; H. C. Mitchell, \$5; R. Green, \$1; C. Lake, \$7; Katherine Smith, \$5.

Above, C. M. F. donations received from 11th to 30th November, inclusive—total, \$23.85.

## MANIFESTO

— of the —  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA  
(Fifth Edition)

Per copy ..... 10 cents

Per 25 copies ..... \$2

Post Paid



# Bank Credits

THE present insolvency of nations, as expressed in their failure to purchase in some instances and the failure to develop industries in others, can be fully understood only if the methods adopted in financing the war are clear in our minds. Most people realize that the war was not paid for—and will not be yet awhile—but this does not mean that they understand what enabled the nations to carry on as they did.

It is not intended—it would be impossible—to cover the whole of the methods adopted, or even to outline the question of finance as a whole, in these articles. In its wide ramifications, its divisions and subdivisions, finance is as difficult to understand as are the most complicated technical processes in industry. All that can be done here is to give in broad outline the main features of the process by which bank credits and purchasing power were created during the war.

Fortunately, the Government itself assists us in giving the explanation so that no one need suppose that we are drawing on our own imagination. The facts are contained in Government publications, and the following may be taken as a summary:—Assuming that the Government, in any given week, after having used the whole of its current revenue and loans, is in need of an additional £10,000,000. Remember, the war cost £8,000,000 per day, so that a deficit of ten millions in any one week is nothing to be surprised at! But where is the money to come from? The Government has taxed and loaned; what other source is there? There is the Bank; the Bank of England, which can be asked for credit money.

Does the Bank then create money? If so, why does it not go on with the process and make us a nation of millionaires? Up to a point it does make money, of a kind. Let us explain. You, fellow-workman, provided you are not unemployed and that you have been careful with your wages, can lend a "Bradbury" to one man, but you cannot lend the same "Bradbury" (at the same time) to two men. That, indeed, would be a miracle. But it is just this kind of miracle which forms part of the everyday activity of a bank. It can lend the same sum of money to five, possibly ten, men.

How? Why? Well, it knows from long experience and practice that these men will not all come together for the money. The sums loaned would be drawn upon over a long period, and what is still more important the money may not leave the Bank at all. If the Bank lends money to one customer who owes an equal amount to another customer of the Bank and with this credit squares the account nothing need leave the Bank. All the Bank does in these transactions is to agree to cash, if necessary, all cheques drawn upon it by those who have money at the banks or by those to whom the bankers have given permission to draw. In practice very few are cashed. What is drawn out in the name of one individual is immediately received back in the name of another. The money that runs out just as rapidly runs in again.

So the Government approaches the Bank authorities and states its requirements—a ten-million credit loan. The Bank agrees. The Government asks the Bank to pay on its behalf £10,000,000. Outside, an army of Government contractors are awaiting payment for goods and services rendered. Cheques drawn upon the Bank of England for the amounts due are sent to each and they, in turn, send them to their own individual bankers who credit them with the amounts of the cheques. It now depends upon these banks whether anything other than paper will leave the Bank of England. The central institution is mainly a bank for bankers, and just as individuals imagine their own deposits to be safe in the vaults of their respective banks, and that they will certainly be paid out upon application, so do individual banks regard their deposits in the Bank of England. Everybody and every bank assume their deposits to be there and trust that they will be paid upon demand; and yet all of them know how utterly

impossible it would be if all came together for their money.

A bank is an institution whose normal state is that of insolvency. Bank profits are made by lending other people's money, as often as possible. A loan once made appears in the bank books to the credit of the individual to whom it is granted, as if he had actually deposited it there. It forms part of their liabilities, so that banks always owe more than they possess.

Unfortunately, there is a limit to the extent to which this can be carried on. Some customers will insist upon calling for actual money. Some cash must be retained in order to meet these demands. The bank, therefore, must always keep within a given proportion of liabilities to cash reserves, and experience has long since taught it what that proportion can safely be.

Let us now revert to the cheques drawn by the Government upon the Bank of England, posted to contractors, who, in turn, deposit them with their bankers.

The individual contractor (or firm) receiving a cheque for £10,000 "pays" this into Barclays, shall we say, the bank with which he deals. Barclays credit him with having done so, and sends the cheque on to the Bank of England, who now place the £10,000 to the credit of Barclays Bank.

Now the effects, thus far, are: First, the Government credit is exhausted because it has been distributed by cheques amongst its various creditors. Secondly, these Government creditors upon receipt of their cheques pass them into their own bank and thereby increase their deposits, and, judged from the point of view of accounts, are richer to that extent. Thirdly, the various banks amongst whom the cheques were deposited in turn send them back to the Bank of England and increase their deposits. They, too, are credited with these amounts, as if they were gold. Here comes the important point.

The outer banks regard their deposits with the central institution as being what they pretend to be, namely, gold. They act upon this assumption. Their business as bankers, as already explained, is to lend other people's money, and to lend it as often as possible. But, so far, this money, and we assume all of it to have passed into the hands of these bankers, has not been lent at all. It simply lies to their credit at the Bank of England to be paid out if called upon by themselves, and they in turn are subject to the calls of the contractors who paid them in.

These banks can now lend or invest this money on their own again. This we shall assume to be done four times. That is, they grant or create credit, their liabilities of four times the amount originally created by the Bank of England, which means that during the whole process fifty millions of credit has been created. This is the process repeated over and over again, credits mounting ever higher and higher. Let us consider the effects.

When the Government found itself compelled to go to the Bank for loans it gave nothing in return for the money. The Government is not a producer whose goods can ultimately cancel this debt. For the Government this is possible only by putting its hands in the pockets of the community. The credit received had no material basis. It was simply the right to go into the market and make purchases, and use the name of the Bank to pay for them. In effect, it was an addition to the purchasing power of the community without increasing the goods produced.

With this manufactured purchasing power the Government enters the market. Its appearance in the market as a buyer is marked by other effects. Prices begin to rise. Other causes would already have commenced the process, but we are here dealing with the effect of Government purchases with manufactured money.

The rise in prices brings us back again to the Bank of England. Not only is it the central banking institution but it is the institution from which de-

mands for additional currency are met. If a rise in prices necessitates an addition to the currency, the Bank will be called upon to find real money for this purpose. Where is it to get this gold from? And if it finds it the whole process now appears to be a costly one, as far as the Bank is concerned. Fortunately, however, the contingency did not arise. Gold payments had already been suspended, and this difficulty, which would have made the whole scheme impossible, removed. Additional demands for currency were met by the printing press. Untold millions of bank notes and "Bradburys" could be turned out at will. A paper currency was in circulation and could be increased with little difficulty.

The currency of this country became expanded, or inflated as it is commonly termed, and with this came a further rise in prices; for paper, unlike gold, is of no use apart from its function as a medium of circulation. There followed, of course, a rise in the cost of living. The purchasing power of money wages fell, and the working class, at least the organized section, were compelled to take steps to increase the amount of this wage. This increase in wages could never keep pace with the advance in prices because the process above outlined was going on all the time.

W. H. MAINWARING.

—"The Plebs."

## NANAIMO RIDING

(Socialist Candidate—W. A. Pritchard)

THE area covered by this constituency is not easy to measure, and the difficulties met with in this campaign by the Socialist candidate may be stated in terms indicating bad roads and long distances. The riding runs from Nanaimo to Victoria, B. C., and some of the in-between places and scattered Islands are hard to reach.

Nanaimo, Ladysmith, South Wellington and Victoria have had meetings addressed by Comrades O'Conor and Welis, and Comrade Harrington's speech, made in Victoria, appears in another column. Com. Earp spoke in Victoria last Sunday.

Answering an insistent demand from this office that he write something of the progress of the campaign whether he has time or not, W. A. P. replies: "Take this: Meetings night after night, almost all of which run up to 10.30 p.m. and even 11 p.m., of exposition, discussions, etc., with an astonished multitude listening in rapt attention. This last week end: Got into Nanaimo 1 a.m. (Sunday); went to Granby 11 a.m.—dinner Chase River 1 p.m.—meeting (good 'un) Extension at 1.30—another meeting (also good 'un) at Chase River 3.30 p.m. Committee meeting 6.30—propaganda 7.30 at Nanaimo, ending at 10.45, followed by committee meeting, ending bed midnight. Voice, though holding out good has descended a piano-and-a-half below normalcy. Did not expect appreciative reception met with at Duncans. Alleged to be home of the brave—and conservatism. Was told meeting would be boycotted. Small town, but meeting of over 300 and talked till 10.30 and had to tell them to go home. That characterizes all points touched. The people want an explanation of the circumstances they find themselves in, and I'm doing my best by introducing them to our concepts and method of observation.

Wind-pipes made of caoutchouc would be very useful for speakers these days. An ordinary throat isn't tough enough to meet all demands."

In the south end meetings have been held in Esquimalt, Saanich, Sydney, Saanichton, Keatings, Cedar Hill, Royal Oak, Colwood, Marigold, Jordan River and Oak Bay, besides the theatre meetings in Victoria. Efforts, so far, to get any opposition speaker or candidate to meet Comrade Pritchard have failed.

Comrade J. Stevenson spoke to an interested audience at the cement works at Bamberton on 17th November. A meeting is being arranged for the 20th at Salt Spring Island, and if possible one will be held at Sooke. On December 4th Comrade Pritchard will speak at Esquimalt. Possibly other meetings will be arranged and addressed by members of Local (Victoria) No. 2. Here follows a report from Victoria "Times":

(Continued on page 8)



# Materialist Conception of History

## FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 24—South Africa and the Boer War.

BY PETER T. LECKIE

TO understand the South African history, let us hark back some considerable distance in the history of capitalist development. Such a review will show the prophetic clearness of Karl Marx's masterly generalisation that, the means by which people make their living, decides how they must think and act in all their relations of life. The discovery of South Africa arose out of the struggle for economic supremacy among Portuguese, Dutch, French and English from the 15th and 16th centuries. We recall that the cause which led to the expedition of Columbus, led to the expedition around the Cape of Good Hope in the endeavour to find a sea route to India after the land route was blocked through the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The discovery of such a route led to the establishment of the American Republic and also the Union of South Africa. The country was first discovered by the Dutch in 1486. The Boers (who were Dutch peasants) made a settlement at the Cape in 1652, and it was placed by Holland a few years later in the charge of the Dutch East Indian Co., for the purpose of administration, pretty much in the same way as Rhodesia was placed in the hands of the British South African Co. The Dutch East Indian Co. made a settlement at Cape Town merely for the purpose of a port of call, whither ships passing on the way to India might call for supply of vegetables and fresh meat. The Hottentots who were, and still are the predominant native tribe of the Cape of Good Hope province, showed a natural disinclination to be robbed of their land and their cattle, and many wars between them and the Dutch occurred on that account. As a result, the Dutch East Indian Co. encouraged settlers to come to the Cape so that they might breed cattle independently of the natives. These settlers received military protection against the natives on condition that they supplied the company's ships with provisions at rates laid down by the company.

The settlers continued to increase in numbers and began to chafe under the artificial restriction of prices imposed by the company. Trouble also grew with the natives as the settlers spread over the country, which fact, together with dissension among the colonists themselves, brought about the easy conquest of the country by the British.

The Dutch had an easy living as the Hottentots were their slaves.

The British took over permanently all the Dutch interests of the Cape in 1806, partly by conquest and, latterly, partly by purchase.

The Boers were forced out of the Cape in 1836 but they were not destined to enjoy possession of their new promised land.

The gold mines brought unscrupulous adventurers into the gold fields who foisted worthless scrip on a gullible public. Of gold there was plenty, but one writer says, "It is safe to say that legitimate gold mining never made the colossal fortunes of South African millionaires."

The gold mine owners, before a Boer Commission in 1897, demanded cheaper labor by increasing the Native Hut tax, but Kruger refused by passing a law to confiscate the mines and work them if the mine owners refused to do so. Kruger was not animated by any humanitarianism in refusing the mine owners' demands to exploit the natives; he wanted the Boer farmer to keep control of the cheap native labor on their farms. There being a possibility of Britishers outnumbering the Boers, Kruger gave them a restricted franchise in order to prevent this political danger. The mine owners, not being able to bribe Kruger to their way of thinking, prostituted

the press and bribed the British Government by getting up a huge corruption fund.

Petitions were sent out appealing for help from the British Government, signed at the rate of one shilling per signature. One could sign as often as he pleased. Here we had a war because the Britisher would not get the vote, which meant changing his allegiance from the British Crown, something not only unknown but also absurd, as all countries endeavour to keep their moving population under the home flag. The sheer force of numbers defeated the Boers, and he it noted Botha was chosen by the mine magnates to be the first Premier, and DeWett, who opposed him most bitterly more than once, hinted at his alleged treachery in betraying the Boers into the mine owners' hands.

Jos. Chamberlain and Milner waxed emotionally over the wickedness of the Boers towards our black brothers but, strange to say, one of the first enactments of the Milner regime was to double the native hut tax.

As for the mine owners, they reduced their pay from 9 to 5 dollars a month. The policy of the Cape has been to break up the tribal system, so we are told, "to bring out the individuality of the Kaffir."

The Glen Grey Act was passed as it was deemed best to use means to persuade the natives to learn to work.

All the young idle males under the Act are to pay a labor tax of 10 shillings per head per annum, the proceeds of which are devoted to industrial schools to train the natives to work.

One writer, defending the introduction of Chinese labor after the Boer War says: "On all hands the scarcity is apparent, and abundance of this prime commodity (labor) ought to be provided at all hazards . . . with the enforcing of the Squatter's law No. 21 of 1895 and the breaking up of locations to increase the amount of labor available."

In 1903 Milner appointed a commission to enquire into the adequacy or sources of labor for the mines. The Commission reported 129,000 laborers were necessary and Central and South Africa could not supply them. On the 8th February, 1904 an ordinance was carried in the Transvaal legislative council for the introduction of indentured labor from outside of Africa south of 12 degrees north of the equator. It met with great opposition in Africa and Britain, and the mine owners came forward with a petition for Chinese labor, bearing signatures (at a shilling a time of course) of over half the white population. That a great number of signatures were forged goes without saying. The first shipment of Chinese was from Hong Kong, reaching Durban 20th June 1904. Ultimately 60,000 Chinese were employed on the Rand. The experiment was successful in so far as obtaining cheaper labor and subsequently cheapened Kaffir labor, but other assertions e.g., the employment of more white labor were completely falsified. White labor found less instead of more labor. The proportion of Whites to colored of all races was 10 to 59, in May 1904, and in 1906 was 10 white to 84 colored. That was because the Chinese proved adept pupils at skilled work, although clauses stated "only unskilled work to be done. . . cannot do any skilled work. . . Therefore no competition with the white man."

We are told unnameable vice was rampant in the Chinese compound in addition to gambling, opium eating, murder and robbery. The parsons and Holy Willies ignored these vices although they were well known until the mine owners discovered that the Chinese were not so profitable as expected.

Then they began to howl out against the moral cesspool of the Rand. Thus the spectacle of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Rev. Father in God, speaking of Chinese labor as a regrettable necessity. The word regrettable might be thought to have some reference to the moral aspect of the sub-

ject, but in reality he was only giving us a spiritual interpretation to the economic fact that the Chinese in the mines, having higher tastes than the Kaffir, took twice the expense to feed, and at the end of their contract there was the expense of repatriation. Therefore the time had come for the removal of such a moral cesspool, entailing such expense to the mine owners, and causing such offence to the puritan feelings of our brethren in God.

All supporters of the Chinese question in Africa were frank in admitting its economic necessity.

Mr. Skinner, manager of the Durham Roodepoort mine, spoke of the most suitable Chinese from Southern and Northern China as being of the better class of coolies because "they are docile, law abiding, and industrious and will carry out whatever contract they entered into and perform the tasks assigned to them." (14th Feb. 1903). It must not be thought that all the Chinamen returned to China, 10,000 out of the 60,000 were left on the Rand a few feet under the ground. Neither graves or names will ever be known.

The most remarkable thing happened with the disappearance of the Chinese; 130,000 natives were soon procured by the very people who asserted that South Africa could not supply them. The reason is not far to seek. In 1903 the Kaffir would not work for 9 dollars a week, but was now willing to work for 5 dollars.

The Kaffir was being paid twice what the Chinese laborers received, and refused to accept a reduction in wages, which was one of the first moves after the war.

It came about because of the money saved during the war. The natives were doing all kinds of work on both sides for high wages. There being no maps of the country to guide the armies, directions were obtained from the natives. They also had still enjoyed almost unrestricted freedom in their commercial reserves. He bought cattle which was his only means of exchange in the commune, and with them bought wives who did all the labor, in agriculture, so that the character and customs of the tribal system render work, under the circumstances, unnecessary, and undesirable from his point of view. They lived a happy life tending cattle and growing corn. The cessation of the tribal wars gave Christian missionaries an opportunity of visiting the reserves for the purpose of evangelizing them, inculcating obedience to authority and expounding the doctrine of the blessedness of labor, not for self but for others. This is a very necessary teaching of capitalism. The best exponents are Christian missionaries. Along with the missionary came the trader, the bible, and brandy bottle, followed by the bayonet, these being the indispensable adjuncts of capitalist civilization.

Some of these servants of the most high taught discontent. That seems another contradiction, seeing Christianity and capitalism preach contentment. However, the poor native was taught and made discontented with his happy healthy life so that he might elevate his tastes to yearn for higher things, such as the products of capitalist production. Shoddy goods were imported and sold to the Kaffir at a princely profit, but the raw native, not possessing much ready money (as his wealth consists of land, herds and crops) our Christian friends therefor, as an additional stimulus to make the Kaffir industrious, get their paternal government to cap a heavy hut tax on the native, well knowing in order to be able to pay it he would be forced to leave his reserve and work in the mines for hard cash.

In this way the Natal Government goaded the Zulus into revolt in 1906, but what chance had the Zulu with his heathen weapons against a Christian Maxim gun!

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There sprung up a system of recruiting labor for the mines which for sheer infamy is hard to beat. Native Chiefs were bribed or intimidated in collusion with the governments. Natal, Cape and Portuguese territory permitted labor recruiting agents to seduce and terrify the natives to sign away their freedom for 5 dollars a month. Natives were arrested on trumped up charges and forced to work on the roads as convicts. An elaborate system of manufacturing convicts and handing them over to employers of labor for their keep developed. Strikes among natives don't often occur, but they are soon settled when they so occur. According to the law of that Christian country any native servant who disobeys his master is a criminal, and his master can inflict punishment or call in the police if he is not strong enough to do it himself.

The white worker in Kruger's time had some protection, working a maximum of 8 hours a day, having 8 dollars a day. The whites engineered the war and fought for their masters against Kruger and got what they never looked for, a reduction in wages, which caused the strike of 1907, when the surface workers scabbed on the miners.

In most of the provinces the black man is not entitled to sit on any council for he is not, in fact, a citizen. His average wage is 36 cents a day, yet he must pay in the Transvaal 10 dollars a year, 5 dollars in the Orange Free State and 3½ dollars in Natal in direct taxes. In the Orange Free State every man and woman and in Natal every man is compelled to carry a pass, without which he can neither leave his home or his farm upon which he is engaged. A native travelling in search of work must obtain a special travelling pass: when he arrives at his destination, he must if he desires to stay there, and search for work, obtain a special pass good for 6 days; if he has not obtained employment at the expiration of his pass he is liable to two weeks' imprisonment.

The Boers lost their standing, and poverty was so acute that the Dutch Reform Church was subsidized by government grants to establish labor colonies for the poor whites in the various parts of the country. One colony in Kakamas has 5,000 of a population; they are a source of revenue to the Dutch Reform Church and much jealousy arose amongst the other Christian sects because of this monopoly of one sect, only members of that church being allowed into the colony.

When the Rand strike of 1904 broke out hundreds of the Dutch were only too glad to scab for 1 dollar a day. They helped to break the strike and the mine magnates were quick to see the value of this cheap labor.

Industrial schools were established to train young Dutchmen as miners at from one to two dollars a day. Hundreds found employment in the mines in that manner, but the supply outran the demand and the Government supplemented its philanthropic work by finding employment on the State railways at 85 cents a day.

The above is a summarised history of affairs in South Africa at the time of the Union.

The policy of capitalism, acting through the four governments, Natal, Transvaal, Orange and Cape of Good Hope, was to reduce wages and increase hours of labour.

The means by which that policy was carried out was by forcing the natives off their reserves, train them to thrift and industry and competition with the whites. Laws were passed to strengthen the Bosses. The Industrial Dispute Act provided for the establishment of a defence force under which boys between 14 and 21 were trained.

The Imperial troops were kept there after the war, the excuse being until South Africa licked her own citizen army into shape, their presence was imperative for the safety of the Union.

Who the attacking party would be was never named but substitute bosses for Union and the position becomes clear. Two thousand soldiers were rushed to the mines with maxim guns during the strike of 1913.

The Bosses resuscitated an act of Kruger of 1894, aimed against the mine owners themselves when trying to get the votes for the whites. This

Act provided that an assemblage of more than six persons in public was illegal and could be violently dispersed. Botha acted as the tool of his former enemies in using the troops and killing 22, while 250 were wounded, including men, women and children. The Commission, of course, blamed the strikers.

Yet peaceful meetings of the mine workers were broken up by mounted police armed with pick handles. The strike committee were surrounded and jailed.

During the railway strike later on in 1913, 75,000 armed men were sent to the industrial centres, martial law declared, citizens driven like sheep to jail, invalid miners by scores dragged from their homes, sometimes from their beds, and marched miles over the veldt and herded in filthy lock-ups without sufficient blankets or other conveniences. Prominent labor men were jailed without trial, nine of them deported to England. General Smuts, who has been lauded and feted by capitalist hirelings during and since the war, told the troops in the January strike of 1913: "Don't hesitate to shoot."

Therefore, workers, having nothing to hope for but much to fear from General Smuts don't be carried away with his humanitarian expressions and hope which he holds out to you in the League of Nations.

The result of the Great War has further extended the Allies' territory in Africa. The German colonies have been divided up as part of the swag. To destroy German trade the British Government decreed that 96 per cent of the exports of palm kernel nuts must be shipped to Britain from West Africa. Before the war the bulk of this went to Germany, who had the most up-to-date pressing machines. The oil expressed was sent to Holland and converted into margarine. Britain bought 1,400,000 tons of margarine from Holland in 1913.

During the war a deputation went to the British Government representing the British Chamber of Commerce, and asked for the appointment of a committee to enquire and report on the best methods of securing this German trade of West Africa. The committee was appointed, consisting of Sir George Watson, margarine manufacturer; Sir William Lever, (soap manufacturer); Sir Owen Phillips, (chairman of the Shipping Syndicate which has a monopoly of West African trade) and others.

They recommended exports of the palm kernel to Britain free, elsewhere an export tax of \$10 a ton. This is an example of who runs the government.

The poor niggers, therefore, will get 5 to 7 dollars a ton less than formerly, as a result of the Allies winning the war, and the British Margarine manufacturers have jumped the price of margarine and soap, won a signal victory in obtaining a monopoly of the palm kernels of West Africa. As a result we have the Allied countries retaliating each other with increased tariffs.

The question of the moment with the ruling classes is tariffs.

Just listen to their megaphones—Meighen and Mackenzie King in the election campaign in Canada.

Next, Ireland, and then a summary of the whole to conclude the series.

#### IN VANCOUVER CENTRE.

##### Socialist Candidate, T. O'Connor

Comrade T. O'Connor, S. P. of C. candidate for Vancouver Centre, had a joint meeting with Mayor Gale, Liberal, last Monday at the Dominion Hall. The hall holds nine hundred or a thousand people, and its seating capacity was taxed to the limit.

Speaking for an hour before Mayor Gale arrived, Comrade O'Connor outlined the industrial and political history of Canada, laying particular stress on the process of wealth production by one class and appropriation and accumulation by the other. The position of the Socialist towards Liberal and Government candidates was based on a class viewpoint. The particular group of capitalists in political power had an advantage over the group who were out, and that comprised the differences existing between the groups and parties of the capitalist class. The Socialist was opposed to both. At the present time,

when elections held the public attention, the utterances of government or Liberal candidates were of little importance to the working class. The speaker's experience and observation showed him, as a worker selling labor-power for the benefit of a master, whether in the Crows Nest Pass, in Vancouver Island coal mines, in the railroad camps of the G. T. P., packing his "home" on his back, or in any of the cities of Great Britain or elsewhere, that his condition under capitalism as a wage worker always presented the same problems. The politicians of Canada, by the increase or adjustment of tariffs—according to their viewpoint—looked towards the time when Canada would be industrially developed and advanced.

A picture of Great Britain was drawn by the speaker, showing the conditions of poverty and starvation of the working class under developed capitalism. Such catch cries as Oriental exclusion had no bearing in that country, and it had no bearing on the working class problem here. Capitalism had reached a stage now where its markets could not absorb its products. In line with that development was an enormous supply of the commodity labor power and the employing class could not buy it. They had no use for it at the present time. International conferences of nations, including the disarmaments conference now sitting at Washington were all products of the antagonisms arising out of the conditions of wealth production and distribution now existing. The workers' reward, here in Vancouver, for their activities as wage workers in past years, would be received in the bull pens of Hastings Park, the "home" of the unemployed floating population. The speeches, promises and differences, more apparent than real, of the capitalist politicians could not alter facts. They were faced with a situation now which was involving the attention of the working class, and the worse it became the more attention they would be compelled to give to it.

Mayor Gale spoke for half an hour or more, his speech being devoted mainly to the common electioneering trivialities that form the stock-in-trade of Liberal and Conservative speech-makers.

Many questions were asked and Comrade O'Connor was in particularly good form all the time.

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## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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### NANAIMO RIDING

(Continued from page 5)

W. A. Pritchard, Socialist candidate for the Nanaimo division, addressed a full house last night at the Columbia Theatre, J. Stevenson in the chair.

#### Reviews World Conditions.

Continuing his review of world conditions and the disarmament conference, Mr. Pritchard quoted extensively from a series of articles by prominent British, Canadian and American representatives in a recent popular magazine, and also from other publications, explaining that he had discovered that it was quite possible for one person safely to make utterances that another might get in jail for.

He remarked that William Allan White, speaking from his experience as American reporter at the Versailles Conference, prefaced his discussion of the Washington meeting by the pertinent query, "Will they fool us twice?" "We in America are all right," says Mr. White. "We want no more territory; we only want peace and reconstruction; but Europe will send men with axes to grind: we have no axes to grind."

Comparing this with the almost identical protestations of the other nationals, Mr. Pritchard pointed out that each was endeavoring to overcome or over reach the other, and that the necessity for at least partial disarmament was because the military and naval forces intended as a club to protect commercial interests, had now grown like a Frankenstein monster to such enormous proportions that it threatened to absorb all the surplus value which it was supposed to protect. Hence the cry for the cheapening of the cost of power. In the above quoted article Mr. White was confident, he declared, that while preachers and reformers clamor for the dawn of a better day to result from the Washington Conference, there will be intrigues and plans which the public will know nothing about, just as at Versailles, where, for instance, President Wilson was induced by a clever "arrangement" to surrender any claim to that very island of Yap that there was now so much trouble about. "The sham of Paris hypnotized the world," Mr. William Allan White said, according to the speaker.

#### Well-known British Publicist.

Mr. Pritchard went on to quote A. G. Gardner, the well-known author of "Trophies, Priests and Kings," late editor of the London "Daily News," as a British contributor to the discussion: America and England should take the lead in disarmament; the seas were the property of all nations and should be open to all; the freedom of the seas was challenged by America and England; it is up to them to make the great renunciation. He objected to the unvarnished statement of Mr. Churchill's that superiority in armed force was an essential preliminary to England attending a disarmament conference, and predicted that "there are lean times ahead for the flag-wagging demagogue," as Lloyd George is commencing to foresee. Mr. Gardner said in England they were living on their fat, and it's getting mighty near the bone; 2,000,000 unemployed, and there were two missionaries continuously touring the land: unemployment preaching to the poor and the tax gatherer preaching to the rich.

"And so," said Mr. Pritchard, "we find the problems which in 1914 were demanding solution which the Great War postponed, still confronting us, still unsolved and still growing more acute and insistent; like Banquo's ghost, they will not down, "if navies are scrapped, armies reduced, arsenals slowed down, powder factories, ammunition and chemical works closed, all in the interest of "Peace"—what then?"

"Still more unemployment, in a world where already the workers cannot purchase what they have produced, and yet where trade as at present conducted must inevitably lead to war—and the vicious circle all over again."

"There was never in history so ludicrously sad a paradox," he argued. "The only solution," in his opinion, "is to realize that there is plenty for all. The means of production are already adequate and more than adequate; it is the distribution that is obsolete and unscientific. The whole question is one of ownership of the wealth produced by labor." "The issue in this election," he declared, "is not between any candidate, but between your masters and yourselves."

A collection was taken up and several interesting questions were answered by the candidate, who will speak at Tillicum to-night and Marigold tomorrow.

One question, however, failed to get a satisfactory reply, and that was "Where is Mr. Bray, who challenged Mr. Pritchard to lend his platform to an opponent?"

**As to Prospects:** As no canvassing is being done and no vote catching tactics indulged in, it is idle to prophesy. But we can testify to the certain interest shown everywhere, and educational work is being done that will show sooner or later. Literature sales have been satisfactory and all the members of Victoria local along with others are working harmoniously together, each doing his best to spread our propaganda.

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