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The Criminal Court Judge

By Ernest Belfort Bax.

THE occupant of the judicial bench is as we all know, the functionary selected by the governmental "ring" to enforce or put into action the cumbersome machinery of law, which the civilized world has been compelled to invent as a feeble corrective to the results of its civilization. We have spoken of the governmental "ring," but we might more accurately describe a modern state-bureaucracy as a system of "rings" interlacing one within the other. Each "department" has its traditions carefully kept up by its staff of permanent officialdom. The "bosses" of these departments, that is, of the central or ministerial ring (and for that matter the others also), emanate, of course, from "society" as it is termed, that is, from the aristocratic and plutocratic cliques of the West End; but what is more, under our system of party government a particular ministerial post is generally the exclusive appanage of two or three individuals who take it in turns and then begin again. The appointment and regulation of the judicial bench rests respectively with the Lord Chancellor and the Home Secretary. It is true the powers of these worthies are practically limited by the "traditions" of the subordinate judicial "ring" itself (a brotherhood as jealous of its privileges and dignity as the Corporation of London, or any other mutual benefit society), but appointments, revision of sentences, and general supervision rest in the last resort with the dignitaries in question. The Lord Chancellor for the most part, appoints the judge from a successful barrister with "influential" connections.

Now, our object in thus exposing in a few words the mechanism of our constitutional government in general, and its relation to the judicial system in particular, is the better to grasp the nature of the semi-divinity which with the public at large seems to hedge a judge and all his utterances. The juryman obediently follows his directions as to the verdict he shall return, in fact, in many instances juries would seem to regard it as the sole reason of their being, to please the presiding judge and give glory to him. The public in court, and the public out of court, hang upon the pronouncement from the bench as placing beyond question the enormity of the guilt of the luckless victim (it may be) of judicial rancour. How is this reverence for the judicial fiat to be accounted for? Doubtless, to a large extent, it has its origin like the divine right of kings, and many other things, in a state of society where the judicial authority was also the religious and civil head of the community—in short, that it is one of those numerous sentiments which had a meaning once, in bygone stages of human society and intelligence, but which have survived their meaning and lapsed into superstitions. But it is, in fact, only one instance of that respect for law and order in the average mind on which the stability of the bourgeois state rests, and which masks the true character of the latter as the prop of economical rottenness.

Let us consider for a moment what judgeship involves. We have every day illustrations of the fact that the judicial "ring" presumes upon the respect accorded it, so there can be no doubt that if the people could be induced to see the judge in the light merely of an overpaid servant of the modern state, who absorbs an enormous proportion of their earnings, the better would it be for the soul's welfare of the judicial bench itself, as well as for the cause of fairplay. Paradox as it may seem, it is an undoubted truth that no judge can be strictly an honest man.

The judge must necessarily be a man of inferior moral calibre. Though it is a thing one would say of no other man or body of men, yet I say unhesitatingly that a judge by the fact of his being a judge proclaims himself a creature on a lower moral level than us ordinary mortals, and this without any assumption of moral superiority above the average on our part. And why? Because the aspiring member of the bar when he accepts a judgeship knows that in so doing he deliberately pledges himself to functions which may at any moment compel him to act against his conscience and wrong another man. He deliberately pledges himself, that is, to be false to himself. He may any day have to pass sentence on one whom he believes to be innocent. He lays himself under the obligation of administering a law which he may know to be bad on any occasion when called upon, merely because it is a law. He makes this surrender of humanity and honor for what? For filthy lucre and tawdry notoriety. Now, I ask, can we conceive a more abjectly contemptible character than that which acts thus? If we want further proof of the utter degeneracy of moral tissue in such a being, let us examine the sophistries he uses in his defence, and which he endeavors on occasion to force down the throat of the recalcitrant juryman. He does not make the law, he will tell you, he merely administers it. In the same way Bill Sykes does not make his jemmy and other burglarious implements, he merely administers them. This is the sort of oil he pours on his uneasy conscience when he has one. The juryman disapproving of capital punishment objects to convicting a murderer. He is told he has nothing to do with the sentence, but only with the evidence; in other words, that the fact that the verdict he gives will have for its direct consequence a result he regards with abhorrence, is to count for nothing with him. Men who can willingly pretend—I say pretend, since it must be remembered we are dealing with men of ability and culture, capable of exposing many a subtler fallacy when it suits them—men who can pretend to accept such flimsy trash as cogent argument must surely be dead to all respect for honesty.

But the festering mass of hypocrisy of which benchdom consists is only too evident at every turn. There is, of course, the hypocrisy which is racy of the judicial soil, just as there is the hypocrisy which is racy of the clerical soil. To this belongs the professed deep reverence for the "law of England," when no one knows better than the benchman who has studied it, that well nigh one-half of English law is based on effete superstition, of which it presents in many cases the most grotesque instances—interesting and instructive from a historical point of view, doubtless, but not in themselves calculated to awaken feelings of reverence in the modern mind—and that the other half is founded on the baldest class interest and prejudice. So that all things considered there is hardly a branch of learning the pursuit of which is more calculated to inspire the average student with a contempt for its subject-matter than English law—hardly even excepting Divinity. But what is more offensive than this is the impudent assumption of moral superiority, which is one of the "properties" of the profession. Quite apart from any of the considerations just adduced, it is perfectly well known that there are among members of the English bench men of a deb—, well, men that enjoy life on its animal side,

as is, indeed, only natural, considering the amount of time and money on their hands. Yet who can orate with a richer profusion of impressively delivered platitudes drawn from the current morality than the *puisne* in addressing the prisoner, who has in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, brought himself within reach of the law by the desire to obtain some of those very pleasures in which the judge himself revels. It is scarcely to be expected but that a man who in a "higher" grade of society so-called is capable of accepting a judgeship (with its conditions as described above) would not in a "lower," where the temptations were of a different order and much more severe, be capable of doing a little housebreaking, forgery, or even bigamy or rape. Such being the case the elimination from judicial proceedings of the "John Jacob Jackson, you have been convicted on the clearest evidence of, etc. . . . To remonstrate with such a man as you would be useless, etc., etc.," with the epilogue, "I should be failing in my duty if I did not pass a heavy sentence," etc.—the elimination, I say, then, of this somewhat stale "gag" from judicial proceedings, might possibly have a tendency to keep alive respect for law somewhat longer than bids fair otherwise to be the case.

In France even middle-class public opinion has had to assent to the abolition of the scandal of the judge's summing-up, but respect for law and order is too great in this country to allow of this installment of justice towards accused persons. But, surely, even in this country, a muzzle might be applied to the judge after the verdict. If Parliament were to employ itself in doing this it would at least prevent unoffending citizens being sickened by the nauseous rant which on the occasion of every important trial now emanates from the whited sepulchre in wig and gown, whose function it is to administer the law.

That society which is based on property and privilege must have a criminal code as its necessary consequence we are well aware, but we none the less protest against its "administrator," the judge, being regarded in any more honorable light than its other "administrator," the hangman.

ALBERTA NOTES.

Comrade Maguire has returned to Edmonton after a tour of seven weeks among the farmers of southern and eastern Alberta. He reports holding twenty four meetings, all of which were well attended. Literature sales amounted to \$60 and sixty-two "Clarion" subs. were secured. (\$24 acknowledged in last issue).

* * *

Edmonton local holds an economic class every Monday evening. Four or five of the comrades are stepping out on the public platform, and doing fine, more will be heard of them in the near future.

* * *

The comrades at Camrose are figuring on starting a local there at an early date.

* * *

The Alberta Provincial Executive Committee have a few thousand copies of "A Reply to the press lies concerning the Russian Situation," which were at one time banned. These may be had for free distribution by sending postage to Box 785, Edmonton, Alberta.

J. F. MAGUIRE.

The International Muddle

PART II.

IN our last we pointed out that while the capitalist class is an international organization of property owners, unanimous in its desire to keep the workers of all lands in a slave condition that, at the same time, this world organization is divided into a number of groups of capitalists, commonly known as nations, whose interests are not identical in the everyday struggle to dispose of those values extracted from the proletariat of all sections.

This conflict of interests manifests itself by particular alignments of groups within the group, for purposes of trade and commerce, and, occasionally commercial wars of a devastating and vitriolic character are bound to ensue. Whatever may be the alias under which these sanguinary engagements take place, very little investigation is required to portray the fact that the disposition of the things produced by us is the all important, and only cause of such military manoeuvres. Between the members of the various alliances there is no lasting harmony of inclinations, no cordiality, or sincerity, any more than prevails among the units of any other robber band whose immediate interests dictate the plans of the moment, and whose business policy frequently demands a re-arrangement of forces.

To illustrate our contention, we made reference to the outcome of the recent world war, and the happy spectacle of those who fought the good fight on behalf of an ambiguous democracy now furtively assailing each other with a venom equal to that formerly directed against their mutual enemies.

The close of the war left the countries of the old world in anything but an enviable condition: Victor and vanquished, alike, were short of foodstuffs, raw materials, and other necessities in the productive process. Their eleventh hour companion, on this side, played a lucky hand for a couple of years while her more pugnacious associates were staking their pile of chips on the turn of a card. Flushed with business success from a policy of 'watchful waiting,' America now must pay particular attention to the division of the spoils. If the lion's share was to remain in her grasp, connection must be severed with her erstwhile partners, for the majority of these had nothing to give and much to ask for.

Apart from the universal desire to stamp out autocracy, other motives of a more mercenary character, like the ghost in Hamlet, would not down, but stalked around with unbecoming frequency—and the closer the time for the division of the plunder approached, the more vital did these motives appear to the representatives of the American plunderbund who were anxiously seeking for every reason to divorce their needy accomplices. The Anglophobe press was taxed to its capacity with weird and sordid tales of British oppression in Ireland, India, and Egypt. The presence in the U. S. of the Spanish-American president of a non-functioning Irish Republic added materially to the stream of innuendo and reproach thrown at "perfidious Albion" by those who had nothing more than "Hobson's choice" in the premises.

This separation of fortunes, however, while it may not have had a more detrimental effect on American ambitions for world dominance than a continuance of fraternal relations would have had, still, as shown in last issue, its results were far from being as satisfactory as anticipated. Being the greatest creditor in the world has its drawbacks as well as its glories. A surplus of ghost commodities, known as bills of exchange, seeking a market in America, would have none other than an adverse effect on continental currencies when translated into terms of American dollars.

This fall in exchange denoted a curtailment of exports to European buyers. In fact, it meant much more. It meant the losing of a large section of North and South American trade as well. Already, the damper has been placed on the shipping of many commodities, and quite recently several thousands of workers were laid off in the packing-houses of Chicago, and Kansas City, with splendid prospects of an extension of idleness to other industries. A business panic is openly prophesied on all sides. Next year we are to have a presidential election, when the workers will again have the nugatory right of selecting a "safe and sane" repre-

sentative of their master's interests. To date, much presidential timber is piled on the market, and an army of aspirants, ranging from "eat less" Hoover, to "ship or shoot" Wood, is awaiting our verdict. Election year is always the signal for a tight money market and consequent cessation of production. The manufacturing and financial interests find it profitable to exert their economic power and pull the wires according to the game.

Of course, this expanding industrial depression must not be taken as conclusive evidence that the capitalist system, so far as America is concerned, has reached its destination. While we are loath to disperse the pipe-dreams of our professional optimists, and chronic enthusiasts, we must examine the situation, not as we would like to have it, but as it is. The world condition that exists today is not precisely the same as that confronting society in the early part of 1914. Then, the markets were glutted with commodities, and no possibility of finding a dumping ground to dispose of the surplus. Today, on the contrary, there is an enormous demand for foodstuffs, and manufactured articles, from all points of the compass, but the means of payment are inclined to be weak. It may be stated in this connection that the workers of all lands have ever had a consuming capacity that was never thoroughly fathomed on account of the meagre dimensions of the pay envelope but, even here, the analogy is not perfect. In the latter case a further distribution of products by the owning class would only be charity, while in the former case it would represent a more or less safe investment.

The question, then, arises will the American capitalists resign themselves to diminished production on a large scale, with the consequent unemployment, and social unrest inseparably associated with such a state, or will they attempt, through further extensions of credit, and investments in foreign securities, to alleviate to some degree, the catastrophe that looms on the horizon? We are of the opinion that the latter course will prevail. Our national capitalists are resourceful animals and will overlook no opportunity of maintaining their social position. This does not imply that those at the helm of state understand, with unerring judgment, the nature and tendencies of present society. Rather do they scent the various fluctuations and movements in the social structure, and simply follow these trails with bovine intelligence. By no strategy or magic can they succeed in reconstructing the unreconstructible but, given an unthinking, patient, plodding slave class, there is a grave probability that our sacrosanct leaders will be able to weather a few more storms.

The wealth of the world represents a mass of useful things produced by labor. Practically all that is produced in a given season is consumed in the same period. No matter what form this wealth may take, whether it be wheat, oil, coal, iron, or lumber, the old supply is about exhausted before additional stock is thrown on the market. The condition created by the recent coal strike will serve to illustrate this assertion. A brief cessation from digging coal and the country was face to face with a fuel famine. Of this mass of products the workers receive a fraction, in the form of wages, sufficient to maintain their labor power on the market in a saleable condition. The remainder goes to the different sections of the owning class in the shape of rent, interest, and industrial profit. This class, though small numerically, has a great consuming ability and dispose of values at a rate we can scarcely realize. When we read of Morgan, Rockefeller, etc., possessing hundreds of millions of dollars, we are likely to start figuring the amount of gold, or oil, or steel, that these vast sums represent. But these values do not exist in reality. Above what they consume, a tidy amount when compared with our portion, or when we stop to consider that they get it for nothing, due to a philanthropic attitude on the part of their wage slaves, these fabulous fortunes are nothing more than orders on the future. A considerable part of the wealth we donate is used to form means of production in areas that are not yet thoroughly exploited. If there is a chance to extend operations into Belgium, Poland, Hungary or any other potential market our rulers can be credited

with sufficient initiative to take the step and save their faces for a period not easily ascertained in terms of weeks or months.

But how about affairs on the other side of the pond? Let us confine our scrutiny to Britain for the moment. When it comes to acquiring booty, history furnishes us with a record on the part of Britain that is hard to eclipse. "As the Lord liveth," said Lloyd George, "we have no designs on foreign territory." But, in spite of this solecism, whether the Lord liveth or not "we" got the territory just the same. No country connected with the imbroglia of the past few years came out of the contest so well equipped with plunder, gathered from both friends and enemies, as Britain has. Previous to the war her territorial possessions covered one-fifth of the globe. Now, they amount to one-fourth. This increase includes Mesopotamia, where engineering operations recently inaugurated will, if completed satisfactorily, create one of the finest grain producing countries in the world. Also, she got control of Persia, rich in those oils so necessary to modern industrialism. Her acquisition of the former German possessions in Africa removes all obstacles from the construction of the Cape to Cairo railway, and makes it possible to travel by land from Cape Town to Siam without leaving British soil.

Commercially and financially, her success has been no less striking. Despite the periodical headlines announcing that "England is Bankrupt," "English Money Depreciates," and similar proclamations, it can well be stated that, of all capitalist nations, the position of Britain is pre-eminently strongest. Her external debt, it is true, is greater than ever, but this was incurred mainly to supply the needs of her continental allies, and today Britain is owed approximately twice as much by those "little nations" as she owes America. The suggestion of Vanderlip that the U. S. erase from the ledger those figures placed on the credit side during recent hostilities was strongly resented at business headquarters, but Britain is preparing to write off 50 per cent. of her continental debt for reasons essentially British.

The fall of the pound has been harped upon by financial amateurs as a sure indication of Britain's economic paralysis but, as a matter of fact, were the British pound to go back to the ante-bellum basis, at the present time, the result would be disastrous to the British manufacturer. The value of the raw material entering into the finished article represents only from two to ten per cent. of the total value of the product. The amount of raw steel that is used in the production of an automobile is small in comparison to its complete cost of production. Britain lives commercially because of her factories. Her imports consist largely of raw materials. Even with the pound around \$3.25 the British capitalist can still afford to import raw steel, providing he can export the finished automobile. Then, should the pound get back to normal the foreign market, which was greatly assisted by low exchanges, would receive a jolt that would materially weaken his commercial aspirations.

But, at the other end of the pole, exists another problem. Will the British working-class continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water with the same, resigned to fate, attitude as has been theirs in the past? Recent despatches seem to indicate a bellicose behaviour on the part of British labor. They appear to be restless, noisy, and disputatious. A glance at history would be sufficient to show that rebellious cliques, composed of British workers, have not been altogether absent in the past. The Chartists, the Luddites, and the Levellers are still quite familiar titles.

True, with capitalist society developed to its present extent something much deeper, and more vital, in the way of discontent in the ranks of the workers, must be expected and, undoubtedly, exists. But, as time is a very material factor in social changes, we can well ask the question—does the intellectual condition of the British masses warrant the conclusion that the socialization of the means of production is an imminent feature of their class programme? At another time we will resume our review at this point.

J. A. McD.

The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholemew.

ARTICLE IV.

WEALTH PRODUCTION—SURPLUS VALUE.

THE capitalist possesses land and machinery. He owns a mill in which has been erected the latest machinery for the manufacture of cotton goods. In that factory with the machines there is a plentiful supply of raw cotton, as well as those incidental commodities such as coal and oil, which are so essential to the manufacturing process. This consists, as we have seen in a previous article, his **Constant Capital**.

These various commodities comprise his **Constant Capital** because they transfer, during the process of manufacture, no more than their respective values to the finished commodity. There has been, so long as **Constant Capital ALONE** has been employed, no increased value, or **Surplus Value** created. When the Cotton King has employed his **Constant Capital** he has merely similar values in return.

But the Cotton King is not in business as one of them stated not long since "for the glory of God or anyone else." He has expended his money capital with the idea of **making a profit**. How is this profit, or **Surplus Value**, created?

So far, in our examination of the process whereby cotton goods are made, we have only examined in detail, the **Constant Capital** of the Cotton King. No mention has been made of the labor process; of that portion of the King's activities which bring into employment his **Variable Capital or labor-power**.

Let us examine this **Variable Capital**.

What is this last commodity which the capitalist has purchased? He has secured the services of a number of men and women, who are prepared to work for him—for wages. He has, that is to say, at his command and working in his mill, the sole creator of use-values—human labor-power.

On what terms is this labor power placed at the disposal of the Cotton King?

In the first place the laborers possess nothing but their ability to create use-values—in other words, they are the possessors of the power to labor, which is the creator and measure of use-values. They have no direct or indirect interest in the cotton mill, they possess no machinery and own no land worthy of mention.

They are perfectly free, it is true, to transfer their energies to another employer. If the terms to which they can come with one employer are more favorable than the terms to which they can arrive with another employer there is nothing to hinder them from transferring their power to labor.

We find, then, that the Cotton King and his laborers meet on the mart and bargain in perfect freedom. The one owns his machinery and raw cotton; and these are useless unless human labor-power transfers the value of them into new use-values. On the other hand we find the laborers who possess nothing but their labor-power; and, as Sismondi has so aptly said: "Capacity for labor is nothing unless it is sold."

But labor-power, though it be itself the sole creator of value, is not a good commodity to have as one's sole exchangeable value. It is perishable in the extreme. Hunger and privation play ravages with its utility and seriously impair its exchangeable value. The laborers, being without land and machinery, being isolated from the means of wealth production, **must, perforce, sell their labor-power and sell it quickly**. And so they accept the terms of the Cotton King, set the wheels of his machinery in motion, and receive in return—wages.

Wages represent, in the sphere of wealth production, the cost of subsistence of the laborer. Over a century ago Torrens wrote:—

"It's (labor's natural price) consists in such a quantity of necessities and comforts of life as, from the nature of the climate, and the habits of the country, are necessary to support the laborer, and to enable him to rear such a family as may preserve, in the market, an undiminished supply of labor."

Karl Marx tells us that:—

"The value of labor-power resolves itself into the value of a definite quantity of the means of subsistence. It, therefore,

varies with the value of these means or with the quantity of labor requisite for their production."

That is to say that the wages which the capitalist pays to his workmen represent the quantity of social human labor-power which is necessary for the life and wellbeing of the laborers. Labor-power exchanges on the world's markets, like any other commodity, in relation to its cost of production.

Let us suppose that the Cotton King purchases his labor power for \$1 per day, or in terms of labor time, six hours of work. This represents the sum for which the laborer agrees to work in the mills of the capitalist.

For six hours every day the wheels of the Cotton King are busy turning out finished cotton goods. The values of the raw and incidental materials are transferred into the finished commodity. And so is the value of the wages which represent the length of time which the laborer must toil in order to live twenty-four hours. But there is no profit here, there has been no **Surplus Value** created. The values have all, without exception, reappeared in the finished article without any increase whatsoever.

How then comes it that the Cotton King, when he sells his finished commodity upon the market, finds that he is the proud possessor of a profit, or surplus-value?

Let us hear what Marx has to say upon this subject:—

"The fact that half a day's labor is necessary to keep the laborer alive during 24 hours, does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. Therefore, the value of labor-power, and the value which the labor-power creates in the labor process, are two entirely different magnitudes; and this difference of the two values was what the capitalist had in view, when he was purchasing the labor-power. The useful qualities that labor-power possesses, and by virtue of which it makes yarn or boots, were to him nothing more than a condition *sine qua non*; for in order to create value, labor must be expended in a useful manner. What really influenced him was the specific use-value which this commodity possesses of being a source not only of value but of surplus value. This is the special service which the capitalist expects from labor-power, and in this transaction he acts in accordance with the "eternal laws" of the exchange of commodities. The seller of labor-power, like the seller of any other commodity, realizes its exchange value and parts with its use-value. He cannot take the one without giving the other. The use-value of labor-power, or in other words labor, belongs just as little to the seller as the use-value of oil after it has been sold belongs to the dealer who has sold it. The owner of the money has paid the value of a day's labor-power, his, therefore, is the use of it for a day; a day's labor belongs to him."

The Cotton King buys his labor-power from his laborers for a whole day, and their wages represent the cost of the means of "making two ends meet." But this sum of money which the capitalist pays to his laborers in the form of wages is created by the laborers in half a day.

Let us examine the process one step further. We have assumed that the wages paid to the spinners are well and truly paid by \$1 per day, or the use-values created by the expenditure of human labor-power for half a day. We have seen that the spinners, being divorced from the essentials of cotton production (represented by the **Constant Capital** of their employer) are forced to sell their labor-power to him for a whole day. They are paid wages for a half day's work, but they work for a whole day. They are paid wages for a half day's work, but they work for a whole day, and for the rest of the day they continue to produce use-values for which they obtain no remuneration and which are the exclusive property of the capitalist.

In other words, the capitalist, by virtue of his possession of capital, owns the finished product and can sell that finished product for more money than he has expended upon its cost of production. This **Surplus Value (or profit)**, he makes, because he pays less for his labor-power than that labor-power gives him in return.

Here, then, is the secret of the accumulation of wealth upon the one hand, and the accumulation of poverty upon the other. The Cotton King, because of his ownership of the raw and incidental materials which are essential to the production of finished cotton goods, is in a position to filch from his laborers a greater value than the value which he pays to

those laborers in the form of wages. He commands, in a word, the process of production, and, de facto, commands the terms upon which his laborers shall work for him.

Naturally the aim of the capitalist is to increase his profits or surplus value to the utmost. This he can do, within certain limits, by increasing the number of hours which his laborers work in his factory. This increase is limited, however, by the natural limits of the working day due to the necessity of the laborer to rest; by the legal limits placed upon the hours of labor by the State; and by the enforced limits imposed by the pressure of labor unions.

The capitalist can increase his surplus value in another way. He is improving his machinery and introducing new methods of production in order that he may reduce the cost of production by limiting, to the absolute minimum, the amount of human labor-power which is embodied in his finished commodities. By means of the intensification of labor through improved machinery the capitalist is enabled to reduce the number of hours which the laborer works to pay for his wages—and thus increases the number of hours of labor which create surplus value.

To sum up the result of our analysis of capitalist production in the last three articles:

We have seen that human labor-power is the creator and the measure of value;

That the capitalist, by virtue of his ownership of the means of production, can command the disposal of the use-value which is the consummation of his manufacturing process;

That he buys his raw and incidental materials, as well as his human labor-power, at the exchange-value as determined by the quantum of social human labor-power of which they are the concrete incarnation;

That this human labor-power provides him with a greater value than that which it received in return—a **Surplus Value**, which is the profit of his industrial process.

In conclusion, let me quote from Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism":—

"Surplus value, the acquisition of profit being the sole end and aim of the capitalist system; and payment of wages by way of purchase of free labor-power being the only means by which this end can be attained; it follows that so long as the capitalist system endures, so long must the appropriation of unpaid labor by the capitalist class continue; so long must there be an army of unemployed at hand, to restrain the demands of those who are at work, and ready to be absorbed in periods of prosperity; so long must wages on the average in every trade be no more than the subsistence rate customary in that trade regulated by competition; and so long, in short, must the workers be in all but name the slaves of the owners of capital and the land."

And he might have added that so long as that system exists there will be absolute futility in all legislation based upon social reform of the existing social order.

Next Article: Rent, Interest and Profit.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., APRIL 1, 1920

EDITORIAL

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

ONCE more the governments of the world are called upon to view with concern the spirit of the twentieth century; and once again the working-class of Germany hold the centre of the world stage.

As usual we must withhold judgment, the information at our command comes through an extremely unreliable source, the Great Lying Press. The facts which we can rely on are significant enough.

A group of German monarchists attempted to seize the powers of state by force. The German Government fled from Berlin. The working-class came forward and overwhelmed the Monarchists.

Eberts and Noske, the strong men of Germany, called upon the workers to strike. The General Strike which had been treason a few weeks back, now became a patriotic duty. Not only in Germany; our press noted the fact without the usual frantic hysteria with which it has been customary to treat that weapon.

Having prevented the counter-revolution of Monarchy, it remained for the workers to return to the task assigned to them by patriotic blood-suckers everywhere, slaving for a worthless and cowardly horde of owners. But the working-class have received many practical lessons since August, 1914, head and front of which is the knowledge that governments exist by its sufferance alone. The workers have but to say as a class that master-class domination shall cease, and lo! it is so.

This was so in Russia and Hungary. Russia made its say-so good against a world in arms. Hungary was overwhelmed by foreign bayonets in the hands of foreign workingmen.

November, 1917, saw a revolution in Germany which sent the Kaiser and his gang to other lands. We awaited the outcome with expectancy. But we suffered disappointment. Davids, Scheideman, Eberts, all Social Democrats, headed the government. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Eichhorn, were forced into armed insurrection by January, 1918, through the actions of these self-styled Socialists.

Bavaria established a Communist State, and declared for the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Berlin was the scene of many a bloody struggle over possession of parliamentary and newspaper buildings. The uprisings were crushed, and as usual the vilest and most cowardly murders perpetrated upon the leaders. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were beaten to death by a group of army officers of the old regime. Gustav Landauer, at Munich, met a similar fate, and while dying, had his heart shot out by an officer who bet he could do it. This incident was regaled by the Great Lying Press, as an act of atrocity committed by the Communists.

The Bavarian revolt was crushed by Prussians. Now, however, barely twelve months gone, sees press reports everywhere that Prussian workingmen have seized control. It is with satisfaction that we note a new strategy. Instead of capturing law factories and newspapers they have captured arsenals and munition plants.

We would wish mankind to solve his troubles by the aid of that Godlike reason he prates so much of. We also wish earthquakes, pestilence and famine were as fabulous as the Phoenix or Adam's breeches, but alas, we did not make the world, and "The first morning of Creation wrote what the last Day of Reckoning shall read." We did not make

the world, but we might mend it. Mending calls for knowledge and skill. To mend a pair of shoes or a tin can calls for knowledge and skill, gained by observation and practice. Such jobs are completed every time the clock ticks, yet how many million persons would bungle the job did they try their 'prentice thands thereon?

So much more difficult the mending of worlds, observation and practice; not at once comes the knowledge, however swift springs the revolutionary desire, the spirit of revolt. While doubt struggles with hope, and reaction seems prevailing, we recall the words of Marx—"Proletarian revolutions . . . such as those of the nineteenth century criticize themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth and again to rise against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible and the conditions themselves cry out 'Here is Rhodus, leap here.'"

When that culmination arrived in Russia, Russian wage-slaves leaped "from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom," and Russia has never been singular in anything.

So what irony of fate would it be if future generations of free men celebrate the Paris Commune and the German Revolution, on the 18th of March.

J. H.

WINNIPEG.

THE verdict at Winnipeg comes as no surprise to us, and we think, from their experience of law courts it has not surprised the convicted men themselves. In the case of R. B. Russell, now serving a term of two years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, the manifest absurdity of the verdict on the charges shocked the workers of Canada into a realization of the isolated and apparently unreasonable position the law occupies in relation to the everyday life of the practical workman. Lengthy columns of argument on points of law appearing daily and weekly and monthly in the press, and voluminous quotations from legal authorities governing the active life of men to-day, have made wearisome reading.

But undoubtedly the importance of legal technicalities exists (if in a measure greater only than the measure of their human interest), for by the result of the legal argument as we now have it, our friends and comrades in Winnipeg are declared guilty of seditious conspiracy under six different counts, with intent and under common design.

It has sometimes happened that a case at law under prosecution by the crown has been decided upon a convenient Act, ancient enough to have been forgotten by plain, everyday honest men. And it would appear by these findings that the vast body of Canadian workmen have not once, but often, broken the law as it affects them and their organizations. This applies not alone to the One Big Union form of organization, but to unions and union men of the A. F. of L. persuasion also.

The significance of this prosecution lies in its initiation practically at the birth, in Canada, of the O. B. U. While it is not our function to proclaim the superiority of one form of industrial organization over another, if any exists, it is plainly evident that the O. B. U., rightly or wrongly has won, or at least incurred the enmity of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, together with all its adherent and relative bodies, if not of the Canadian Government itself. The sustained effort of the Crown to lay the Winnipeg strike at the O. B. U. door is evidence enough of the light in which it is regarded.

We, ourselves, have suffered a compliment at the hands of Mr. Metcalf, in having the **Manifesto** of the Socialist Party of Canada quoted (page 40), and we take no offence thereat—and we have no defence to offer.

But we cannot refrain from commenting upon the appalling ignorance, not alone of industrial and political history, but of the present common everyday affairs of labor manifested by the mouthpieces, all

and sundry, of the government itself.

The acts of man are neither arbitrary nor are the laws he makes the everlasting outcome of his capricious will and pleasure. They are born of stern necessity arising from perpetual change in material conditions which determine his wants and by which his method of supplying these wants is ultimately governed. And the readjustment of the rules and regulations of his own making to suit his needs arising from the changing conditions surrounding him, is regulated by man's understanding of himself and his own history.

The attention of the worker in Canada will now be rivetted upon the institution of the State and the laws it operates in its maintenance: its legal representatives are sound instructors. The Winnipeg trial marks the most momentous period in the history of Canadian labor. At the moment of writing, sentence has not been pronounced, but whatever the immediate outcome may be, no prison bars can silence the voice of the intelligent worker of today:

"Stone walls do not a prison make:
"Nor iron bars a cage."

OUR JAPANESE LETTER.

Mr. Editor:—I am very extensively with tickling sensations which make to me laugh widely when I read the news in "The World" all about the menace.

I come long time years ago with my friends from Japan, and we work very thoroughly in jobs for small money, because when we come first we think it very large money. We read what good people Japanese to work in fields, orchards, and how nice it is for fruit and vegetables farmers to have us because white workers not understand properly how to work like Japanese.

We feel very congratulate to ourselves and think how kind we are to help production about which we read most wanting in this country, then we read about how it is good business to save money. I read many times one word "Thrift," and this I find out is to save money and not be lazy with moments, so I say these kind people who make noise in newspapers are good advice giving so we do as they tell us.

Bye and bye we have plenty to buy piece of land so that we make productively and not lose our time and also make application "Thrift" business.

Then war comes and many Japanese go away to fight and we read many nice words in newspapers about brown men good sports, our allies and lots of other speeches.

Now what is the matter—we work hard for nother man, we thrift for ourselves—we buy property—we grow more production—when we work for nother man we all right—when we go to fight to for save world for democracy fine people us everyone.

If Japanese man menace when he not work for nother man why he menace when he work for himself—why did newspapers tell many lies before—I know.

When workingman make profit for somebody else he splendid fellow—when he shoot, kill a man he never see he great patriot until he come back from fight. When he thinks his thoughts for himself and tell his friends you are fool so am I—if we are good when we make profit for other fellow and no good because making things for ourselves to use then we are gulled like the black crow who gave away the cheese to the fox because he told him he was singer.

All workingmens are just one big fool family. He gets flattery in his head till he cannot see where he is going, then pretty soon if make roar he get flattened in his belly when boss gang fire him.

This beautiful story happen in all countries.

Please you me excuse I not make correctly English but I read him better.

Yours very truly,

ANO HITO.

Clarion Maintenance Fund

Bob Walker, \$5; Jno. Pollock, \$1.50; Wm. Morrison, 85c; per H. Robertson, \$2; Jas. Mitchell, \$2; F. V. Smith, \$1.50. One dollar each—K. Johnson, A. Taylor, R. Tromans, T. B. Miles, Charlie Harris, J. L. Total, \$18.85. Inclusive of 12th to 28th March, 1920.

Clodpate Mentality; Its Cause Symptoms and Cure

THE lack of class-consciousness amongst the great mass of the wage-slaves we must attribute to their bourgeois mental as opposed to their proletarian physical environment. As a result of this dual nature of their conditions, we may very well expect to find their minds a mass of inconsistencies. And so we do.

The wage-slave's master teaches him that he sells, not his labor-power, but rather the products of his labor. The slave believes it, hunts for a job and tells his prospective boss, not something about the products of his labor, but about the qualities of his labor-power.

Again, the master's ideology teaches the equality of man. Yet believing that men are equal, our typical wage-slave bows and cringes before his master as to a broad-cloth demigod.

The master has found it prudent to raise a howl about how the corner grocer is a "profiteer." Henry Dubb joins in the howl, supporting a profit system while he kicks the profiteer.

The master sees some of the slaves getting wise to the game and putting up a fight. So he preaches to his slaves that Christian love and the spirit of brotherhood must solve all their problems; that they must look askance at the horror of horrors, class war. The slaves believe it and say Christian love and the spirit of brotherhood must solve their problems, even while they see their masters—presumably in the aforesaid Christian love and spirit of brotherhood—paying thugs to shoot their fellow-slaves in revolt. And the thugs are the slaves!

We might go on giving examples of the inconsistencies of the class-conscious wage-slave infinitum. Just as the development of the contradictions inherent in the capitalistic mode of production necessitates the dissolution of capitalism, so, in the psychic integration or mental counterpart of the capitalistic mode of production, we find the contradictions inherent in the mind of the proletarian by their development bring about the will to destroy capitalism.

Let us look at the development as it has taken place in individual cases. All rebels can remember well the dawn of proletarian class-consciousness in themselves. It seemed like, well, what it precisely was—the shattering of the mist of bourgeoisie ideology, of this bourgeoisie mental environment that surrounded us. We were left face to face with objective reality. We saw not the gilded phantasmagoria of a society based on Christian love and the spirit of brotherhood; not of a mode of production where capital and labor realizing their mutual dependence co-operated and agreed as to the just share each should receive of the products; not of a fixed and preordained society, perfect in its structure, except, perhaps for the profiteer grocer on the street corner and the beastliness of the particular group of capitalists with whom our own master happened to be at war. All this that we had been used to see in the mist of bourgeois ideology had disappeared. On the dawn of class-consciousness we awoke to a world where there was a class struggle—merciless, cruel—where labor was slave bled of all but a pittance of what is produced; where the means of production were developing at such a rate that they would presently outgrow the mode of production. All this we saw, and we were filled with the spirit of revolt. To us the trouble seemed clear and the cure apparent. We immediately set about to call the attention of our fellow-slaves to the matter. They surprised us by calmly saying: "I don't know," or "I can't see it." They spoke the truth, they couldn't see it. All their senses were shrouded in this mist of bourgeoisie ideology; and it took most of us some time to realize just what was wrong. We learnt that there was only one way to proceed, namely to break the mist; and into the work we went heart and soul. When we consider the revolutionary fervor that carried us along, what can we expect to happen when the mist shrouding a whole people is suddenly shattered and proletarian class-consciousness dawns upon the mass?

Why have we, the few, become class conscious? Why have we penetrated the mist of bourgeoisie ideology and become conscious of objective reality? Two factors manifestly present themselves to an-

swer the question. The one is that we, as individuals, have been more than ordinarily sensitive to the realities about us. The other is that in our individual cases the realities have pressed with more than ordinary force upon us. Let us inquire into the relative values of the two factors. The renegade Spargo accuses us of being hyperaesthetics. We will let the accusation go for what it is worth. To inquire to what extent the rebel slaves are more "sensitive" than the mass, would necessarily be clumsily personal, and, in reasoning from scanty particulars to an immense generality, be decidedly unsatisfactory. For the other factor we have a so-called psychologic law to aid us. Weber's law is that "In order that the intensity of a sensation may increase in arithmetical progression, the stimulus must increase in geometrical progression." For example, in order that I may feel twice, three times, four, five times, etc., as hot as I do now, the temperature of my body must increase respectively twice, four times, eight times, sixteen times what it is now. Applied to our problem we would conclude that in order for the sensibility of the wage-slave to his miserable slavery to increase to five times what it is now, the misery of his slavery must increase to sixteen times what it is now. Considering his present practical insensibility to what to us are damnable conditions, the case from that viewpoint seems decidedly hopeless.

Beyond doubt the wretchedness of the system will grow more aggravating as its contradictions develop further; and with the increasing wretchedness the contradictions in the wage-slave's mind between the concepts derived from the preachments of the master-class and the concepts derived from objective reality, will develop. But to pin our faith to "conditions" is folly. Laissez-faire is an unrivalled excuse for laziness. We must keep an eye on conditions, but put our energies to pointing them out to the slave. We can supply the stimulus The realities sensed though the eye and ear are quite as fruitful in our consciousness as the realities perceived through touch, taste, smell, etc. The capitalist has full control of the slave's mind so far as it is developed from the fullness of his stomach, the comfort of his body. We can trust the capitalist to do good rebel propaganda with these means. The capitalist has partial control of the slave's mind so far as it is developed from the senses of sight and hearing. We must get the eye and ear of the slave—leaving his belly and body to the master.

And having got the opportunity for it, we must carry out our propaganda in accord with psychologic laws. Here is where "labor" politics and rebel politics clinch. Says our moderate (self-styled "advanced") labor politician: "We need solidarity." Says the rebel "We need solidarity." "Very well, than," says labor, "we'll preach solidarity." Says the rebel: "You've been preaching solidarity for years now; and where have you got by it? You can't have solidarity until you have class-consciousness. To awaken class-consciousness in the slaves you must preach the class-struggle. You can't build houses starting with the attic." And there labor politics and rebel politics agree to differ.

F. W. THOMPSON.

Here and Now

Mrs. Griffiths, \$2.50; Jno. Peacock, \$2; Dave Watt, \$3; R. Johnson, \$2; J. Albers, \$2; P. J. Shaw, 60c; Jack Hutton, \$12; Wm. Erwin, 50c; J. F. Maguire, \$38.50; R. C. McCutcheon, \$5; Jno. Pollock, \$3.50; Roy Addy, \$2; C. M. O'Brien, \$3; Wm. Bennett, \$12; Bob Sinclair, \$11; F. V. Smith, \$2; J. Doern, \$2; S. R. Keeling, \$2; T. J. Davies, \$3; Sam Buch, \$2. One dollar each—T. Tomashavsky, A. T. Rowell, A. Legge, Jno. L. Hall, A. M. Davis, R. Gooding, Ed. Kristjansson, Ch. Thomas, H. Roberts, W. Morrison, W. Y. Welling, H. Robertson, P. W. Bishop, J. Boychuk, O. J. Giarde, F. Harman, R. Green, D. Hearn, H. Melbo, W. McMahon, T. B. Miles, D. J. Sullivan, O. Erickson, John Reid, Tyomies Pub. Co., Parry and Sim. Total, \$136.60. This list indicates subscriptions received inclusive of 12th to 28th March, 1920.

"Free Speech"

IN a recent issue of a local newspaper, there appeared a lengthy quotation from a speech delivered before the Women's City Club, of New York, by Frank I. Cobb, editor of the New York "World." It is entitled "The Press and Public Opinion." Coming from the editor of a metropolitan newspaper, we should expect the writer to know his subject, and it is indeed a frank and elucidating account of the difficulties encountered by the American press during the war, and even now that the war for democracy has been won, in the way of "free speech."

Cobb tells us that public opinion was conscripted by the government, just as men and supplies were conscripted, in order that the war might be won, and this was done principally by a rigid censorship of the press. Speaking of the propaganda sent out by government bureaus, he says: "Sometimes it was frankly mendacious, for mendacity plays no insignificant role in the drama of war. When government lies, it does not lie sneakily and furtively, but proudly and ostentatiously."

Now that the war is over, Cobb further states, the government has loosened its direct control of the press, but the obstacles in the way of frank narration and discussion of the news of the day are many. Practically every important source of information is guarded by a biased, partisan press agent, through whom the news is carefully filtered before given out for publication. These publicity agents are in the employ of every large railroad, bank, corporation, or political organization, and Cobb says "they are essentially attorneys for their employers. Their function is not to proclaim the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, but to present the particular state of facts that will be of the greatest benefit to their clients—in short, to manipulate the news."

Added to this evil of misinformation, in Cobb's opinion, is the still greater evil of the denial of the right of free speech and free assemblage to any faction whose political views are at variance with the established order. Cobb sees in this situation a grave menace to the free play of public opinion, and as a consequence, a serious encouragement to the forces of radicalism.

There is little mentioned above that the Socialist is not already aware of, and much that Cobb fails to see, or discuss. The Socialist knows that freedom of opinion can only exist in capitalist society as an abstract principle, that any intelligent discussion of present-day problems would immediately disclose the class nature of capitalism, and therefore generate class war. For the present ruling class to permit the unrestricted development of free speech is but to invite their own destruction. The great changes that have come about in the war-torn countries have not failed to imbue many workers this side the water with a hostile feeling toward their employing class, which the freely expressed views of an enlightened, though smaller number of workers, would very likely convert into a state of class-consciousness. The American ruling class is alive to this danger, hence the wholesale arrests and deportations. But as Cobb pointed out, these drastic measures only add further fuel to the fire of discontent. Let our capitalist masters figure out ways and means of saving their decrepit and tottering system. Their last support, the ignorance of the working-class, is steadily disappearing through the very conditions which capitalism has brought about, and no plan or policy will long postpone their end.

A. C.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

The quotation from the "New Republic," in "The Bats of Liberalism," which appeared in our last issue should have been dated July 2nd, 1919, not 1918. Our contributor, F. J. McNey, sets us right on this point.

* * *

Comrade J. F. Maguire heads the "Here and Now" list this time. We are glad to see a heavier list in Alberta, and would like to see our mailing list spread eastwards. Comrade Maguire's worthy efforts are further detailed in **Alberta Notes**.

* * *

Red Europe is on the press again, and the **third edition** will be ready in a few days.

Destiny

WHEN Columbus headed westward, in expectation of finding a new trade route to the Orient, he took unconsciously the initial step towards the socialisation of world resources. That historic voyage aroused to action the latent energy of the young giant capital. This lusty offspring of the world drama was, henceforward to be the potent arbiter of human destinies. Struggling with the trammeling bonds of an obsolete system of society, opposed by its unwavering traditions; hindered on all sides by its appeal to ancient use and want; still, the fated ruler grew in strength and stature, cunning and resource. And although then, as now, absolutely destitute of understanding, of the reason and nature of the tremendous struggle thrust upon it, nevertheless it was driven inexorably along its crimson path of tragedy by the compulsion and growth of its inherent necessities.

Since production is for profit, under capitalism, its necessity is for the widest ultimate of expansion. The competitive form of this expansion, (the reflex of its individual ideal), involves centralization of authority, the complete harmony of its ramifying social relation, and the interdependence of its productive units. Capitalism for this reason, early came into conflict with the historical condition from which it sprang. Chafing under the decentralized chaos and antique regulation of feudal economy, it set about the task of freeing itself from the hampering shackles of tradition. To accomplish this, it was compelled to evolve its own peculiar methods of modern industry—not only broadened and ending upon the sanctity of custom, scorning precedent. With its banners of "individual right," "freedom," and "opportunity," it has brought into being social forces of production that not alone diverted the course of civilization, not only changed the methods of medieval communalism into the fevered orgy of modern industry—not only broadened and enriched the standards of social well-being, but which involve world revolution, the fall of the cause that engendered them.

But the craftsmen of the new opportunity, with their watchword of "freedom"—to trade and adventure—neither knew nor foresaw the mighty drama of their economic ideals. Simply that the foredoomed sequence could not be evaded. Speeding through the alluring ways of opportunism, its ascendancy has been won through many a frantic scene of blood and agony; and now, triumphant, it is sped, the shuttlecock of its developed forces through cimmerian deeps of duplicity to certain, and possibly violent ruin.

A political society, therefore a slave society, its sole aim is the so-called accumulation of wealth. It alternated between the lurid fury of aggressive industry, and the shivering nakedness of enforced idleness. Its life is exploitation, the breath of its nostrils—profit. It sees not beauty; thrills with no passion; cares not for honor; feels no shame; cold, callous, pitifully blind; sacrificing all things on the altars of its only god—mammon. Foetid with mendacity, foul with deceit, stained with murder, bloated with tyranny, corrupt with inordinate gain—yet is it sateless—hungry as the devouring sea.

But bloody as its service has been, it has fulfilled its destiny, and accomplishment that fulfilment well. It has taken the simple tool from the hand of the craftsman and replaced it with a god-like creation of machinery. Transferring production to the factory, it has dispensed with the drudgery of home industry. Gathering the producers together in industrial communities, it has fostered the consciousness of our slavery. The ideal of property, consummated, finds its reflex in the civilized commune. Commanding the forces of nature, it has stricken the fear of famine, abrogated all necessity of poverty; abolished the weariness of labor. It has studied and toiled, planned, dictated, organized and collected, co-ordinated and concentrated under the spur of compulsion, driven with the impulse of interest, it has unified the world's resources, socialized the world's productive forces, made the earth ready for our habitation. That completed, it comes to halt; faces the impasse of limitation. There the sceptre

of dominion passes to the new society; there the transformation of ownership takes place; the substitution of administration for government; the use of resource for the privilege thereof.

This consumation comes upon us like an armed man. The recent war of the nations has abolished the lingering relic of feudal barbarism and individual idealism, shattered the once honored "rights of man," and replaced them with the rights of society. International capital, with its imperialist urgencies must force international labor with its productive necessities. Everywhere are the economic lines tightening; everywhere, necessity becomes more imperious. Capital is everywhere concentrating, dispossessing the present for the sake of the future. The prospect is inviting. The proletariat will be augmented by the process, exploitation intensified if the productive machine can run at all, and bring us face to face with two irreconcilable necessities: Machine production demanding an ever-increasing consuming capacity, consuming capacity progressively lessened by machine production. Or in other words, a greater volume of surplus on a steadily shrinking market, Hence the frantic desperation of our masters. R.

Where are the Prophets?

WHEN the United States went to war the propaganda that deluged the country was particularly well studied. As is common knowledge with the average worker on this continent, a great love for the English was never very carefully tended by the American press. In fact, the Englishman was ridiculed to a great extent, that as there was always more or less a "type" suggested to the American, so that any individuals they might personally meet who did not quite agree in detail with this "typical" Englishman was just "different" from the average. However, a certain number of good points were discovered to satisfy certain objections to being involved with this unhappy Englishman in war. The ones they particularly wanted the American to idealize, though, were the French—brave, democratic, revolutionary France. So great became their love for France that Joan of Arc was resurrected, and the soldiers sang eternally (or infernally) of how they hear her calling them. Some of them would even get maudlin with sentiment when they sang the refrain. And this from materialistic Uncle Sam.

The heroine is necessary to the American mind. To a great many people in the United States, the theory of the great French writer of detective fiction—"cherchez la femme" (find the woman)—applies in politics. As a result, we have all kinds of literature in popular demand which can show the wiles (or beneficent influence) of woman at work in the courts of Europe in political circles, and even scanning the tactics of war. Having no warlike heroine of their own, and as France had a more extensive history to search for the "idol"—Joan of Arc—a legend known to all—was just the thing. A good "trade mark" in peace times, an excellent romantic medium for heroines during war time.

To those who could not hear Joan of Arc calling them, Lafayette would move them. A profound admiration was soon evidenced, for this French democrat belonged to an age when the American was himself a revolutionist. The American Constitution and Lafayette,—Tom Paine (was he mentioned?—no, he was an Englishman)—such a combination was irresistible among the more enlightened Americans. You may probably recall the astonishing effect the statue of Lafayette had on General Pershing, who is reported to have uttered the simple phrase, "America has come." This was part of a ceremonial,—a democratic ceremonial for the benefit of the people. At last America had a "soul"; it could respond to the emotional appeal from French history. Absorbed in industry and the pursuit of wealth, a "spontaneous" emotion had shown the

world that America "understood." The "soul" had a great vogue in the United States, and this is always being thrust into all sorts of uncomfortable places. It is supposed by some that it insists in the relation between employer and employee, and probably comes out, in the pay envelope, on the coins which state, "In God we trust." Its effect on the exchange value of labor-power is one of its mysterious powers that even President Wilson has not succeeded in making quite clear yet. The American Federation of Labor has not even been successful in presenting it so clearly to the employers in the United States, so that it may be placed in "a closed shop."

The "briberies" of the last few years in France and elsewhere, have somewhat tarnished the "soul" of democracy. But there are "believers" yet, and their disciples are even numerous. President Wilson has discovered the French "soul" was very businesslike.

All this harking back to the past, did not apply simply to the United States. Different characters for different countries. The particular interest in this centering the attention of the people on such standard-bearers of the past, brings out clearly one of the truths Marx gathered from his deep study of political movements, viz:

"At the very time when men appear engaged in revolutionizing things and themselves in bringing about what never was before, at such very epochs of revolutionary crisis do they anxiously conjure up into their service the spirits of the past, assume their names, their battle-cries, their costume, to exact a new historic scene in such time-honored disguise and with such borrowed language." (18th Brumaire).

The preface to the work quoted above, written in 1897 by De Leon, points out the closer connection between French development and American in contradiction of the erroneous impression that "Anglo-Saxon" ideas permeated the U. S. The propaganda used by the business interests in America during the war to sway the multitude with the battle-cries of "Democracy," has certainly given additional proof of the almost unerring certainty of masses of people moving in a given direction under the stress of certain forces which they fail to comprehend.

There are other striking parallels in the events happening today and those criticized by Marx in "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," but today on a more extensive scale than at that period. In Canada, at least Western Canada, the glories of the past are conjured up in the form of an idealisation of a body of men,—the irony of democracy—policemen. The symbol of scarlet and gold survives in Canada as the outward and visible sign that here at least "Democracy has been made safe."

One thing stands out in brilliant relief amidst all these heroes of the past in this exaggerated "lime-light." They are all very respectable radicals, now the heroes of the traders and middle-class. No champion of the "people" appears on the scene,—but the hand-picked heroes of the French Revolution—the Democratic business man becomes the idol of the people for a while—but how long?

The prophets prophesied many things for the workers when they worshipped the idols,—the day of fulfilment is here!! The worshippers are getting off their knees. H.W.

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The Odd Trick

By E. B. Bax.

WE not infrequently hear a certain school of sentimentalists sneer at Socialism as holding before men a merely low sensuous ideal of existence—of good living, etc. etc. We are accused by such of neglecting the higher ideals of Humanity for the affairs of the stomach and of still more despised organs. The usual and obvious retort to this sort of thing is the *ad hominem* one, that the persons who make the charge are themselves sufficiently well cared for in these lower matters to be able to afford to ignore them and turn their attention to things above. But though the gist of the matter is often contained in the above retort, it is, as it stands, crude, unformulated, and impolite, even if it were always applicable, which it is not. Let us therefore for the nonce treat these people seriously and develop the answer to their objection in formulated fashion. For in truth this objection springs not merely from deliberate hypocrisy or from thoughtlessness, but has its root in the ethical code in which they have been brought up. This ethical code teaches them that all the highest ideals of man's existence are attainable by a voluntary effort on the part of the individual irrespective of his material surroundings, which are matters of small concern. The body is in fact a thing rather to be ashamed of than anything else.

I would not say that all our sentimental friends carry their sentiment to this extent, but that this principle—the principle of Christian Dualism as opposed to Pagan Monism—underlies their moral consciousness there can be no doubt. It is of course true that this view is facilitated by comfortable bodily conditions. It is easier to think meanly of the "body" when the "body" is all right than when it is not. And this very fact gives us, as we shall know directly, the key to the Socialist position on the subject. There are, however, not a few persons who in all sincerity hold the view that in the overcoming of the body—in the minimization of all bodily satisfaction—is to be found the portal to the higher life of man, and who act up to their professions. Now it should be observed that to all who earnestly and sincerely accept the current ethical basis, the body still remains an end, although they profess to ignore it. It is an end to them as much as to the epicure and the libertine, although in another way.

Now the difference between this orthodox and the Socialist way of viewing human life is, that the Socialist, while not pretending to ignore the body, yet wishes that it should cease to be the main end of human life. At present that satisfaction of personal bodily wants fills the mental horizon of the immense majority of human beings, the only alternative being with those would-be virtuous individuals whose mental horizon is filled, to a large extent at least, with the idea of the suppression of these same bodily wants. That the first of these conditions is unfavorable to the development of a higher life, be it moral, intellectual, or artistic, few would dispute. That the second is scarcely less so is equally obvious on a little reflection. For in the first place the continued struggle against natural wants, to live on next to nothing, to bear the greatest privations, in itself draws off vast stores of moral energy which is wasted on mere suppression. But if the victory is gained, if the man does not succumb in the process, if his devotion to his higher aim, of whatever nature it may be, is so exceptionally great as to carry him through, what has he gained and what has he not lost? He is purified through suffering, says the Christian. But in how many cases he metaphorically leaves his skin behind in the process, in how many cases he has lost an essential part of himself, those know who have had much intercourse with or have studied the lives of the exceptional men who have successfully struggled with adversity, and who have observed the sourness, the one-sidedness, the twistedness, so to say, of character thence resulting. No one can fail to admire and to honor the strength of purpose which enables a man to pursue a high aim in the midst of privations; but no one who looks at the matter without prejudice and in the light of broad human inter-

ests, can honestly say that the man is better as man for the privations through which he is come, even though he has accomplished his life-work in spite of them. Instances of this may be found in Chatterton, Beethoven, etc. Of course we leave out of account here the fact that under modern economic conditions it is not a case of being contented with a little which is at least there, but of a desperate and exhausting life struggle to obtain sufficient to sustain life at all. We do so, as we are addressing not so much the avowed opponents of Socialism as those who, while professing to sympathize in a manner with its aims, have lingering prejudices in favor of the ascetic or shall I say the "austere republican" theory of life, and who therefore view with disfavor the stress modern Socialism lays on the satisfaction of mere material wants.

Even the sentimental moralist in question must admit that at the present time the end-purpose of life is for the majority of men the satisfaction of natural personal wants. There are not a few, it is true, who pursue gain for the sake of gain, but this is generally after they have satisfied their animal wants. Now the apparent ideal of certain sentimental moralists I have heard talk, is an insurance against absolute destitution, and the rigid repression of all further desires over and above this minimum. The Positivists to a great extent hold this view. Such a state of things they think might be attainable (by a kind of state-socialism we suppose) within the framework of present society. The theory, therefore, is not distasteful to those who see that capitalism is unstable and indeed impossible to last as at present constituted, but who would willingly stave off the complete overthrow of the system. The latter are anxious merely to retain their monopoly of the good things of life, but they find a useful ally in the introspective moralist who winces at the idea of removing the causes of moral evil for fear of depriving the individual of the opportunity of "resisting temptation, and who wants to keep him deprived of the comforts and conveniences of life that he may show his strength of mind in being able to do without them, shutting their eyes to the fact that they thereby perpetuate moral evil.

It is the scientific Socialist who alone seriously wishes to lead men to higher aims than merely sensual ones, while caring not one jot for the empty moral gymnastics which are the end of the introspective moralist. He sees that his ideal, human happiness, and that in the highest sense, is realizable rather in the enjoyment of all than in the restraint of each, even in the matter of mere material wants, and that the corrupting influence of luxury hitherto has mainly resided in the fact that it was not enjoyed by all. And his theory is based on knowledge of the "nature of things."

To the sick man what is the highest ideal? Health. His whole horizon of aspiration is filled in with the notion of health. To him health is synonymous with happiness. He recovers his health and he finds now that there is something beyond that horizon—that over the mountains there are also oxen. Health now becomes a matter of course, which he accepts as such and does not think about; his mental horizon is now occupied with other objects. Had he remained sick he might have been resigned, but health would still have irresistibly presented itself to him as the ideal goal of life. So it is with the completion of health, which consists in the full, the adequate satisfaction of bodily wants. So long as they remain a desideratum for the majority of mankind, the majority of mankind will continue to regard them as the one end of the heroic ascetic, who despises such low concerns. Let the mass of men once have free access to the means of satisfaction, and they will then for the first time feel the need of higher objects in life.

As a matter of fact, it is a trite observation that all the "higher life" of the world has been carried on by those classes who have been free from the presence of material wants, not by those who have

been deprived of them or who have renounced them. What did the really consistent Christian ascetics—the St. Antonies of the fourth century, for example—accomplish beyond seeing visions, performing astounding feats of self-privation, etc.? Were they more than moral mountebanks? Do we not find, on the contrary, that the monks who really were historians, philosophers, etc., sprang from the wealthy Benedictines and other orders whose discipline was "lax," who kept a well-filled refectory, whose morality was said to be questionable, and who lead the intellectual life of the middle ages. So long as monasticism remained ascetic, intellectual life within the monasteries was impossible. Bodily cravings occupied men's whole attention. Another and still more striking instance of how the fact of every possible sensual enjoyment being within reach forces the mind to seek satisfaction in something which if it is not intellectual is at least non-sensual, is that of the tyrannos of the ancient city, or the wealthy noble, the provincial governor, the proconsul or prefect of the Roman Empire. No one can adequately conceive nowadays of the luxury and sensuous pleasure in which such characters as these literally weltered—of the gorgeous marble palaces, of the Persian coverings, of the Babylonian couches, the wines, dishes, and spices from every quarter of the known world, of the most well-favored concubines that could be procured for money from Europe, from Asia and from Africa—yet, strange to say, the possessor and enjoyer of all these things was never happy unless risking them all and his life included on the barren chance (in the first instance mentioned) of conquering another city, or (in the second) of intriguing for the purple, the attainment of which experience had taught, in nine cases out of ten, meant death within a few months. It was not that the conquest of the city or the ascent of the throne added to his luxury, which would have probably been impossible—this was not his object, but that having already his fill of all sensuous pleasures he looked for something more, and this something more he found, in accordance with the manners of his age, in the notion of glory, the glory of founding a dynasty, or of being saluted absolute master of the world. We see a similar thing nowadays in the tradesmen in possession of all that wealth can purchase, and in absence of all intellectual resources, who, also in accordance with the manners of his age, finds his "something more" in commercial "success," which he continues to pursue for its own sake.

(Continued in next issue.)

PLATFORM Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ghosts: New and Old

BOURGEOIS science and culture has nothing more to give to human society. The bourgeois system has reached the parting of the ways, and we see on all sides signs of decay. The future holds no hope in store for the capitalist class and its apologists. They look towards the future and see nothing but disaster for themselves and their system. The bourgeois scientists in despair, cry frantically "Let us go back." "Back to Kant." "Back to Cuvier." "Back to Malthus." "Back to Moses." Back to anybody, or anything, to save their beautiful system of Christian civilization, and bourgeois democracy.

The theologians, finding that the workers are getting wise to the old orthodox religions and are rapidly falling away, concoct new religions, such as Theosophy, Spiritualism, Christian Science, etc., which are merely a rehash of the old ones (only more ridiculous) with new names for old superstitions, and enlist the names and the services of a few bourgeois scientists (who have gone crazy hunting for the back trail), to give them a scientific shade. For instance: Mr. L. W. Rogers, of the "Theosophical Book Concern," of Los Angeles, tells us that "Reincarnation is not a new idea. It is only new to our western nations and to our particular time. It was well known to Greece, and Plato was one of its exponents." And again: "The astral plane is the purgatory of ancient literature and of the Catholic Church." We had our suspicions of this all along, so we are glad to have this testimony from a man who knows. It makes us feel less guilty and less responsible. To this extent we agree with Mr. Rogers, so we will let him have things his own way for the present.

Now we intend to examine briefly, a series of articles by Mr. Basil King, entitled "The Abolishing of Death," which appeared in the "Cosmopolitan" magazine of July, August, September and October, 1919, and if any reader of this article thinks we have misquoted in any way, we would ask him to look up the articles in the "Cosmopolitan," and read them for himself. Mr. King does not claim to be an exponent of any of the above mentioned sects, in fact he seems to be a kind of free-lance, but he does claim to have had communication with the ghosts, of what he calls "The New Heaven." The particular ghost with whom he talks most, he calls Henry Talbot, which is a fictitious name for the ghost of a certain chemist, "well known in Europe and America," who "passed over" some years ago, and who it appears is very modest, and wishes to remain anonymous. The medium, or the young lady who writes the messages that Henry wishes to deliver, Mr. King calls Jennifer. Now you have the plot, and the cast of characters. So we shall see what they have to say for themselves. Mr. King is the first speaker, he says:

"In the following paper I speak as if the fact that messages can come from one plane of existence to the other were conceded by the reader. This I do to avoid wearisome arguments and repetitions." . . . "It will be noticed that I bring nothing forward in the nature of evidence, for apart from the factor of sweet reasonableness in the messages themselves, I have no evidence to bring. . . . As for proof of the presumed speaker's identity, or that there is a speaker outside Jennifer or myself, I have sought for none. The internal evidence of high and beautiful thought has been enough for such purposes as I have in mind."

Of course Mr. King would find argument and criticism wearisome. But they do not weary us in the least, so we shall proceed to analyze some of the "sweet reasonable messages" and the "high and beautiful thought" that Henry has seen fit to vouchsafe unto Mr. King, and which constitute the only evidence and proof that Mr. King has to offer. It would also be interesting to know just what the "purposes" are that Mr. King has in mind, but that is something very hard to ascertain, so we leave it to the reader to figure out for himself. Now we shall see what Henry has to say with regard to mediums.

"The mediums and others similarly gifted," Henry Talbot writes further, 'are people whose

sensibilities resemble those of the birds and animals. Their intelligence has not blunted their perception of rhythm, and they thus find themselves peculiarly adapted to thought transmission. Unlike the birds however, they have forgotten how to control and direct this force. They represent, in some degree, what God intended us all to be, though, in the case of most of us, the sense of rhythm has been overwhelmed by worldly activities. If you observe a growing infant, you will note many indications of his possession of what I might call a sixth sense—the sense of rhythm. This is, as a rule, effectually blunted by his education; but sometimes, as in the case of mediums and persons possessing peculiar powers, the strength of the sixth sense is too great to be overcome.' "

If we understand the above message correctly, Henry wishes to inform us, through Jennifer and Mr. King, that he will absolutely refuse to associate with anyone except idiots and ignoramuses. All others, who are not as "God intended us all to be," are barred from the "sweet reasonable messages," unless they are willing to take them second-hand from such as Mr. King. And if the education of the child blunts his sixth sense, and unfits him for communication with the ghosts, then by all means let us abolish education. Let us build up no barriers between ourselves and the ghosts. We shall now have a few messages on social and political subjects, from various ghosts of "The New Heaven."

"We are hoping to write books on law," says a young Harvard professor who went over some thirty years ago. 'He has been working with the rules governing water,' we are told of another man. 'I am studying beauty in new forms,' a well known architect has recently written of himself. 'She is watching with the babies,' is the word concerning a young mother. 'She makes the fun,' was the answer to a question about a relative. 'He does a great work here,' is the reply to an inquiry about a former banker who loved horses, 'two works. He helps in the organization of exchange, and he plays with the horses and develops them' . . . "I am a mother now," wrote a woman who had never been married, and in whom we supposed the earthly springs of maternity to have dried up. This being difficult for us to understand, she said later, when we asked for a message to a young man relative whom she had dearly loved, 'I have my own boys here.' A third person threw light on this by saying of her: 'She works among soldiers. They all love her' "

Now we are convinced that almost everyone will admit that these are real "sweet and reasonable messages," that the ghosts of "The New Heaven" have sent us through Jennifer and Mr. King. They are almost as "sweet and reasonable," and as "high and beautiful" as the bourgeois ideas and customs in vogue right here on earth at the present time. But, oh! how different is "The New Heaven" from the old one of the "pearly gates," where the sexless ghosts were wont to sit around the "great white throne," and play their golden harps for ever and for ever. And why this change? Has there been some great reformation in Heaven, such as has taken place on earth from time to time? Or was somebody mistaken in the first place? Now we will have just one more message from the ghosts.

"That sure is so!" he had written, in response to something we had asked him. As I was about to object that the form of speech had not been in vogue when he was with us some thirty years ago, he continued to write: 'The slang comes to us here. Very good, too.'

'Do the soldier boys bring it over?' it occurred to me to ask.

'Yes; when they first come they want to talk, and do not grasp at once our thought-exchange.'

'And you talk with them?'

'Yes; and the slang makes them feel at home.'

"Sweet" of the ghosts, was it not, to talk slang to the immortal souls, of the dead soldier boys to make them feel at home? The ghosts of "The New Heaven" are progressive. Nothing reactionary about those ghosts. Evidently, the law of evolution has been at work on the ghosts, as well as every-

thing else; that infernal law will leave nothing alone.

The time was, in the "good old days," when the ghosts came out of their graves at night, attired in their white shrouds, or shirts, or whatever they wore, and wandered about scaring the life out of respectable gentlemen, who, like Tam O'Shanter, had been out having a good time, and were a little late getting back. Now that was no way to make a man feel at home. The old-fashioned ghosts did not understand their business. Instead of scaring people to death, they should have stayed where they belonged, and welcomed, with slang phrases, the souls of those who died a natural death, or were "sent over" to "make the world safe for democracy." But how could the poor old ghosts talk slang before slang was invented?

Anyhow, it is nice to have a choice between ghosts. So if you are discouraged with this vale of tears, and if you have an intellect on a par with that of birds and animals, and if you have never had education enough to blunt your sixth sense, have a talk with Henry. If you do not like Henry's slang, and the Heaven of the law books and horses, "go back" to the ghosts of Shakespeare, and the Heaven of the golden harps. If you have had enough of bourgeois democracy, try the astral plane; if you do not like the astral plane, "go back" to purgatory.

Now the moral of this tale is, that Mr. King and the whole tribe of "new ghost worshippers," (scientists and all), are either idiots, or the most notorious bunch of hypocrites that ever polluted the earth. Because, if they are both sane and sincere, then, the writer of this article is as crazy as a bed bug, and we strenuously object to any such insinuation. But there is an imbecile, or a hypocrite, in the wood-pile somewhere; we leave it to the reader of the "Clarion" to find him, and as an aid in the search, we would suggest that they read "Social and Philosophical Studies," by P. Lafargue; "Philosophical Essays," by J. Dietzgen; and the "Evolution of the Idea of God," by G. Allen. We have an idea that after a careful study of these works, they will not worry much about ghosts, either new or old.

F. J. McNEEY.

Literature Price List

Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.

The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bonger). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.

Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.

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Evolution of Man. (Prof. Bolsche). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.

The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.

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