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# WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of CURRENT EVENTS

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HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

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# Ourselves and Parliament

**By J. D. Harrington**

ARISTOTLE, the greatest of the ancients, has defined man as the political animal; though we might with greater accuracy call him the voting animal. It is possible to find other forms of life which might be understood, in a broad sense, to be organized politically, but no other form has ever manifested the slightest evidence of submitting the regulation of its conduct to a vote.

Within certain limits, and excepting certain periodic lapses, mankind does submit its life, and much of its activity to the uncertain hazard of a collective poll. The result may be of the gravest consequence, but the seal of a voting majority having been announced, all and sundry shape their course accordingly. This is so, whether it involves dispensing with booze, or endorsing a war.

The reasons are obvious and need not be labored, the foremost being—that society could not be maintained, even on the lowest conceivable plain, where every difference had to be decided by cutting throats or bruising bones. There is, however, another factor which is often entirely overlooked, i.e., a proneness to follow where the race has trod, an extreme conservatism which prompts man to endure great evils rather than, by a greater or less increase of discomfort, finally abolish them. He will vote against them in a feeble attempt to diminish or remove them, but if his other conditions are such that he can live and hope to prolong life, he will not readily "take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." So that even after having by a large majority set the seal of his approval upon a certain course of action, he is likely to do little more than curse if his august commands are set at nought by those who are pleased to call themselves his servants. Thus tyrannies have been imposed upon free democraices time and time again with singular ease. Indeed, the blood and suffering accompanying all efforts to overthrow tyrannies is in amazing contrast to the facility and perfectly peaceful manner with which they are imposed. I think a very limited range of historical reading would furnish many examples of this social anomaly.

The great voting jag however is when we are called upon to select a government. This is a periodic affair in all well regulated democracies, and notwithstanding the tinsel and the trumpets. the corn broom torches and the band wagon, or the dawning of the morning after, our fellows in misery pursue the even tenor of their way, ploughing and reaping, spinning and weaving leaving to their elected representatives the task of governing them. The fact that these representatives rarely concern themselves about the voters' worries, or their own election promises, has engendered an abiding contempt for parliament and all its works. However whether Bruno said so or not the world does move, and so do the people of it. Then comes a burst of energy, a contempt for death, and unquenchable demand for change, and—

"The moving finger writes, and having writ
Moves on. Nor all your piety, or wit,
Can lure it back to cancel half a line:
Nor all your tears wipe out a word of it."

Naturally we conclude that revolution is the stuff. What's the use of voting when we can get what we want by fighting. Of course, but softly: who did the voting and who the fighting? We are still in the same world, and are still moved by the same senses, affections, passions; but in a different fashion, I fancy. What changed these hurt-fearing death dreading humble conservatives, into revolutionists, welcoming suffering and glorifying death? Whatever the cause, we may be sure their ideas had "suffered a sea change into something rich and rare."

The Irishman of 1913, for instance, might have had a wish to enjoy all that a 1921 Irishman desires, but with this difference; in 1913 it was a wish, not worth the loss of a meal, except to a comparative few, while in 1921 it becomes a consuming and imperative necessity, cheap if purchased with the last pang of physical endurance, animating all **except** a comparative few. The compunction to fight arose from the fact that a power existed which could set their vote aside. But no power existed in Ireland itself which would have embarked upon so desperate an adventure. Parliament as we knew it a decade ago has changed. Today it appears as a formal body giving legality to the will of a select committee known as the Cabinet. Members of parliament have repeatedy deplored the subordinate, if not obsequious nature of their office. But even so, we cannot view the financial and social standing of these mighty ministers of the Cabinet without remarking that they too are subordinate, and very obsequious to some other power. We see a French President lodged in an asylum, an American President next door to it, and we read of Lloyd George tottering to a fall, of Orlando and Clemenceau banished to the limbo of political lost souls. Evidently there is a power to which the mighty must render an account.

There is no mystery about this to anyone who has had some acquaintance with the Marxian school of thought. We know that governments are dominated by the powerful commercial and industrial interests ,and we know that parliaments are and must be the tools of those interests. In spite of this we constantly hear that parliaments have ceased to function. This is correct if we view the institution as functioning in the interest of all. But to those who adhere to the class nature of society it is merely confusion worse confounded. True, as we have remarked, parliament no longer decides, or even debates to any appreciable degree the issues of national, or international policy, but they do stamp this policy with the print, image, and superscription of the nation and if it is not entirely opposed to the immediate and perceptible welfare of the nation no question is made of it.

So that all matters of public policy are subjected to an extensive and intensive measure of propaganda. Whatever the needs of the dominating powers might be, they are always very careful to color those needs in idealistic and patriotic garb, to the end that the dear people might, in their folly, find solace in misery. This is done by methods that have long proven their efficacy. Catch phrases such as free trade serve to delude the voters. If we realize this, we can also estimate the folly of those who denounce participation in parliamentary elections.

The Socialist Party of Canada has entered all such contests with the prime motive of giving the workers an understanding of the world in which they live; they have always subordinated the chances of electing a candidate to that of making Socialists. Whatever the conduct of our elected members has been in Parliament, or will be, we have always held it as of little importance. It is what they did outside the House which gave us reason to applaud or condemn. And we have had reasons to do both.

We are under no delusions as to ever being able to revolutionize society by an Act of Parliament alone; not that parliament is in itself not so constituted as to effect such a desirable consummation, but because a master class, entrenched for centuries in all that makes for wealth and privilege, would not submit, if there was any chance of procuring workers foolish enough to fight their battles.

It might interest those who decry the contesting of parliamentary seats, to recall that history records not one successful revolution which did not first manifest itself as a victory or near victory at the polls. And so far as that goes few unsuccessful ones, where the revolutionists had an opportunity to so express themselves. And this is true of today more than at any other period in the world's history; owing to the intricacy of the death dealing machinery, not to mention the intense specialization of national production. The master class always ignited the revolutionary spark, even when they did not actually start and feed the conflagration. So too we have never been deluded enough to suppose that a people too mentally confused to vote for something would ever fight for it, while in that state of mind. And if they should develop the temper requisite to a great enterprise, I think, in time of peace at least ,they would register that temper in ways that those who run might read, and those who read might run, in case they were not like minded.

Parliaments, and cabinet ministers are the tools of a certain dominant social class who, by virtue of this domination control all the public forces of a nation. If we, the workers, could control these forces we would be masters, if we cannot we will remain slaves. This control is supposed to be vested in parliament, and for all practical purposes is, but only when parliament conforms to the history with transports of delight. The national anpassing through the nation's slums will be received with the transports of delight. The national anthem is bawled with vigor by hungry slaves. Thousands of weary toilers rush through thronged streets and stand for hours to catch a sight of a prince. Anyone who expects revolutions from a people so minded has broken with the real world, has fashioned an ideal world of his own, and is in the same mental latitude as the school girl who hopes one day to displace Mary Pickford, or the school boy who has decided to lick Jack Dempsey.

To those who still see the world as it is, there appears a task of giant proportions, a task almost beyond their strength, and that is the removal of all sentiment and ideology of master class character from the minds of the workers, and the introduction of working class needs, and knowledge. To that end alone is our aim devoted, and to that end do we contest political elections. If we should elect a member, we see a member of our class endowed with leisure and funds to instruct himself, and others. And if he does this, let the votes fall where they may.

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**The Third Congress of the Communist International.**

Moscow, June 16.—The third congress of the Communist International will not be opened before June 18th. The reason is that numerous delegates have not yet arrived. In the meantime five commissions are working upon the most important questions which shall come before the congress. These include the questions of the tactical situation, organization, trade unions, report of the executive. —"Rosta Wein."

# Book Review

EASY OUTLINES OF ÉCONOMICS, by Noah Ablett. Price 1s. 3d., paper covers, 94 pp. The Plebs League, 11a Penywern Road London, S W. 5.

THE ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle declared that slaves and the working class though they were necessary for the State—the common weal—were not constituents of it. And there is little doubt but that the laboring population of ancient Greece, were well aware that their position in society was restricted to that of mere instruments—work beasts—of labor in the interest and welfare of the upper classes who were recognized as constituents of that democracy. When discontent ran high, however, no doubt there were people with plausible tongues in those days who, stating further implications in Aristotle's theory of the State, told the laboring poulation that the institution of slavery was in the interest both of the State and the slave class. "Did not the masters," we hear them say, "supply the slaves the wherewithal to live—food, clothing and shelter?—it follows then, there can be no 'real' conflict of interest between the classes, but on the contrary, there is an identity of interest."

By that exhortation they were but giving expression to what has become known as the "organic" theory of the State—society is an organism, all its parts are necessary to each other—an assumption of the spokesmen of "things as they are" in every age. So also they are telling us today that the institutions of property, of capital and of wage-labor, are in the interest of the State as a whole, and therefore of all classes within it: "Capital and labor cannot 'really' be in conflict because each is an economic necessity to the other, and both to the organized community as a whole." And thus with a false assumption, for society is not an organism, and with a fog of words, an attempt is made to throw a veil over the fact that the great mass of individuals are suffering from oppressive conditions. The "organic" plausibility could hardly have deceived the chattel slaves of old, but it is to be feared that too many uncritical "free" wage workers today are mentally subdued by it, even though life's experiences may give rise to occasional doubt. Why this uncritical acceptance of such an argument? Because we are born into a society which has been dominated for ages by ruling and exploiting classes, and in which the institutions that have survived are those serving the interest of the dominant classes.

No class ever ruled primarily for the interest of a subject class, but always for its own. But class rule cannot be maintained permanently by means of physical force alone. Through the discipline of their habits of life, the underlying population acquire the habit of conformity to established institutions and to a station of subserviency in society. To strengthen this habit all dominant social classes have seen to it that their ideas, their preconceptions and logic, moralities and institutions, that is,—that their own habits of thought of whatever kind, shall dominate the minds of all sections of the community. Not always have they done this wholly from a consciousness of self or class interest, probably not so if they are a long established class. Man is the creature of habit forming environment, and the life-habits in a superior social position of mastery give a certain bent to the mind. Ruling classes, as such, always believe in themselves. They acquire the easy conviction that their social position is due to natural superiority, or to being the chosen of a providence, or to both assumed facts combined. They conceive they have a divine, or a nature ordained mission to rule. Class interest thus takes on the guise of community interest: naked material interest dons the moralistic garb of the true, the good and the beautiful. Thus, in the defence and furtherance of class interest, besides cupidity, all the emotional forces of the human being are mobilized.

In the propagating of their ideas, I think, that never in the history of the world has a ruling class been so active as the bourgeoisie today—a symptom of their extremity—it is certain that no other class have had such powerful agencies at work as are, for instance, the modern press and pulpit, the libraries, theatres, schools, colleges and universities. And they had need. Ideas are mental habits, and it requires habituation to the pressure of changed conditions, some discipline to material facts of life which contradict them to change them, as well as understanding. The traditional bourgeois ideas are now facing the challenge of such facts. We have with us today the twentieth century "state of the productive arts," a stage of development in the production of things useful for the life and well-being of mankind. Think of modern productive capacity, of science, physics, and chemistry, etc., applied to industrial processes, of natural forces harnessed, and of machine industry organized on the large-scale plan. And then think of the glory that was ancient Greece, raised over two thousand years ago on mere hand-tool production; and on the grandeur that was Rome; and of what might be today, and of what is.

In these modern days it is notorious that industry, considered as a whole, never operates anywhere near its full capacity by reason of deliberate management in the interest of profit for its owners, and further, that there are widespread duplications of services and other enormous wastes attached to competitive production for profit: wastes, which, if you station yourself at the community standpoint, are fundamentally wastes of human life-force, wastes of creative energy which thus can not be measured by dollars and cents but only by time. Today we are in the throes of a world-wide industrial depression. Production is curtailed on an unprecedented scale and multitudes of unemployed are everywhere. There has just finished its labors in the United States a "Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry," composed of industrial experts, engineers appointed by Herbert Hoover Commenting on an abstract of its report, Walter N. Polakov, himself an industrial engineer of reputation, has an article worth attention entitled "Waste," in the "New Republic" for July 6. He states, that normally, there are 1,000,000 persons unemployed in the United States and that at the present time "over 5,000,000 men with 20,000,000 dependents are locked out, jobless, nearing hourly destitution if not desperation." There is want and poverty of the things of life and well-being everywhere, while the means of life sustaining production have ceased to function, and so creative labor is denied achievement. Why? The immediate cause is that the purchasing powers of the mass of the community can not take commodities off the market as fast as they can be produced—at a profit; for capitalism is an economic regime in which, not the well-being of the community, but profit to the owners is the incentive to the operation of industry.

And so, increasingly larger numbers of the working class are doubting the verities of the present social order; the hard facts of the social situation, the experiences of life, contradict the received ideas and wordy apologetics of the spokesmen for "things as they are." But doubt is no resthouse for the human mind. It should merely mark the point of departure from unthinking acceptance unto the quest of understanding of the present form of organization of society and its worth as a functional agent of human welfare and social progress.

When I sat down to write my intention was, as per order of Editor, to write a review of a pamphlet issued by the Plebs League entitled "Easy Outlines of Economics. But, editors propose—as Ring Lardner might say, what I laughingly calls my mind, baulked, refused to be led to the set task. The nearest to it I could get was to moralize on reasons why working men and women should read the pamphlet. Some of that moralizing is here set down. Questions of interest have been touched upon but not developed. Those and many other such questions occupying doubting and enquiring minds will find an answer in the study of Marxian economics. Pamphlets such as the one I am supposed to be reviewing, or "Wagelabor and Capital," and "Value, Price and Profit," by Marx himself, provide an easy introduction for the beginner to the study of "Capital," Marx' great work. It would be easy to find fault with the Plebs pamphlet, either in one or two details of theory or with some features of its general scheme; but it would be a somewhat graceless act in view of the disarming modesty of the author's "Apologia," in which he declares the pamphlet's provisional nature as a collection of articles, and as "merely the substratum of an ambitious dream." His work, however, has values for the beginner, chief of which, I think, is that it follows Marx in the development of his analysis of the capitalist system of production into the second and third volumes of "Capital," hitherto little studied, but now of increasing value in view of late developments in price phenomena and monopoly control. It can thus be claimed for the pamphlet, that it does outline to the student the relationship and interdependence of all detail parts of Marxian theory with the scheme of the Marxian theoretical system as a whole; without a comprehension of which, indeed, its different parts can not be thoroughly understood.

We are still, however, far from having a satisfactory auxiliary text book for classes, competently handling Marxian economic theory in relation to specific features of prominence in the economic situation today. Contained in the files of the now almost forgotten "Red Flag" and the "Indicator," wartime substitutes for the "Clarion," when the hand of the censor lay heavy on that stiff-necked malignant, are a number of articles on economics over the pen name of "Geordie." To the present writer and to many others who remember them, they were far the most satisfactory articles printed yet in point of diction, method and firm grasp of subjects treated upon. They too, I believe, are but the substratum of a more ambitious dream. The transmutation of that dream into tangible fact, however, is a work of some labor and there is small hope, I suspect, of it being completed for some, perhaps, considerable time. In the meantime, provisionally, in view of the approaching season for study classes, "Geordie's" articles in pamphlet form would be of immense value to the members as well as to the propagandists in workship or camp, or those whose habit is platform or pen, not least to these latter, because of numerous references to authorities, and that each separate article is so constructed as to form the basis of a lecture or an article. Who will join in my plea for the articles to be published immediately?

C. S.


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# The Imperial Conference

THE Premiers of the Empire are presently foregathered in London for a "confab,"—and true to the traditions of commerce, the proceedings are sub rosa These worthy gentlemen are the accredited representatives of the Governments of the respective countries, i.e., business drummers, and are assembled in conference to devise concerted measures for trade expansion,—preferential, perhaps, if possible, but at all costs, trade. The chief items for consideration are British foreign policy, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and Imperial defence And these three are closely and vitally connected.

British foreign policy is the direction of foreign affairs in the interests of British capital. In the course of economic development, the Great Powers have carved out for themselves, from subject peoples, what are grandiloquently described as "concessions" and 'spheres of influence." Treaties are entered into guaranteeing certain "rights' and syndicates are formed for the exploitation of particular resources. As Governments are the executives of the capitalist class, the prime function of government is the welfare of business, and in the furtherance of that business, every country maintains its foreign diplomatic service It is the object of the service to see that no foreign agency overreaches the business interests of the accrediting country. This political handling of such economic relations constitutes 'foreign policy." As all exploitation necessarily engenders opposition, the control of the total activity is centred in the office for foreign affairs, and on this office devolves the care of devising measures for the smooth working of the process of exploitation; hence the need for secret treaties and diplomatic corps

British foreign policy, therefore, has been developed from the needs of British trade. It grows with trade expansion, and is modified according to the vicissitudes of world conditions. It cannot be changed agreeably to the wishes of another except in so far as that change shall not react detrimentally on itself. It is in such delicate situations, where a modified policy is prompted or necessitated by outside influence that diplomatic finesse gets in its fine work and gives a new direction, a breathing space, to the ever-swelling forces of commercial expansion.

Commercial interests although inherently anti-social, are not originally contradictory. They grow out of, and in harmony with, the economic necessities of peoples—and this is the source of their power and aggression. Nor are they originally mutually conflicting, although necessarily expanding. Growth is as its component of sustenance, and the interest of business lies in "free" development of friendly intercourse, i.e., the friendly, profitable exchange of exploited surplus. And between such nations there is peace.

But development proceeds apace; exploitation is intensified; surplus increases, the market for its sale contracts. Nations throw off their excess populations in colonial growth, are welded into empires, concentrate on their combined resources. They come into sharp conflict with their own, and which can yet find a temporary agreement against a common rival, threatening a common interest:,

Economic development determines foreign policy, and in the nature of that development the foreign policy of Britain can be no other than world dominion. To secure that end, Britain seeks to band her colonies together; to draw them in trade amity to herself. And as an indispensable condition, for additional security of her goal, she contracts an alliance with the only power that is available – the power that in the progress of world trade finds itself in a mutual antagonism with a common competitor.

The geographical positions of kingdoms and colonies, the nature of their resources, the character of their personnel, the degree of development, all enter into and determine the final result. The interest of a colony may become as antagonistic to the mother country as the interest of a first rival, its trade and development may be involved with the vital conditions of the latter as with the former. In ancient Greece the Athenian colonies became a thorn in the side of their parent, and the outgrowths of the still older Phoenicia flourished, to find themselves in conflict with their birth source. And so it may be again.

Capitalist development necessarily induces rivalry—rivalry for the world market. And the manifest of the principle is embodied, concretely, in the great powers of today. Thus Imperialist Britain, mistress of the seas, powerful with conquest, competitively struggling for wider dominion, faces the new and rising Imperialism of America, forced by commercial necessity into the grim contest for world power. As it happens, the still unexploited resources of the earth lie in the Orient, generally. And the Orient also has developed an Imperial power The necessary direction of American Imperialist expansion is towards the East, consequently it must trespass more and more upon the Imperism of Japan, and must—and will——prepare for the inevitable struggle. Which conditions, determine the question of Imperial defence.

For a similar set of reasons, as a world power, Britain too turns towards the East. As her interests are not at present, in sharpened antagonism with those of Japan, and as Japanese aggression—or "the rights of Japan in the East" as it is put—supplies a much needed check on American development, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance comes into being, for the protection of "Chinese integrity," etc., that is to say, the preservation, in the first case, of Chinese resources, in the common (if temporary) interests of the high contracting parties Furthermore, British interests are connected primarily with India and South Eastern Asia generally, and only secondarily with China. Hence,—and without Britain visibly appearing in the matter—the "peaceful penetration" policy of Japan, agreed to by the alliance, strikes a blow at another mortal enemy of Britain—Bolshevist Russia,—since Russia too is struggling for friendly relations with China, and for the consolidation of her Siberian territory; while the common antagonism of British-Japanese interests with those of America, find reflex in the diplomatic dalliance over American affairs in the Pacilc. Consequently the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is not likely to be blown away with the fairy winds of sentiment. Its form may be altered, but its material substance will not be affected thereby.

As a sequential result of those conditions the question of foreign policy is foredoomed in the economic situation itself. The Antipodes are solidly lined up with Britain, both on policy and alliance, because, without the alliance they are helpless in the face of Eastern aggression, because their prosperity is the prosperity of British capital, and because therefore the growth and prospects of their enterprise and industry flow into deeper channels in the sunshine of the alliance.

Canada, on the other hand, is thrown into the arms of America Her associations and outlook are American, her interests, both of domestic and foreign trade are mutual. For both, the European market is exploited, and precarious for both are the unimaginable riches of the East—and the common enemy. Thus "our" Mr. Meighen becomes the staunch friend of America,—battling valiantly the good fight for armaments reduction; dissents from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; and espouses the impossible cause of "friendship with Japan," and agreements conserving the well-being of all nations (except Bolshivist Russia).

The financial situation of the world is such that, while it tends to draw Britain and America together for the fundamental protection of their common principle of exploitation, it at the same time, brings into play forces of imperious nationality, tending strongly for their separation. It is these latter forces which, by the nature of capitalist production, come to the top and determine the dim way of the future. For in the last analysis those forces are the expression of immediate social necessity. Self-preservation is the first law of nations, as of individuals. Ideal imaginings are of no avail, ties of kin and sentiment, are ruthlessly swept away in the galloping rush for profit. Trade is paramount, and as modern necessities demand a greater volume of commerce than ever before, the rival nations must encroach upon the trade field of their neighbors, and eliminating the weaker competitor, clash with the strong in the crimson agony for world supremacy.

R.

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## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THIRD INTERNATIONAL

SINCE returning from my enforced vacation, I have been deeply interested in the discussion, through the columns of the "Clarion," on the Third International and affiliation therewith.

Without going over points brought out by both sides, it seems to me that the position taken by Com. Stephenson in two recent issues comes as close to the correct appreciation of the whole question as any presentation yet made. His liberal estimate (for purposes of comparison) of 50,000 Communists is, of course, unwarrantedly liberal. As one fellow in the upper country, when discussing this point, said: "There are not 50,000 people in Canada who know what a Communist is."

After all, comrades, the question is not one of **subjective** theory, but of **objective** reality. What, then, is the situation confronting us, as Socialists here in Canada? Anyone travelling through the west must be impressed with the vast waste of rolling prairie and seas of mountains, peopled here and there, few and far between, with small communities, all of which with few exceptions, despite their antecedents and previous training, exhibit a mental vision, parochially conservative, which confines their intellectual activities to what might be fittingly described as a perpetual journeying around the village pump.

And yet, for all that, there can be discerned more revolutionary knowledge and instinct out in the west than can be found in the east, despite the latter's preponderance of population. Which brings me to remark somewhat upon the grotesque attitude adopted by our unknown, and apparently hitherto unheard of, critics: the sewer-pipe revolutionists of "The Communist," published so far as can be ascertained, in Toronto.

Such men as have carried on the very necessary work of proletarian education, whether inside or outside of the S. P. of C., have done so openly and unashamed, and have consequently become targets for both agents of authority and critics of anonymity It is well.

Our friends of the rat-hole persuasion (by choice) with a heap of culled phrases abominably thrown together and still more abominably disseminated, call upon all and sundry to witness that they (whoever they are) have discovered that some years of painful plodding in the realm of propaganda is of no avail, that the S. P. of C., is reformistic and that Harrington, forsooth (whose record to my mind is as clean as any in the movement, east or west), is a "Kautsky." And this committee of the Third International in Canada! Who are they? We wot not. But their first cousins in the U. S., who in all probability are supplying the sinews of war, have come to the top of the sewer-pipe—possibly for air. And we discover a whole regiment of pie-artists and reformers of earlier days (the days when reformism was as popular as doles from the Third's treasury seem to be now): Engdahl and Co.

Our Torontonian terrors (if Toronto be their place of abode) have evidently decided that the time may, or will, come when the progressive proletarian movement will be forced underground. Ergo, let us dig our burrows now and become secretive. And furthermore ,let us announce the fact that we are to become secret. Tut! Tut! As one who has reason to know a little of the present highly developed espionage system in existence today I protest. Further, I protest against the insipid, yet insidious, attacks of noisy unknows against those who are known to the agencies of authority, as outspoken protagonists of the Class Struggle. Besides, there appear to be a quite considerable number of persons who are willing to yell "Kautsky" at those who still recognize the necessity for even self-criticism and desire to take cognisance of all the factors in any given problem, who probably followed Kautsky admiringly during the earlier days of his defection,

(Continued on page 4)

# Western Clarion

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## HERE AND NOW.

We have been seriously thinking of changing this heading **"Here and Now"** to **"The Roll of Honor"** or something war-like and heroic. We intended in this issue to write a soul-stirring, dollar-extracting, passionate appeal for subscriptions, portraying our sterling worth as able advocates in a slave cause, but the dejected wail of tambourine and concertina swept in upon us and squelched the poetic urge. Which brings us to another headitg —the (class) **"War Cry,"** how'd that do? We'll have to have something more alluring, arresting, seductive, subtractive or otherwise efficient anyway, to instil the breath of life into this matter of importance. These figures have a lean and hungry look, like unto the figure of Cassius.

You are hereby asked, exhorted, required, prevailed upon, wheedled with and prompted to add to them and build them back into presentable shape. We don't like boosting the "Clarion" ourselves (being modest folk) but we're glad we'er alive and we're sure we're useful. Enter the reinforcements:

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## ON MATTERS THAT NEEDN'T WORRY US MUCH.

Conferences are now the order of the day. Inperial Conferences, disarmament conferences, Irish conference—all for peace—after the peace that passeth all understanding. We had a war as everybody knows, fought ,they said, to make the world safe for democracy, to guarantee self-determination to small nations, to establish a high standard of culture and to generally establish honesty in the policy of nations through open covenants openly arrived at, and so forth and so on.

Now in the matter of self-determination Ireland will serve as an example of imperialist "high-mindedness," the high standard of culture has been well expressed in its best after-the-war manner by the allied press in the dealings with Germany; as for the open covenants, the present Imperial Conference serves as a nice example. It seems strange that after all the lessons of the war there should still be people ready and willing to swallow the newspaper twaddle over the worries imperialist statesmen endure in conference over the affairs, integrity and problems of other people, and of their veneration for the sacred terms of treaties entered into or to be renewed.

War-time literature has shown clearly that international politics and agreements are laid down, however their surface draperies may clothe them, in terms of finance, coal, oil, iron and trade routes. These understandings as between one foreign office and another appear as treaties, consortiums, alliances and such like. At the present time the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is in the public eye, and it is worthy of note that the press fail, purposely no doubt, to disclose its features or what it is all about. Indeed, here in British Columbia, even the prime minister doesn't know what it is all about; he has been sending cables to London advocating the termination of the alliance because under its terms Canada is precluded from a voice in the matter of Japanese immigration. "The Province" (Vancouver) had this to say the other day:

> "Cable messages which Premier Meighen is receiving from British Columbia asking that no action with respect to the Anglo-Japanese alliance or the status of Indian subjects which might result in more Orientals entering Canada, indicate that British Columbians are not clear as to the real facts. The Anglo-Japanese alliance is not concerned with immigration. This subject is exclusively dealt with in the treaty of commerce and navigation, dated April 3, 1913, between the United Kingdom and Japan, which was adhered to by Canada and which remains in force until January, 1923, and thereafter until terminated by either side on one year's notice. This treaty regulates immigration from Japan, subject to the special agreement negotiated in 1907 by Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. This treaty is entirely separate from the Anglo-Japanese alliance."

So much for Premier Oliver's knowledge of the covenants of these days.

Now, when Mr. Meighen went to London the Canadian press was full of his bold intentions to make public the debates and decisions arrived at, but very soon notices of this kind began to appear:

> "The present discussion is of a highly delicate nature, and it is unlikely that any decisions will be divulged, beyond a general brief statement to the press at the close of the session on foreign affairs."

By which it will be seen that this is a dangerous old world for us to know anything about, mainly because it isn't ours.

In all this Anglo-Japanese talk there appears the name of the United States as a party to be considered in any agreement that may be arrived at. The United States is a territory situated on another continent altogether from either Great Britain or Japan. The territory they are worried about is obviously China, that is, so far as Anglo-Jap and U. S. relationships are concerned, because there they all three meet with interests to conserve and advance. The Japanese are a nation of 57 million people lodged in an area of similar size to California, and with only 15 per cent. of it arable land. Outside of copper deposits, they have little metal or other mineral resources. Shantung has mineral, so also Saghalien Island, hence Japan's interest in them. Her complaints about race recognition and the equal right of immigration are so much propaganda. Such restrictions as are put upon her in this respect she herself puts on Chinese and Koreans. This is just a "talking point." This statement appeared in the press the other day.

> "What Japan is after is a fuller scope in China and Asia. Any effort to thwart her object there is about the only thing that would force her to war. Her special right in this respect is recognized by the United States under the recent Lansing-Ishii treaty. The Chinese have little friendliness for the Japanese. Their aversion was recently shown by the boycost of Japanese goods that was declared. Japan is overcoming that boycott by getting control of the raw materials which the Chinese manufacturers cannot get on without in the manufacture of home-made goods.' "

It is evident from this that the Japanese are not welcome in their imperialist stride into China, but this paragraph speaks of Japan's "special right" recognized by the U. S. This might serve for the ground work of a useful article on the U. S.—Japanese "spheres of influence." Previous agreements (the Ishii-Lansing agreement was signed November, 1917) with the Czarist Russian Government (1916) "recognized territorial rights and special interests in the Far East." These were later exposed by the Soviet Government.

In July, 1918, the U. S. State Department invited Great Britain, France and Japan to co-operate in a four-power loan to China, to be participated in by the bankers of the respective countries in equal parts. France and Great Britain readily agreed, while Japan held out under reservations until (so far as is known) March, 1921. While this looks like a kind invitation to Japan from U. S. A., in reality it served to check Japan's extension in Manchuria and Mongolia. The Allies, including U. S. A., while the war was in progress were unable to look after Japanese extended influence in China. The terms of the Consortium served to check this expansion, and Japan argued her case for two years.

This Consortium of course is said to be constructed "in the interest of China." That was to be expected. But it may seem strange that the Chinese have never been consulted in the matter. What happens is that all and any loans China's financiers or government may hope to negotiate must henceforth be negotiated through this Consortium of the bankers of four nations grouped under their respective states. In this regard America will have major control for, out of the nations named she is now in the most favorable financial position to make advances. From a minor position in the previous six-power consortium she is now the leading power in the four-power consortium. The American government is in full support of its bankers, the terms are laid down clearly that she is willing to insure the execution of contracts made by her citizens in foreign lands, which means peaceful penetration where possible and force where necessary.

Now this matter on the China consortium is not intended here to indicate anything but likely avenues of antagonism where the interests of rival commercial national groups are at variance. It is commonly agreed that U. S. and Japanese commercial and financial interests are opposed in China. Great Britain is at present allied with Japan. Her alliance, seemingly, will last 12 more months whether it is immediately renewed or not. The "lecture indoors" (as the "Manchester Guardian" calls it) at the Imperial Conference has decided that much—they have decided to shelve it; safety first before the discussion on disarmament. Maybe, too, the proposed Kamchatka concession by the Soviets to America has a sinister meaning for Japan's defences.

What have all these considerations to do with the slave's problem? Not much, it is true. They will not fill an empty stomach nor cover bare toes. But they show, or they try to show, that when next time a war is talked of "for democracy" or for "Chinese inviolability" or any of these be-plastered "ethical" considerations, the worker need not have any worry over saving democracy. He has but one problem that needs solution, and that is how he may assure himself of the means of life. But his best time to understand a war and its causes is before the event. Learning might be difficult afterwards. In the meantime, the class struggle goes on in all countries, there the interests of the workers lie with one another.

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## S. P. OF C. AND THIRD INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 3)

and possibly did not appreciate the valuable contributions that this same Kautsky has made to the movement. I certainly am holding no brief for Kautsky, yet of him Lenin has said: "How well Kautsky wrote 18 years ago."

The Socialist Party of Canada should undoubtedly strive to occupy, in the working class movement, as the political expression of that movement, a position beyond reproach.

But the silly yappings of some neo-revolutionists, who cannot discern the historic difference between Ceasar's wife and the charming spouse of Potiphar, cannot help very much in convincing the "broad masses of the people" of the need for Socialism.

That is our task here in Canada. Let us to it!

W. A. PRITCHARD

**Next Issue: Article by John F. Maguire**

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## CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Following, One Dollar each—T. Richardson, A. Stewart, L. Bart, A. Sobanski, Oscar Motter, O. Larsen, O. Nederlee, A. Rendal, Chas. Neil.

Local Ottawa, per P. T. Leckie, $5; J. C. Mitchell, $3; Arne Manvick, $2; Local (Winnipeg), No. 3, per F. W. Kaplan, $5; Martin Ophus, $5.

Total from 28th June to 12th July inclusive, $29.

# CONCERNING VALUE

By "GEORDIE."

THE word "value" comes from a Latin word "valere" which means "to be able" or "to be strong." It appears in the Italian as "Valore" and in French as "valeur," and is akin to such words as "valiant," "valor," "valid," and "invalid." By a very natural transition this word came to mean "to be worth," or "to be equal to." It will be readily seen that, by the use of this word comparison or relationship is set up.

When we say any object is valuable we mean one of two things, which must be carefully distinguished. In the first place we may mean that the object meets some one of our many wants, that is to say, it is of use to us. In this case the relationship is between the object and the person who uses it. We therefore say that the article possesses **use-value.** This form of value I have already dealt with in the chapter on "Use Value."

On the other hand, in saying that any article possesses value we may be making a comparison between that article and some other. The one is said to be worth or equal to the other and may, therefore, be exchanged for it. This form of value is known as **exchange value** and, inasmuch as all the products of labor, in certain proportions, are equal to one another, may be defined as—the proportional quantities in which commodities exchange with each other. "Commodities" are labor products which have been produced for exchange.

It is important to note that the term "use-value" refers to the qualities of the article, while "exchange-value" is a matter of quantity.

Let us now suppose that a certain farmer sells a bushel of wheat for one dollar and with the money so obtained purchases 10 lbs. of sugar. He has exchanged a certain quantity of wheat—sixty pounds—for a certain quantity of gold—23.2 grains—and that again for a certain quantity, 10lbs sugar. These are the proportions which our farmer finds to be prevailing on that day. Some other day they may be different. Incidentally, it will be observed that what has actually happened is that wheat has been exchanged for sugar. I have explained elsewhere why the more complicated process is used. At this particular time and place we find that 10 lbs. of sugar are equal to, or are worth, or are the value of 60 lbs of wheat, and that one dollar in gold is the value of either one of them.

Now the question we have to discuss is just why this relationship should exist and what it is that determines or fixes their particular proportions, and further, which is really the same question in a different form, what causes their proportion to vary from time to time. The conclusion we come to will be our theory of value.

A number of theories have been put forward to account for the facts. There are: the Utility; the Cost of Production; the Labor; the Supply and Demand and the Marginal Utility theories.

The Utility Theory may be dismissed at once. Utility, of course, is important in view of the fact that no object can become a commodity which does not possess utility or use-value, real or fancied. But it is obvious that utility, in itself, has no part in the determination of exchange value. I doubt whether any one who was at all acquainted with the facts ever thought that it had.

The others fall into two classes. The Labor Theory approaches the question from the point of view of production. According to this theory value is determined by the respective quantities of labor required in the production of commodities; the amounts of social effort involved in placing them upon the market. In practice this becomes a question of the cost of production. In the case of freely or competitively produced goods the market value will be determined, as a rule, by the cost of production of those commodities produced under average conditions of production. Under certain conditions the cost of production will be determined at the margin of production. "Marginal cost" is the cost of production of those commodities produced under the least favorable conditions; in other words, the most expensive part of the necessary supply of any particular commodity. On the other hand the marginal utility theory starts from human wants and their satisfaction. The amount of satisfaction to be obtained by the consumption of any commodity is a matter of subjective utility. This latter diminishes directly as the quantity supplied of the commodity in question. This again depends on the scarcity or otherwise of this commodity. The utility of the last unit supplied (or withheld) is the final or marginal utility.

It will be seen that there is in this theory a fusion of the concepts of utility and scarcity. The connection with the law of supply and demand will now be readily seen. Roughly speaking, utility may be linked up with demand and scarcity with supply. The opposing forces will balance at the point of final utility, thus fixing the value or price. These two are, of course, considered practically identical, seeing that the whole action takes place in the fields of consumption and exchange. The whole theory is therefore a theory of prices. Since, however, goods cannot normally be sold below the cost, or perhaps I should say the expenses of production and competition prevents them being sold above, it follows that the prices of freely produced commodities tend to "coincide with the marginal cost of production."

Let us now return to the Labor Theory. According to this theory, the determination of value takes place in production. So soon, however, as the commodity enters the market it becomes subject to the operation of the law of supply and demand, resulting in prices which fluctuate, now above, now below the cost of production.

So that we arrive at practically the same result so far as the facts are concerned, with this important difference, however, in the interpretation that, according to one theory price and value are identical while, according to the other, there may be, and generally is, considerable divergence between value and price.

For example, let us take our illustration in which the farmer sold his wheat for a gold dollar and bought sugar. In this case we have assumed gold as the money commodity. Now, the value of any commodity expressed in the money commodity is its price. Price is the "monetary expression of value." This definition would be agreed to by all schools of economics. Let us now observe what happens when something occurs which affects the supply of or the demand for some one of these commodities, say wheat. It might so happen that because of an over-supply the price might be forced down to ninety cents or, on the other hand, because of an increased demand it might be advanced to one dollar and ten cents. Now then, seeing that, according to the labor theory value is determined in production, we should say that, in the one case wheat was selling ten per cent. below and in the other ten per cent above its value. On the other hand, from the point of view of any theory which considers value to be determined by the condition of the market, the actual amount of gold that the wheat exchanged for whether 20.88 or 23.2 or 25.52 grains, would be its value, and its price would be 90 or 100 or 110 cents as the case might be.

It is points such as the foregoing, one out of many, which introduce so much confusion into the discussion of economic questions, and this is not helped any by the determination of bourgeois economists to ignore any theory of value based on labor. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the cost of production of a commodity is a concrete, positive fact in practical economics and cannot be ignored by any economist, still less by any manufacturer.

The fact is that many modern economists are so keenly alive to their position as spokesmen for the capitalist class and others are so influenced by their class position in society that most of their work is tainted with apologetics. On the other hand we have very good reason to suppose that when at any time any theory has arisen and has been generally assented to that the eonomic conditions of that time, the run of the facts will colorably bear such an interpretation.

For this reason it is my intention to enquire briefly into the question as to what conditions might conceivably give rise to the concepts I have mentioned, and what connection may be discovered between tl em.

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## OPEN AIR SOCIALIST MEETING IN CALGARY INTERRUPTED BY POLICE

A meeting was held on the evening of July 7th at one of the street corners on 8th Avenue East, in support of the candidate nominated by the Socialist Party of Canada, Calgary Local No. 86. Comrade Cassidy had attracted a large crowd and was expounding the Socialist platform in his vigorous and lucid style, when he was interrupted by the police, who pointed out to him that religious bodies had the monopoly of street corners in Calgary for their propaganda. The Socialists would therefore have to desist. The officer told them to go to the park and hold their meeting, but as the hour was far advanced the audience were requested to hear the rest of Comrade Cassidy's speech at the Socialist headquarters, 134a 9th Avenue W., opposite the Palliser Hotel. Here the large classroom was packed to the door. Comrade Tree occupied the chair, and Comrade Cassidy and Comrade Williams, the candidate, held a meeting until a late hour. No one left the room till the close of the addresses, notwithstanding the fact that it was one of the hottest nights of the season.

A. HOLLINGSHEAD.

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## ALBERTA NOTES.

Comrade Frank Cassidy came to Seal, Alta., on June 1st, and left on June 23rd for Castor and Red Willow. He spoke at 12 meetings and a few informal ones while here, in six different places. They were all well attended with the exception of two; he held as many as three meetings at the same place and the crowds that came to hear him increased with every succeeding meeting held. History of the Class Struggle, past and present, was well handled by Frank. He stripped it of all its trimmings and exposed its naked form to his hearers. He satirized the "would be" nation lovers and empire builders (but which in reality are nation haters, if any other country but the one they happen to be born in is mentioned), with unflinching logic and humorous illustrations, which would draw applause from the class conscious and downtrodden, and made the blood boil in the coops of reactionaries. Kings, dukes, lords, including the small fry, such as bankers clerks, and even the Almighty himself, they all received their just attention from Frank turning the searchight of the materialistic interpretation of history upon them.

At all meetings questions were invited and floor allowed in opposition. Frank answered all questions in the spirit asked. One school teacher thought she would show Frank up, or rather mop the floor with him, by asking and answering her own questions, stating Socialism wanted to divide up, and said that if he wanted a system of government like the one in Russia, then she hoped God would help Frank. Frank in his answer drew down the house in a storm of laughter, and the lady went home sadder but a whole lot wiser, no doubt wondering how she ever came to have such erroneous ideas about Socialism.

Literature was sold at our meetings and subs. for the "Clarion" asked for. Keep Frank on the firing line. He is a fine boy and a good propagandist and capable on the platform. We shall be tickled to have him with us again. And lastly, we want to tender Frank a hearty thanks for his efforts towards education of the slave.

Yours in the scrap,
Local (Equity) 87,
H. H. HANSON, Secretary.

Seal Alberta.

# Materialist Conception of History

## FOR BEGINNERS

### Lesson 17.

### "FRENCH REVOLUTION."

IN Weir's "Historical Basis of Modern Europe," (p. 105), he says: "It cannot be too often repeated that the French Revolution was not a convulsive struggle of a people tortured beyond endurance, but the collapse of an effete social system. Though the Lord of the Manor no longer resided amongst the peasants, they had to pay toll at his bridges, tolerate the ravages of his pigeons and game, bring their corn to his mill and grapes to his wine press, and dough to his ovens; nor could they escape the requisition of the church."

F. A. M. Mignet, in his "French Revolution," says, (p. 77): "The insurrection broke out in a violent and invincible manner. A young girl entering a guardhouse, seized a drum and rushed through the streets beating it, and crying 'Bread, Bread.' She was surrounded by a crowd of women. This mob advanced toward the Hotel de Ville, increasing as it went . . . . broke open the doors, seized weapons and marched towards Versailles. The people rose en masse, the national guard and French guards joining against the opposition of their commander, Lafayette." On page 88, 89, 91, Mignet records that when Talleyrand proposed to the clergy to renounce ecclesiastical property to the nation after the debate on this subject, the clergy rose against the proposition. And when this property was placed at the nation's disposal by the decree of 2nd December, 1789, the hatred of the clergy to the Revolution broke out from that moment. Page 90: "When the clergy saw the decree of the 29th December transferring the administration of the church property to the municipalities, it sought every means of impeding the operations of the municipalities by exciting as much as possible religious questions, and it raised the Catholics against the Protestants for the purpose of compromising the assembly and confounding the cause of its own interests with that of religion. When the Assembly completed the reorganization of France, the nobility emigrated to excite Europe against the Revolution. The clergy, discontented with the loss of its possessions, still more than with the ecclesiastical constitution, sought to destroy the new order by insurrections. These two elements prepared the elements of civil and foreign wars." (p. 109.)

De Gibbin says: "The French Revolution was the result of economic causes that had been operating for centuries, and which had their effect 400 years before in the Peasants' Revolt in England. These economic effects have been kept in the background by historians, blinded by the increased wealth of the richer portion of the nation, ignoring the fact that it was accomplished by serious poverty among the industrial classes. Nor did historians perceive the famous world wars in which England was engaged at the close of the century and up to 1815 were necessitated by England's endeavor to obtain the commercial supremacy of the world, after she had invented the means of supplying the world's markets to overflowing. Economic causes were at the root of them all." Another historian tells us: "Prior to 1789, three-fifths of all the best land and improvements and three-quarters of all the wealth of the nation belonged to 500,000 clergy, nobility and royalty, while the other 25,000,000 owned two-fifths lands and one-fourth property, paying all taxes as the above three parties were all exempted from taxation; the people confiscated all this wealth, selling it and putting the money in the treasury." The same conditions obtained in Mexico and the South American provinces of Spain. The clergy, nobles and religious orders owned the most fertile land, and Mexico followed the method of France when they became a republic, by confiscating all the property of these classes and divorcing the church from the State."

The "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels says: "All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon change in historical conditions. The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property." The Revolution was welcomed in England until it appeared it was going to affect the English nobility. Burke said the overthrow of kingship in France would lead to the same in England. The World Peace Foundation (Feb. 1919) in a booklet on Anglo-American relations, dealing with the French Revolution period says: "Britain went to war to check the expansion of the French Revolution to other countries, and especially to prevent the spread of revolutionary democracy on her own soil." This lead to the Napoleon wars. Napoleon passed the decree of Berlin after a victorious struggle with Russia and Prussia, declaring a blockade and the seizure of all British ships and exports, and all the ships of other nations if they called at a British port, because Britain declared a blockade of the whole coast of France and her allies from Dantiz to Trieste. It was impossible to enforce this blockade even by the immense force at Britain's disposal. Napoleon retaliated by the exclusion of all British trade to and from the Continent. Britain saw this might ruin her trade and issued an order in council, January, 1807, by which neutral vessels voyaging to coasts subject to the blockade were compelled to touch a British port on pain of seizure. The order in council brought on the war with the United States, as they opposed Britain's right of search on her ships.

Engels in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," says: "The great French Revolution was the third uprising of the bourgeoisie, but the first that had entirely cast off the religious cloak and was fought out on undisguised political lines; it was the first, too, that was really fought out to the destruction of one of the combatants, the aristocracy, and the complete triumph of the other, the bourgeoisie. In England the continuity of the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary institutions, and the compromise between the landlord and the capitalist, found its expression in the continuity of judical procedure and in the religious preservation of the feudal forms of the law. In France the Revolution constituted a complete breach with the traditions of the past; it cleared out the very last vestige of feudalism; and created in the Code Civil a masterly adaption of the old Roman law—that almost perfect expression of the juridical relations corresponding to the economic stage called by Marx the production of commodities—to modern capitalistic conditions; so masterly that this French revolutionary code still serves as a model for reforms of the law of property in all other countries, not excepting England." (p. 23, Whitehead Library). On p. 43: "The Revolution was the victory of the third estate, i.e., of the great masses of the nation working in production and in trade, over the privileged idle classes, the nobles and the priests. But the victory of the third estate soon revealed itself as exclusively the victory of a small part of this 'estate' as the conquest of political power by the socially privileged section of it, i.e., the propertied bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie had certainly developed rapidly during the Revolution, partly by speculation in the lands of the nobility and of the church, confiscated and afterwards put up for sale, and partly by frauds upon the nation by the means of army contracts. It was the domination of these swindlers that, under the Directorate, brought France to the verge of ruin, and thus gave Napoleon the pretext for his coup d'etat."

When Russia signed a peace treaty with Napoleon, Russia forced Sweden to renounce her treaty with England, and Napoleon had the Russian and Swedish fleets at his disposal. England, afraid that Napoleon might force the Danish fleet on his side, took no chances, and the English fleet sailed for Copenhagen and defeated the Danish fleet and took this advantage without even a declaration of war. It was at this time when France defeated Holland, England took the Dutch colonies, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Malacca.

The Revolution had so many different characteristics in the various countries that historians in general regard political events of certain epochs as the outcome of the will of the sovereigns. They seem to forget that a man is only a king because other men consent to the arrangement., and this consent is based upon the fact that the sovereign exercises his political power in accord with the economic interests of the dominant class. When we analyze the political commotions in Germany at the time of the Reformation, the English Revolution of 1688, and the French Revolution of 1780, they all constitute the transformation of power to the capitalist class. Historians overlook the essential difference existing in these three events. In Germany, capital found itself in a position of hopeless inferiority against feudal property and, having to rely on its own resources in the contest against feudalism, it attained incomplete success. In England, the capitalist only acquired great wealth and soon succeeded in limiting the powers of the feudal nobility as we saw by the provisions in the "Magna Charta," thus by the time they decided to possess themselves of political power they found themselves confronted with a weak adversary, and were thus able to gain the victory over feudalism alone, without invoking the aid of the people. Hence nobles and capitalists formed the principal figure in the drama of the English Revolution, while the people remained uninterested spectators. In France on the other hand the bourgeoisie never obtained wealth and power to restrain the excesses of the nobles. The nobles opposed a vigorous resistance to the political demands of the bourgeoisie and the latter found themselves compelled to seek an alliance with the people. Therefore these conditions presented different characteristics. As Loria has illustrated, the bourgeoisie in Germany after the Reformation needed the help of the laboring people to defeat the nobility, but they had not the courage to seek an alliance or accept it when the chance arose. The Peasants' Revolt was a rebellion against tyrannical conditions of centuries, against the feudal nobility. It was urged on by an impoverished clergy eager for vengeance, and burned the lords' castles, swearing that only the house of the laborer should be seen on earth. During this revolt some of the towns offered unlooked for assistance to these political uprisings, and made common cause with the peasants. The town of Strasburg received rebels as citizens. Ulm provided the peasants with money, Nuremburg supplied them with provisions. A learned man named Conrad Mutian declared that the revolt proceeded more from the towns than the country, and for a time it appeared like a joint attack on feudalism. But the capitalists withdrew their support and discarded the peasants, and made an alliance with the enemy; as we saw, Luther the pontiff of the capitalist class condemned the rebellion. Thus the capitalist class saw the political power they had been on the eve of possessing remaining a special privilege for several more centuries in the hands of the feudal class, although it continued to be modified and adapted to new times. The thirty years' war contributed to hastening the dissolution of feudalism, rendering the antiquated economic system more acute, and the Napoleon wars compelled Prussia to abolish the last vestiges of feudalism by freeing the peasants, as free labor is necessary for capitalistic development. In 1748 the capitalists of Austria, finding themselves oppressed while landholders predominated, did not hesitate to solicit the King of Prussia to dethrone the German Princes and conquer Austria with the hope of obtaining political supremacy in the new state.

The bourgeoisie insurrection against the nobility in England had a more glorious outcome. At the time of Henry I., the English bourgeoisie was pow-

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## MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

(Continued from page 6)

erful enough to render valuable aid to the king against the feudal lords, but it was not a strong enough alliance to weaken the nobility, for the nobles united and imposed a new constitution on the king. But the increasing wealth of the commercial classes and the progressive impoverishment of the nobles made it necesary to dispose of some of their land to capital. As one historian, Weir, says: "The introduction of money played a great part in abolishing feudalism. The commercial class compelled the nobility to admit them to parliament as early as 1295. It found itself in a helpless minority but gained power when we saw the Barons weakened by the War of the Roses, finally leading up to the 1688 Revolution. The French Revolution presents still another character. The growth of wealth and power of the French bourgeoisie was too limited and too gradual to allow them to combat the nobility with any vigor. Therefore they made no headway, although they had a little representation two centuries before the Revolution, until they sought the aid of the people. Finding themselves in the minority and recognizing they could not take decided action against the nobility alone without popular support, they withdrew from parliament, descended into the streets, and instigated the Revolution, a comparatively easy matter when the effects of the famine prevailed on account of the intolerable methods of production, which prevailed because the capitalists were excluded from the political power to organize agriculture and industrial enterprize on a rational basis. Therefore not only the people joined in but the unproductive laborers of the old regime, the priests who were now become poor and hostile to the old property system with the agitation of the unproductive workers of the new regime, the paid thinkers of the capitalist class, lawyers, doctors and men of letters; neither the peasants or the laborers led in the revolt. Historians attributed the Revolution to the actions of the Encyclopedists without reflecting that the theories of those writers can only be explained as the product of the times in which they lived."

Loria quotes an impartial writer (Buckey) who says: "The six years preceding the Revolution were peculiarly shameful of the men of letters. It is difficult to fathom the degree of infamy to which these men who made a business of writing were willing to descend. Philosophy, mathematics, drama, romance, journalism, in fact all branches of the intellect were engrossed by the encyclopedia monopoly. At the root of their ideas there was nothing but vanity and wealth." The people fought under the bourgeois banner, and rendered valuable aid, but having accomplished their ends, the overthrow of the aristocracy, and having vanquished the court, the bourgeoisie suddenly separated themselves from the people and ceased to be a revolutionary party, and began laying the foundations of their own political power.

Just as the English capitalists were forced to place themselves under the dictatorship of Cromwell in order to offer an effective resistance to the nobility, so the French bourgeoisie likewise did the same thing under Napoleon. But just as the English bourgeoisie turned against their own creature and restored the king, so also did the French restore the monarchy because their dictators failed to reflect the new economic conditions. The weakness of the French bourgeoisie, which obliged them to call on the aid of the populace in the great Revolution of 1789 continued to be apparent in the future revolts in France. When the aristocratic government of the Restoration became wealthy and intolerable to capital, the capitalist class could only resist with the people's aid, and again for a second time the revolt of the bourgeoisie became a popular revolution. The people reaped no real benefit or advantage from the second revolution as it resulted in raising Louis Phillipe to the throne, who in the first years of his reign, almost realized the ideal of a government for property. But this king, also attaining great wealth and a division in the bourgeoisie class, transformed himself into an absolute monarch. This act called forth a new resistance and another alliance with the people, which resulted in the revolution of 1848, which began in a bourgeois and ended in a socialistic revolt. To shake themselves again from the alliance of the people and remedy their weakness, the bourgeoisie sought resource to another Cæsar, and the second empire was established after one of the most colossal insurrections of the workers in the history of European civil wars. On the side of the Parisian proletariat stood none but itself. The bourgeoisie had the aid of the aristocracy of finance, the industrial bourgeoisie, the middle class, the small trading class, the army, the slums organized as Guards Mobile, the intellectual celebrities, the parson class and rural population. Over 30,000 insurgents were massacred and 15,000 transported without trial. Again, like the former despotism, an instrument of the bourgeoisie, the new government overrode their interests until once more the bourgeoisie with the people in their alliance overthrew the empire and acquired absolute political power under the Republic form of government, under which the political supremacy of property attains the fullness of development. (The United States is an example.)

Let us summarize the revolutions and their different characteristics. In Germany the bourgeoisie could not of themselves destroy the power of the nobility and dared not accept the proferred alliance of the people, therefore the revolution was abortive and feudal politics was allowed to remain in a modified form.

In England, on the contrary, the weakness of the nobility and the strength of the bourgeoisie enabled them to possess the political power without the aid of the proletariat, and effected essentially the 1688 Revolution.

In France the relative strength of the nobility compelled the bourgeoisie to alliances with the proletariat to obtain political supremacy, and this gave a popular character to the French Revolution. This had the effect of the distribution of wealth to be more equitable in France.

The result of the Revolutions was: A semi-feudal constitution in Germany; a capitalist state in England; a popular regime in France.

But capitalism is now established in all of these countries, with their imperialisms.

**Next lesson will deal with the results of the Napoleonic Wars.**

PETER T. LECKIE.

:o:

## SECRETARIAL NOTES.

The Aberta elections will be held in July 18th. Comrade Frank Williams is the S. P. of C. candidate in Calgary, and Comrade Mrs. Mellard is the S. P. of C. candidate in Edmonton. There are five seats in each of these towns, but the deposit necessary precludes the possibility at this time of a full Socialist ticket. Comrade Williams is an old time member of Calgary local of the S. P. of C. He was four years in Ottawa, and with Peter T. Leckie was a member of the Trades and Labor Council there. Comrade Mrs. Mellard has been a member of Edmonton local for a number of years. Last spring, returning to Canada from a visit to England she and her husband were denied entry as "undesirable Socialists." Her entry to the Alberta parliament lies now with the slaves of Edmonton.

If these comrades are elected to that house they will be admitted to the opportunities eagerly grasped and taken advantage of by Charles O'Brien when he found himself there. Comrade Harrington states our position on parliaments nicely when he says (in this issue) that we have never been so much concerned with what our members have done in parliament as with what they have done out of it. That is to say—they are government paid Socialist educators, with travelling facilities provided, enabling them to move from one end of the province to the other. Our judgment of their conduct as Socialist members of parliament has been prompted largely by the efforts they have made to work as propagandists under these favorable conditions. O'Brien will serve as a pattern.. The law-makers of his time developed a hostile regard for his "co-operation" and the consideration he gave to the law as they saw it. His "Proletarian in Politics" (now out of print) was a speech delivered in the Alberta Legislative Assembly, explaining to the slaves of Alberta his mission in life. Perhaps the Alberta elections will give Comrades Williams and Mellard these opportunities to educate their fellows as to the class nature of politics and the meaning of the law applied to property right and slave control. To win these seats means a wider field and opportunity to do that, to fail means more propaganda and educational effort day in and day out wherever the opportunity offers.

Comrades Frank Cassidy and Geo. Armstrong (M. L. A., Manitoba, and late jail tenant) are in Calgary. Some effort has been made to corrall Com. Pritchard for Alberta election propaganda purposes, but he is loose somewhere on Vancouver Island, recuperating, and can't be located.

* * *

In this issue "Geordie" presents to "Clarion" readers some matter he has had "on his conscience" (to be precise) a long time. In this issue Comrade Stephenson makes happy and timely reference to the contributions of "Geordie" in "The Red Flag" and "The Indicator" days ,and "Geordie's" article herein also refers back to his writings then. Comrade Stephenson's persuasive eloquence in the "Clarion" (October, 1918) committed "Geordie" to a series of articles on economics to commence in the "Clarion" of November, 1918. Mr. Important Censor put a stop to that however, but only for a time, for the "Red Flag" and "The Indicator" later carried the series over a number of issues.

Now, the substance of these remarks is that by these references now made the articles are required to be consulted, and while "The Red Flag' 'and "The Indicator' 'are not forgotten they are unavailable. "How then?" reasons Chris,—"why, let's have a book." Now, more than likely this will incur "Geordie's" wrath, but Chris. must be encouraged in his exhortations. He'll succeed too. He always does.

* * *

We have received a cutting from the Rochester, N. Y., "Abendost," printed in the German language, concerning Comrade Leckie's "Economic Causes of War." We suppose a translation will uncover the usual eulogium. Comrade Mengel will translate for us in next issue.

* * *

There are but three members left in Ottawa local, yet the energetic Leckie has been for six weeks or more conducting open-air meetings there, acting as his own chairman. Literature sales are good. Peter dispenses wisdom and energy about as cheerfully as anybody we ever heard of.

* * *

The Prince Rupert comrades are on the streets too. Comrade Ellis reports good meetings and some literature spread around among the heathen minds. Comrades J. H. Burrough and Jack Stevenson are attaining soap-box fame. Here's the very best way to develop speakers— open-air soap-boxing. More Socialist propagandists have been developed in that manner than in all the speaker's classes even conducted. (The statistics are not on hand—this is an observant "hunch.")

* * *

Vancouver, true to form in the summer time, has its out-door meetings also. Comrades O'Connor, Earp and others may be found on Columbia or Carrall corners almost any night in the week. The co-operation of comrades will help to extend the field of activities. Comrades willing to act as chairmen, literature sellers, etc., are needed.

* * *

**If the number on your address label is 848 your subscription expires with next issue.....If it is less than 848 your subscription has already expired and we shall be counting the days till your dollar arrives. We just simply hate waiting.**

:o:

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## ONE OF THE REASONS WHY MR. CAPITALIST IS SO INTERESTED IN RED CROSS WORK

In Shansi, where famine has been decimating the population for months, the American Red Cross has just obtained permission to begin the construction of a much needed highway that will tap an immensely rich coal district and enable a large section of North China, hitherto without roads, to reach the outside world with its products when famine conditions shall have been relieved. This highway will be of great value to China because of the mineral resources of the country through which it passes. It is said by the engineers in charge that the mountains in the vicinity are seamed with a fine grade of coal, which crops out right beside the highway, so that no further road work will be required to get out the fuel. Once the road is built, the natural keenness and thrift of the Chinese are relied on to develop the mines and market the product.

As a reminder to the Chinese, markers are being set along the Shansi highway, telling in Chinese characters that the road is American-built, as a memorial to the enduring friendship between the two republics.

The Red Cross is a useful institution. It finds out all kinds of "interesting places" suitable for exploitation.

———:o:———

Anglo-French troops are engaged in driving out the Polish insurgents from the neutral zone in Upper Silesia. The popularity of the British troops in German districts has not escaped notice. Flowers were strewn in their path and they were welcomed like conquering heroes of the Fatherland. In ten years, it is predicted, an Anglo-German alliance will supersede the present Entente. Stranger things have taken place. English alliances, naturally, are dictated solely by English interests. It was Germany, not France, that threatened the economic supremacy of industrial England before the war. Today the wind has set in another quarter. We are doing today what we did before 1914. We are seeking to avert war by an agitation to promote friendship. But friendship does not come that way. If England desires to improve the relations between herself and the United States, she must get at the roots of the trouble, which are economic. The two countries must reconcile their conflicting economic rivalries. Mere idle hatter about the priceless benefits of friendship will not prevent trouble, if the economic life of England is believed to be endangered by the economic rivalry of her Western competitor for the world markets.—The Statesman.

———:o:———

Washington, July 12.—Approximately $1,500,000,000 has been appropriated for extension of the naval program by the 5 countries which are expected to discuss disarmament, it has been disclosed. The U. S. leads with $500,000,000. Great Britain is second with $422,000,000; Japan is third with $250,000,000; France is fourth with $175,000,000; and Italy fifth with $73,000,000.

Completion of the present building programme will show the five countries armed on the oceans as follows:

Great Britain, 955 ships; United States, 608 ships; Japan, 221; France, 253; Italy, 245.

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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 exploiters by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

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

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