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WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of CURRENT EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

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Manitoba Provincial Election

MANIFESTO No. 1.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, LOCAL (WINNIPEG) No. 3

IT is no uncommon thing to meet with the individual zealot in the Socialist movement who is obsessed with the idea that there is more than one Socialist Party in the field, either in Canada or elsewhere. Such individual is, as a rule, quite sure that it is his heaven-ordained mission to brush away such trifling differences as may exist between these various Socialist Parties and thus happily bring about such a condition of brotherly unity and solidarity as to weld their erstwhile puny and semi-futile efforts into an overwhelming and world-conquering force.

Occasonally evidence comes to us indicating that this thirst for unity has gone beyond the mere infection of an individual here and there. Now and again we hear of local organizations of Socialists demanding in thunder-tones that unity be the watchword and battle-cry. As in the case of the individual, these demands are made without rhyme or reason, for the very simple fact that neither poetic fancy nor the logic of science can force a condition of unity where the elements that make for such a condition are lacking.

The Socialist movement of the world is essentially a revolutionary movement of the working class. Its purpose is to overthrow the present capitalist control of industry and appropriation of its products and setting up in its place working class control and appropriation thereof.

The revolutionary action of the working class against the capitalist class presupposes a thorough and complete understanding of the capitalist system and its method of exploitation. In fact the revolutionary movement is unthinkable without this understanding. What is termed the Marxian analysis of capital and capitalist production, affords the basis of action and predetermines the revolutionary nature of that action. It precludes the possibility of any other line of attack. Mathematics is said to be an exact science. The Marxian analysis of Capital is equally exact, because it is essentially a mathematical analysis of that particular phenomenon in the category of social organic types so far recorded in history.

Just as there can be no two or more schools of mathematics ,there can be no two or more schools, or parties, of Socialism. The science of numbers is really nothing, but the facts relating to numbers. The results of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division can always be accurately arrived at and all conclusions proven beyond dispute. There is no ground, therefore, upon which contention can be predicated. There is no room for any difference of opinion. There is no room for compromise.

The science of economics is merely the accumulated facts relating to the production and distribution of wealth. We cannot separate this particular line of enquiry from that of mathematics, because the real facts of wealth production can only be expressed in mathematical terms. All up-to-date capitalist production is carried on with mathematical exactness. A complete and careful record of everything is kept, even down to the minutest fraction, and all of the facts of this form of production are well known to those who care to know.

As the facts of capitalist production point unmistakably to revolutionary action by the workers, the existence of more than one Socialist Party, or movement, becomes as unthinkable as the existence of more than one school, or party, of mathematics.

There is but one Socialist party, or movement, either here in Canada, or elsewhere. There may be one or a dozen calling themselves Socialists, but this does not prove them to be such. Different movements during recent times have either dubbed themselves Socialists, or been so dubbed by others, whose titles to such designation have rested merely upon the occasional mouthing of some radicalism so intensely diluted as to throw a semi-dead Liberal into Conservative jimjams.

To unify warring factions is to compromise their differences. If differences exist they must be warranted. For either side to a difference, or controversy, to seek unity—which in this case means compromise—is to make acknowledgment of one of two things, either weakness or deception. And neither is an attribute to boast about.

The Socialist Party of Canada has been in existence about 15 years. Its understanding of capitalism has not lessened with years. Its revolutionary purpose and spirit is even more pronounced than of yore. It has won some victories; it has met with some defeats; but it has neither won nor lost, because of having shifted its position or compromised its principles.

If there is any other movement, or party, in Canada calling itself Socialist and whose policy, or programme, or both, differ from those of the S. P. of C., if such a party, or movement, has the courage of its conviction and faith in its promises, it will nail its flag to the mast and defy the storm. Any alleged poltical craft, however, that is not properly ballasted with knowledge of the task in hand, and whose crew is thus without either compass, chart or rudder, will have troublous sailing in the days to come, when the social and industrial sea will be lashed to fury by the revolutionary storm.

The Socialist Party of Canada will continue to pursue the "even tenor of its way," confident of itself and confident of the future. That the party's position is sound and its conclusions correct has been amply proven in the past and will be reaffirmed in the future. Individuals may come and individuals may go, according to the dictates of their fancy or their reason, but the organization will still fly the flag of the Revolution. No compromise and no surrender.

The Function of Money

THE intricate system of exchange prevailing in modern society divests itself of its complexity, and gives us an opportunity to examine, and understand, its origin and development, as we move back along the trail of human progress.

Just exactly where, and when, primitive man found it advantageous to exchange some of the articles he possessed for others in the hands of his neighbors is impossible to say with any certainty of accuracy. The ages preceding the historical period afford scant opportunity for scientific investigation, and even long after the antics of humankind were first recorded, the history of the race, far from being one of unbroken continuity, is essentially fragmentary and largely a matter of conjecture.

How, and why, our savage forbears acquired the ideas that led to swapping one use-value for another remains, likewise, enshrouded by the mists of the ages, and can be unravelled only by reasoning deductively from the available material. Many theories concerning the why and the wherefore of man's early trading proclivities are disseminated from various quarters. Some would lead us to believe that exchange had its origin in the innate reasoning faculty of the "homo sapiens" who, confronted with a situation where a surplus of some things abounded, began to devise ways and means of disposing of that portion he could not consume for other products, possessed by adjoining peoples, which he considered indispensable to his further progress. Others advance the plausible theory that the primitive practice of giving presents, considered equal in desirability, led directly to the interchange of products. Still another deduction connects the origin of trade with the spoils emanating from the foraging expeditions of hunting and pastoral tribes who acquired a superfluous amount of some articles they needs must convert into things needful via exchange.

At any rate, though we see "through a glass darkly," while investigating the cradle of the race, and attempting solutions of the various steps in social development, we can reasonably establish the premise that trade and commerce had not attained a very important position in human annals before the cattle raising tribes were separated from the remainder of the barbarians, and the use of various implements and weapons had firmly fastened a concept of property in the human brain.

The direct exchange of products undoubtedly preceded the circuitous form prevailing in modern capitalism. Today, in order that the operations of trade may be facilitated, some commodity, or some form of currency representing in some degree the commodity set aside for the purpose, acts as a measure of value and medium of exchange. In primitive times all operations were in kind. Goods were paid for by goods and not by money. It was **convenience** that necessitated the introduction of an agent between buyer and seller. In cases where

(Continued on page 8.)

Economic Causes of War.

Article No. 6.

WE have been told that Germany had been preparing for forty years to supplant England in world supremacy, but a study of history proves the fallacy of such a statement. France was England's enemy until 1904, and Germany was all that was good, with the exception of a little fuss over the Kaiser sending congratulations to Kruger during the time of the Jamieson Raid in South Africa; but then similar congratulations had been sent from the United States.

I have shown in previous articles regarding the history of the various alliances lined up in the Great War, that it was the economic forces that determined their course. Bismarck, as late as 1880-81-82, was utterly opposed to colonization. Dr. Rose says in his "Origin of the War," that **overproduction and** the cry for markets by the Colonial party forced Bismarck to adopt colonization as a platform in his election campaign of 1884, to make sure of being returned in the general election of that year. Morel, in "Africa and the Peace of Europe," says: "German explorers had figured conspicuously in the geographical 'opening up' of Africa. . . . . A Colonial party arose in Germany. Its aim Bismarck contemptuously and growlingly opposed. Events, however, proved too strong for the Chancellor." Germany had become an industrial nation with a population increasing fifty per cent. in a generation, had become a colonizing nation, and, as Dr. Rose says, must have a great overseas commerce. From 1878 to 1887 emigration from Germany amounted to 1,171,000 people. Tardieu in "France and her Alliances," shows that between 1890 and 1895, 711 joint stock companies were founded in Germany, and 1,551 between 1895 and 1900.

The Germans, developing waterways and canals, were able to undersell their competitors in the world's markets. The capacity of British canal barges ranges from 30 to 100 tons, that of the German barges from 200 to 400 tons, and on the larger waterways from 1,000 to 1,200 tons, which reduced the cost of freight per ton to about a quarter of that of the small British barges. Although Germany's industrial centres are at an average distance of 200 miles from their seaports, while Britain's industrial towns are only from 10 to 50 miles, she has had the advantage of Britain, who had to use her railways for transportation to the seaports, which means a higher freight. Her great industrial activity and increasing population sent Germany ahunting for markets and colonies.

Then we had the great antagonisms between the European Powers over the continent of Africa. The British intervention in Egypt, 1882, against Arabi Pasha, angered Turkey, and Germany made friends with the Turks. Dr. Rose, "Origin of the War," page 13, tells of a German merchant named Luderitz who bought from a native chief a tract of land 200 miles wide north of the Orange River, and asked the German government for protection. Bismarck asked Britain if she would protect Luderitz, but "we" were indifferent about his protection. Bismarck was annoyed at Britain's attitude, but finally a settlement was reached. Dr. Rose adds: "We needed to buy off German opposition to our occupation of Egypt by giving up Augra Peguena and nearly all of the coast up to the Portuguese territory. Thus the foundations of German Southwest Africa." On page 19: "Gladstone and Chamberlain said we have no right to prevent a foreign power from colonizing."

In 1890 Germany signed a commercial treaty with Morocco, ratified by Great Britain, and in the same year Britain gave her Heligoland and recognized her colonies in East and South-west Africa. In return British possession of Nyassaland and Somaliland was recognized by Germany. In 1892 Germany supported the British Mission to Morocco headed by Sir C. Ewan Smith. It was customary for Germany to give British commerce the same considerations that she gave to her own, while France monopolized her colonies with tariffs. Dr. Rose says: page 99, "Origin of the War"; "Britain had strained relations with France 1882-1904," and on page 68: "When trouble shifted to Morocco, France looked upon us as her wirst competitor in commerce." On page 69: "France pushed ahead, time of the South African war, with the expectation of Russian help, although it failed during Fashoda." (1898). I am drawing the attention of the workers to these facts of history to show the fallacy of the mouth-filling phrases which were dished out during the war. "The French press was bitter against us during the Boer War," we find in the Annual Register of 1906 (and General Botha during the Great War expressed the view) that Russia and France asked Germany to join them in interfering in the Boer War, but the Kaiser refused. Surely that was a great opportunity if Germany had been preparing for years to smash England. When we come to the Morocco incident of 1904, we find that Britain opposed France and Spain, until France settled her centuries-old disputes about some fishery affairs on the banks of Newfoundland, and later disputes in Egypt and other places. This was the turning point, France, Russia and Britain became friends, and the hate which these nations had had for each other was now directed at their commercial rival, Germany. Count Von Buelow said in the Reichstag, April 12th, 1904, "Our interests in Morocco are first and foremost commercial . . . . . We owe it to ourselves to protect our commercial interests in Morocco, and we shall protect them." On other occasions during 1904 he said: "I consider it the duty of the German government to see that, in future, our economic interests in this country are not injured. . . . . But if any attempt should be made to modify the international situation of Morocco, or to establish **any check on the open door in the country's economic development,** we must see more than ever **our economic interests are not endangered.**" Tardieu, in "France and her Alliances," tells us the population of Germany, which was 41,000,000 in 1870, increased to 63,000,000 by 1907; that German commerce, importation and exportation, amounted to six billion marks in 1878 and fifteen billions in 1906. So it was owing to the economic pressure of Germany's industrial expansion, her increased population, handicapped by the lack of colonies, and by her rivals endeavoring to bottle her up in the North Sea, that she was compelled to fight. Von Buelow said that the chief care of the development and expansion of German colonies could only be carried out by a large and powerful navy. Brailford's "The War of Steel and Gold," 1914, says: "It is the economic motive which underlies the struggle for a balance of power." Great Britain, jealous of the economic expansion of Germany and eager to put a stop to it, passed a law that German goods must have "Made in Germany" marked on them. This had a reverse effect to that intended, as, instead of hurting German trade it advertised it, and Britain, fearful of her future trade, took advantage of the ambitions of France and Russia and united with them in a formidable alliance.

The Great War has been recognized by many people as being fundamentally economic. An Italian writer, Catellani, in 1916, realized that English jealousy of all commerce throughout the world, and her own maritime supremacy, rendered a clash between herself and Germany inevitable. Another Italian, Garofalo, Naples, 1916, said that the conflict was an acute and violent phase of the previous protracted economic rivalry between England and Germany, which began when the latter, with her industries and her colonies, commenced to threaten the former in the commercial empire of the world. Irwin Fisher, in the United States, discovered the causes of the war in the economic condition, "Journal of Political Economy," July, 1916. In Switzerland M. Millioud, and in France M. Herriott, regard the war as a result of German overproduction seeking new outlets. Even Pope Pius X. a few days before his death stated that: "The sole cause of the war was to be sought in the measureless desire for wealth and the the anti-social passions of the controlling classes." The "London Economist," November 20th, 1915, said that the desire to find a lucrative employment for capital in new countries was the real underlying causes of the horrible conflagration."

The increased English tonnage through the Suez Canal from the first year of the war was exactly equal to the total loss in German tonnage. When we examine the military and naval expenditures in preparation for the war, we find that Russia and France spent more than Germany and Austria for the ten years previous to 1914. Then we are told about the unpreparedness of the Entente.

This was a "War to End War," as President Wilson said, and still the military and naval expenditures are increasing in nearly every country. To believe in an absolute abolition of war while the present economic conditions obtain, would be utterly vain and illusory.

PETER T. LECKIE.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
Local (Vancouver) No. 1.

MEDICAL RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

A public meeting will be held in the Empress Theatre on SUNDAY, 20th JUNE, at 8 p.m. All moneys collected over and above expenses, will be devoted to Medical Supplies for Soviet Russia. (See item, Secretarial Notes, page 4.)

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.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, $3.25.

Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, $1.50.

Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 copies, $1.50.

Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.

The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.

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

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

Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, $2.00.

The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.

Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen), 55c per copy.

Capital (Marx), vols. 1, 2 and 3, each $3; the set complete, $8.50.

Ancient Society (Lewis H. Morgan) $2.00

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (F. Engels) 80c

Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy (Engels) 80c

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

Book Review

THE PLACE OF SCIENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY.—509 p.p. $3.00. New York, B. W. Huebsch, 32 West 58th Street.

IT is a mere commonplace to say that science together with the scientific method and the scientific viewpoint are subject, just as much as the phenomena which form the subject matter of science, to the process of evolution. Notwithstanding this fact, there are still too many people who are content to clinch an argument by quoting with an air of finality from some or other of the authorities of fifty years ago.

A statement is true if it agrees with the facts. This is a matter of experience. Presently it becomes a matter of common knowledge and belief. An hypothesis becomes a scientific generalization (we no longer speak of "natural laws") by the same process and is gradually absorbed into the body of human knowledge. If it is associated with the name of its "discoverer," this is merely for convenience in speaking of it. Some investigator in some branch of science, economics, biology, physics or whatnot advances certain theories. Presently a school is formed of his disciples, and an active controversy is carried on with those holding the older or opposing views. Such a school of thought is, as a rule known by the name of its founder as, for example, Ricardians, Comtists, Darwinians, Spencerians, and so forth.

In the event that, in the course of time ,the teachings of a sect are shewn to be correct, they supercede the older theories and are gradulaly adopted into the received canon of scientific thought. In the contrary event, that is, if its teaching is shown to be incorrect ,the sect simply dies out. In any case, then, it ceases to exist as such. It will be observed, further, that in the process of absorption the newer theory is corrected and amplified in such particulars as the progress of science may have shewn to be necessary, and relieved of those extravagancies which accrue owing to the zeal of propagandists. All of which accords with the evolutionary process. For these reasons we no longer speak of schools of thought such as Nominalism, Comtism, or Darwinism except for historical purposes.

What, then, of the school of Marx? Why is not this particular school subject to the same process? Marxism is the dogmatic substructure, the intellectual stock-in-trade of one of the parties to the conflict of classes, of the proletarian class. For this reason it will be rejected consciously or unconsciously by the keepers of science and culture who are, as a rule the henchmen of the ruling class, and it will be propagated, rightly or wrongly, by the spokesmen of the working class. When the class struggle eventuates in the abolition of all classes, then the law of evolution will have its way.

All of this has nothing in particular to do with the book I am supposed to be reviewing except that it has been suggested by the reading thereof.

Recent changes in the economic structure of society have brought about, as a necessary result, changes in the method and viewpoint in science among the younger and more progressive thinkers. We hear much of the New Science, of the Newer Pyschology, of Pragmatism and whatnot. Among the more recent writers, Thorstein Veblen is probably the most outstanding, and the one whose writings Socialist readers will find most helpful and stimulating.

The present book is a collection of essays which have appeared in various periodicals during the last twenty years, and are re-published, no doubt, because of the success which has attended former publication, but also on account of the merit they possess. The essays which give its name to the volume treat of recent changes in the scientific outlook. The essays entitled "The Preconceptions of Economic Science," "On the Nature of Capital," and "Industrial and Pecuniary Employments," will be found useful and suggestive. The articles on "The Limitations of Marginal Utility," and "A Criticism of Prof. Clark's Economics," constitute destructive criticism which is fatal to the marginal utilty theory so much in favor with bourgeois economists. The arguments, however, as Prof. Veblen himself points out are, from the nature of the subject, too subtle and too abstruse to be available for everyday controversial purposes.

The articles on "The Economics of Karl Marx" will probably be those to which the Socialist reader will first turn. He will find much of which he does not approve; and much that will be helpful. There is, however, one remark which is unforgiveable, the reference to "Marx's unacknowledged debt to William Thompson." One would have thought we had heard the last of this charge, multiform in its phases. Marx never claimed to be the originator of the theory he is accused of appropriating. It was, as a matter of fact, common knowledge at the time he wrote, and he himself refers to Thompson, along with half a dozen others as propagating these doctrines in the crude form in which they were then understood. Marx was not at all backward in claiming credit for his own discoveries nor in giving credit to others for what was rightfully their due.

Prof. Veblen's books are not for the beginner in science or economics, but should be in the hands of every student.

His method of treatment is tentative and suggestive, as befits the science of a transition age, rather than precise and dogmatic as was the older science. Veblen has an extraordinary command of the English language, not the English of Morris or Ruskin, but the polyglot medium of expression that is modern English. All of which results in a prolix and exuberant style which many find difficult to read. In spite of all this, however, the present writer would recommend a perusal of this and any other works of Prof. Veblen that one can get hold of.

G.

Our Function.

EVERY periodical has a function to perform. The function of the prostitute press is to amuse, to misrepresent, to retard progress; that of the Socialist press consists of spreading broadcast scientific knowledge—the only power that can bring the class war to a succesful issue.

Contributors to all publications must continually bear these facts in mind, otherwise their work may fail to receive that recognition which every author strives to attain.

The "Western Clarion" is not published with the object of amusing advanced students of Marxism, nor is it produced with intent to display the academic training of some contributors.. Many wage-slaves—usually through no fault of their own— are incapable of understanding long-winded, obscure, labored passages, replete with classical terminology.

Writers filled with the desire to help us spread that light which goes with a knowledge of facts, ought to consider the following rules.

1.—Our function.

2.—Short sentences—not necessarily short paragraphs—with as few subordinate clauses as possible; too many qualifying clauses tend to leave the novice in a fog.

3.—The use, as far as practicable of old English words. Do not make use of an Anglicized Latin or Greek word if you can possibly replace it with another of low German origin.

Simplicity in style is conducive to clarity of thought.

J. S. L.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are grateful for these able suggestions for our worthy comrade, and no doubt we shall profit by them. In point of fact, however, rather than the three "rules" as given above, we would have taken more kindly to an example. J. S. L. need not wait for a pressing invitation, and we shall be glad to present "Clarion" readers with his educational groundwork as soon as he outlines it, taking his rules for guidance.

The World Budget

THE henchmen of the lords financial have presented their annual scheme of taxation. Like its origin, it is a fearful and wonderful contrivance, calculated to sharpen the wits of those who are called upon to contribute, likely to provide a ready theme for many gisgruntled "freeman," and a whirling confusion to the restless seeker after the ideal.

But ideals, though fine fellows, do not journey for long on the rough and tiresome road of emancipation. Like the busy bee, they are lured to the fairy flowers by the wayside, and are soon lost in the impenetrable jungles of their own imagery. Practical and continuous experience is the only force by which society can be moved, and even at that, the necessary volume is unmeasured. The movements of society are the reflex of the conflicting forces underlying society. Society, therefore, like its component energies, always follows the line of least resistance. This line, invariably, and for obvious reasons, coincided with the daydreams of idealists, never with the far-flung vision of critical analysis. And because of that, we must abide in patience, until the pressure of economic conditions forces the main current of social energy in the direction of real advancement. Real advancement, being a higher and common standard of living conditions for all society.

However, the near future can hardly fail to augment our experience in the grim struggle for life, and the accruing results of the new budget will become a powerful stimulus to action. Whether we like or no, and whether or not we are cognisant of the moving cause, the capitalist joy-riding of the past few years has compelled all states to methods and means of exaction intolerable. And it is because this super-despotic tax-farming is world-wide that the political situation is so critical—to the ruling class—to the slave, tingling with "glad tidings of great joy."

All wealth, the means of wealth accumulation, and the wants of life, are wholly and solely the product of labor. Cripple labor, and the existing social organization crumbles to pieces. The law of substance prevails in economics as relentlessly as in physics, and from nothing or to nothing, can anything proceed. For this reason, the necessities of finance must recoil on the necessities of life; for this reason, every additional imposition is a further tax on industry, a new limitation to profit and expansion, and what is more important, a restriction of the social energies. And social energies cannot be restricted, for they are the outcome, not of man's social legislation, but of the evolution of human society.

This evolution has now reached a point where the present form of social organization no longer conserves or functions, in the interests of the human family. And since society, and not class, is the prime consideration; since society and its necessities demand for its very continuance the collective efforts of social harmony, therefore must the capitalist form of organization give way before the imperious requirements of a new condition.

With the world chaos that now exists; with industry burdened and paralyzed; with debt irredeemable; with resources consumed as rapidly as produced; with production diminished, and all necessity increased; with unemployment stalking ever closer upon us, and with monopoly prices continually separating necessity and its satisfaction, the dissolution of capitalist society looms immanent. And the rulers themselves, helpless in the grasp of their machine-god, compelled by their enormous obligations to close the doors of hope on every avenue of escape, only hasten the inevitable end, in their frantic endeavor to avoid it.

Still, however absurd this new budget is, philosophically, it is tragic in its consequences. It will operate in the direction of lessened production, therefore will unemployment grow to greater proportions—the class conflict become more bitter. Abundant labor-power, and scarcity of other com-

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JUNE 16th, 1920

EDITORIAL
WINNIPEG ELECTION

AS we go to press we are informed that the date set for the Manitoba Provincial Election is June 29th, and nomination date, June 20th. The nominees of Winnipeg Local of the S. P. of C., are Comrades Armstrong, Johns, Russell and Pritchard. The nomination papers will be signed in jail.

Our Winnipeg comrades have themselves reprinted from a CLARION issue of former years, the Election Manifesto that appears in another column of this issue.

Other parties have named their candidates. Liberal, Conservative and Labor; consciously or unconsciously, they are all in the same camp, and whatever their individual utterances and understanding may be, they are devoted one and all, to the same objective: the maintenance of that institution known in all slave societies as the State, reformed, readjusted, trimmed and patched to conform to their individual desires or interests, as these may be by them conceived.

At the present time, in Canada as elsewhere, there undoubtedly exists an attitude that is not confined to unthinking members of the working-class, of apathy towards political action as it is expressed by this Party in this campaign. Recent events in Russia, Austria and Germany have contributed not a little towards this attitude, an attitude that, given time and opportunity, we could readily demonstrate to be unsound so far as a thorough understanding of the position adopted by the workers and their spokesmen in the countries named is concerned. In the meantime, our hat is in the ring, and we must now attend to matters that pertain.

The attention of the workers is directed towards the State during the progress of an election. With all parties, excepting Socialists, the State is an institution accepted as everlasting. With all parties, excepting Socialists, the State always existed and is perpetual. And with all parties, excepting Socialists, the State exists as the protector of society, to levy taxes, establish equal rights, maintain justice and to administer the law. Among Socialists, the State came first into existence with the division of human society into classes. It has attained its present form by an evolutionary process, reached through the development of the economic relations of the classes that constitute that class division. And the sole perpetual feature it manifests anywhere is, that it is the protector of private property, upon which is based a system, now known as the capitalist system, of private gain through the exploitation of human labor.

It is a coercive instrument in the hands of a property owning class, and it must inevitably have a class character, because by the division of society into classes it is maintained, and to the maintenance of that order its power is entirely devoted. Through it the propertied class hold their ownership, direct their affairs, weild their power, render secure their processes of exploitation; and through it therefore, they maintain their present superior position,—in the class struggle.

These things weighed and considered, the possibility of any attempt to constitute the State the impartial protector of capital and labor alike would be absurd. Yet, while a class antagonism exists, the lack of common understanding among working men, of its essential nature, is evident by their divided efforts. The myriad claims of unenlightened labor for justice and equality are laid upon a basis of a thorough misunderstanding.

In this election, between the Socialist Party of Canada and the Dominion Labor Party, their opposite concepts of the basis and structure of capitalism as a producing and administrative system are sharply drawn. The distinction lies in our positive stand upon capitalism as a slave system. Our present efforts are devoted to an effort to educate our fellowmen to that understanding; the efforts of the D. L. P. (to render a generous estimate), are confined to tinkering with the torn edges of capitalism according to the manner of its own rules laid down.

It is never a characteristic feature of ours to be critically unkind towards any sincere body of working men who are struggling for their own betterment according to their lights as they conceive them, rightly or wrongly. We have always preferred to honestly analyze each movement and to criticize it with the object in view of the enlightenment of our class. In Winnipeg during this election campaign, the "Western Labor News" exposes the true nature of its own purposes, in the publication of an editorial in which reference is made to this Party. We can see in this slimy writing nothing but that which characterizes the vote-catching chicanery of an opposing party. Its ideas are as ill-conceived as its metaphors are warped. It lays no charges and it challenges no part of our position. We trust it will ensure the full measure of support it deserves; it will assuredly secure its full measure of earnest opposition from all intelligent men.

The gage of our success in this, as in all other elections in which we have engaged, will be the degree of interest we can awaken in working men and women in their own affairs,—the affairs of their own class .

A MASTERLY RETREAT.

THREE battalions of Czecho-Slovaks passed through the port of Vancouver on the 6th of this month, en route from Vladivostok to Bohemia. We held a conversation with some of them through an interpreter, and our general impression was that their actions in Russia and Siberia were not prompted by their own will and pleasure, but rather by the guileful use of the same brand of lying and vicious anti-Bolshevik propaganda with which the kept press of this country has endeavored to twist our viewpoint concerning Russia and the happenings there.

The main body of these troops were conscripts in the Austrian army who, on account largely of sympathetic leanings towards Russia, were taken as willing prisoners by the army of the Czar. When Kerensky was at the helm of state they agreed to join his forces against Germany, and they have been through a hard school of education in the meaning of working-class solidarity ever since.

The Allied imperialist interests have used these misguided men for their own purposes, and during such times as their own observations have not exactly tallied with the tainted propaganda served out to them by their own military masters, they have been prodded into action by threats well supported by superior military might.

They have at last learned the meaning of the dark scowling glances directed their way by friends of Soviet Russia wherever they have been. And they now resent this attitude, because they long since came in contact with the truth about Russia, and the cruelties of the late brigand, Kolchak, had not a little to do with that. Indeed, we are given to understand that the Czech battalion that delivered this unhappy wretch into the hands of the Bolshevik forces will follow this battalion from Vladivostok by the first available ship.

The Czecho-Slovaks have reached the position where they will trust no power, unless they themselves are armed. The Soviets offered them asylum in Russia and Siberia as settlers, and failing agreement upon that, they offered them safe passage through Russia to Bohemia, provided they disarmed. They declined to disarm, and with their arms, the Soviets refused them transit.

The happy feature in connection with this is that they now bear no enmity against the Bolsheviki on that account. They know that the Bolsheviki must ensure a measure of safety for their own populace, and they knew that populace must harbor passionate enmity against them. So they have kept their arms. They marched through these streets with fixed bayonets; and, however true it may be, they say they will not lay down their arms until they reach Bohemia.

They carry with them, as prisoner, a Bolshevik general, with whom they are on good terms. They say their rank and file have refused to surrender him to any representatives of the Allied forces, and that their intention is to deliver him safely to his own people.

We have read of many masterly retreats in military history, but for the Soviets it must be recorded that they have forced an opposing body of troops to retreat practically over the whole surface of the earth. They have had to go east round the world, to reach a point a comparative mile or two west.

Whatever may be their professions, no body of troops may set foot upon the territories of the Russian Workers' Republic, unless upon its own terms.

A EUROPEAN correspondent of the Vancouver "Province" and the New York "Times," has unearthed another dark Bolshevik plot to forcibly overturn all governments upon a preconceived plan. This time the seat of infamy is Amsterdam, from which hitherto saintly city the Soviets allegedly issue their secret pronouncements.

We learn from their columns that Amsterdam has just been inhabited by a bewhiskered gang of dangerous Bolsheviks, whose function it is to command their agents throughout the world, to the end that the day-to-day functions of all governments may be forcibly interrupted, and riotously overthrown.

The plot is hatched in the correspondent's head alone. He has made the startling "discovery' 'of the names of five or six of the international representatives concerned, of whose presence in Amsterdam he has just learned.

Known to all Socialist bodies throughout the world, the formation of a sub-bureau of the Third International has been in progress since November, 1919, and no dark secrecy in this connection has been observed or desired. Indeed, we suspect that the correspondent referred to has been since then as well informed on this matter as ourselves, and that, in line with the policy of wholesale press-news perversion with which we are familiar, he has seen the opportunity to dish up to the credulous and uninformed, a sensational story that has no foundation or truth.

We learn that the Canadians have entertained Krassin in London. Some of them have been entertaining us for a long time here.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

We are never so cantankerous as to require the last word for its own sake, in any dispute wherein we may figure as one of the parties concerned, and, reminiscent of the recent friendly exchanges between "The Searchlight" and the "Western Clarion," on the matter of the essential nature of an industrial organization as such, we present hereunder an article from "The Searchlight," May 28th, 1920, summing up the question. We quote the article in full, and with a parting word that the S. P. of C. is not concerned with "the political game as it is generally understood." we are content to courteously let "The Searchlight" have the last word.

"CUT OUT POLITICS."

" 'The Searchlight' is in receipt of a letter advising the 'cutting out of politics in the One Big Union.' With much that is in the letter we agree and were it not for what we consider unseeming personalities which would indicate a row in our own camp the letter would be published. It is true that there are too many people who would like to make the One Big Union an adjunct of either the Dominion Labor Party or The Socialist Party of Canada. What the 'official' opinion of the O.B.U. on the matter is we do not know. We believe ,however, that the vast majority of the intelligent membership (and the carrying of an O.B.U. card is an evidence of awakened intelligence) have no use for political action within the organization and have no sympathy with those who would try to use the organization in the playing of the political game as it is generally understood. We agree with this majority that the business of the One Big Union is to get the workers solidly united on the job

in the industrial field and apart from that the individuals who make up the membership can be whatever they choose to be, Liberal, Conservative, Socialist, Labor Party, Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterians or Christians"

* * *

Word to hand from Comrade Charlie O'Brien is to the effect that no date is yet set for his trial. Charlie will never get any decorations for personal letter writing, and we are sorry we can say no more than this at the present time concerning his prespects in the courts of law.

* * *

Local Youngstown, Alberta, is our latest addition, and the secretary, Comrade Blair, has a goodly number of farmer comrades in that locality in line for cohesive educational work. Comrades in Alberta and Saskatchewan should communicate with the **Alberta and Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee,** J. F. Maguire, secretary, Box 785, Edmonton, Alberta, for information relative to Party affairs, and more particularly to matters relative to the formation of new locals and to individual membership. Comrade Maguire reports the intention of the A. and S. Ex. Com. to publish shortly two pamphlets.

* * *

"The Socialist" (S. L. P., Glasgow, Scot.), May 20th, 1920, reproduces, with acknowledgment, the article by our contributor A. C. (Mrs. Camfield), in the "Western Clarion," March 1st, 1920, entitled "The Use of the Vote."

* * *

Norman H. Tallentire, one-time secretary Local Calgary, sends a word of greeting to all old friends. He is at present located at 763—12th St., Oakland, Cal., and is acting as secretary there of the Social Science Club. Meetings are held on Saturday evenings ,and are addressed by him, and by Comrades Conlan, Griest, McDonald and others. They request the despatch of a bundle of 25 "Clarion" each issue, and they have sent per J. A. McD. 14 subscriptions, acknowledged elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

Comrade Leckie's series of articles is attracting wide attention. These articles are, without doubt, as able a presentation of fact and detail as can no. be found on the subject he deals with. It has been suggested that a desirable ending to the series would be their publication in book form, and it may be possible to accomplish this. Comrade Leckie is able and well grounded, and his personal influence is felt largely in Ontario. Our readers may judge of the comprehensive nature of his treatise by the following outline of chapters yet to be written. (No. 7 appears in this issue.) No. 8, Japan; No. 9, United States; No. 10, China; No. 11, Egypt; No. 12, Morocco; No. 13, Persia: No. 14, India; No. 15, (concluding article), Imperialism vs. Socialism.

* * *

There was at one time an army of "Clarion" sub. hunters, volunteers, equipped with enthusiasm, personal courage, and an otherwise persuasive manner of address, who regularly from time to time conducted an expedition into the territories of ignorance and apathy and who were wont to return to the barricade with enough fodder to silence the demands of the hungry printer. Now, while our **Here and Now** paragraph in the past three or four issues has looked healthy enough, we have had to slice off a number of expired subscriptions greater than the number of new ones (including renewals received. We do not take kindly to a policy of perpetual wailing. But we are reaching a position where we must call upon that reserve army of volunteers for their renewed energies. Get lists of subscribers in the town or district in which you are located; we shall be glad to supply them on demand.

* * *

A letter has been received by Comrade Jack Shepherd, secretary, Local (Vancouver) No. 1, from the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee asking for help towards medical relief for the sick and suffering in Soviet Russia. By a letter of enquiry, Comrade Shepherd has learned from the representative of the Rusian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in New York, that while the committee is conducting its activities independently of the Russian Bureau in the U. S., it fully deserves the support of every true friend of the Russian Soviet Republic. Local No. 1 have arranged a special public meeting, to be held in the Empress Theatre on Sunday, 20th June. All moneys collected over expenses will be devoted to medical relief for Soviet Russia. Individual donations for this purpose may be sent to Jack Shepherd, Secretary Local (Vancouver) No. 1, 401 Pender St. E., Vancouver, B. C.

* * *

We regret that our contributor, H. M. Bartholomew has not been able to forward the ninth article of his series, entitled "Social Control," in time for this issue.

A Philosophical Retrospect

(Concluded from last issue.)

On the other side of the fence we have those who appeal to brotherly love, those queer freaks who call themselves Christian Socialists, but who might just as sensibly call themselves Anarcho-socialists. The term Christian and Socialist mutually exclude one another. These misguided people would have us love our enemies. Only let brotherly love prevail, and all would be well, say they.

We believe in making our paradise on earth ,and we believe in fighting for it. If anyone suffers from the delusion that all the joys of life can be got by the simple expedient of shutting their knees like a jackknife, and howling out their woes to something that is supposed to exist at the outskirts of the boundless universe, they are either doomed to a wretched existence, or to a speedy awakening. Withal they are slackers to their own kind.

When we have brought about the unconditional surrender of the enemy and made him one of us by the baptismal service of work, so that he may henceforth be a useful member to society and its progress, then may we extend the hand of brotherly love.

Again, there are those calling themselves "progressives," and the petit bourgeois compromiser, who would like to see labor and capital come together and settle their disputes amicably. They prate of the "destruction of civilization" as though civilization were a china cup. This class of people cannot think in any other manner. Caught between the wheels of the capitalist juggernaut and the proletarian rock, they are being relentlessly crushed out of existence, and the faster the crushing process the better for all concerned. To hear this class speak of the destruction of civilization is to laugh. They do but mean their own destruction. Civilization cannot be destroyed, but the bourgeois conception of it can and will be when the working class come into power, when the only privilege that will be recognized will be that of a useful worker.

In the social organism each unit or cell is possessed of a brain, and is capable of conscious effort. He does not die as a social whole when his form of social organization undergoes a change. Neither does the skeleton or economic substructure. What does die is the political organization which he has built up in conformity with his method of gaining a livelihood. When such a superstructure begins to impede man's progress, from then on its days are numbered, and it is either doomed to crack from its own incubus, or through a conscious effort on the part of those on whom that incubus falls. The former method means chaos and destruction to the limit. The latter one, of conscious direction, while it no doubt means a few skirmishes will eliminate much unnecessary suffering and bloodshed, and it is towards this end that the Socialist works.

The technical instruments used in producing wealth will always be with us. They are subject to change and are continually being changed, thus altering the relationship of man to man.

As these things change a corresponding change in the ideas of man takes place, and the result is noticed in the philosophy and art of the different periods. With the passing of capitalism so will pass bourgeois philosophy, morality and superstition, whose highest expression is spiritualism and spiritism. To again quote Lafargue: "The capitalist class can never be dechristianized and delivered from the belief in God, until it shall be expropriated from its class dictatorship and from the wealth that it plunders daily from the wage-working laborers." (Page 50, "Philosophical Essays.")

Such bourgeois philosophers as Stirner, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Tolstoi, et al., will then be shown in their proper light as products of a system of contradictions.

Man, in his researches on the natural field has eliminated the need for the existence of a god in order to account for natural phenomena. By studying social production with a view to its mastery, we shall abolish the unknowable, and therefore the last hiding place for the existence of spooks. Primitive man in his ignorance of natural phenomena built up his several gods. In primitive Christianty, the ignorance of the origin of the social ethic, and little understanding its workings, gave rise to the duality of the individual; his earthly body of clay with all its sinful desires, and the possession of a divine spirit which came into conflict with the desires of the flesh.

The material conditions around the Mediterranean during the heyday of the Roman Empire, afforded ample means for the expression of the social ethic. In Rome especially, was the plight of the masses pitiable. Their emancipation seemed hopeless, although Spartacus carried on a successful revolt for some considerable time. On such a fruitful soil Christianity thrived exceedingly, and just as the savage brought in his gods to explain natural phenomena, so did they bring in a god to explain the workings of such a mysterious impulse. Thus we had the moral ethic giving birth to God, who in turn became the author of the moral law.

The victory of the proletariat heralds man's freedom at last. Having once again conquered property and abolished private ownership by substituting social control, we can settle ourselves down secure in the knowledge that the absurdity of a crises arising because we have produced to much, is a nightmare of the past, with all its attendant miseries and sufferings. "If property brought justice to humanity it drove away brotherhood." (Lafargue). With its socialization, equality will once again be restored ,and humanity will march onwards and upwards as a social unit, each working for the good of all. This looks very much like the dream of an idealist. To idealism as applied in this sense, I must plead guilty, but I understand whence those ideals arise. They are not "pure" conceptions, but have their basis deep in the economic conditions. I do not plead for the brotherly love of the meek, submissive variety of the lowly Nazarene. Before such an ideal state of affairs can be brought to pass, there is much fighting to be done to bring about a condition where such an ideal can flourish, and I believe in taking a part in that fight. We cannot all be Marxists, but at least we can do our utmost to express to our fellow workers under capitalist enslavement, our understanding of the conditions of their, and our thraldom.

JAS. CONLAN.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

Local (Winnipeg) No. 3

CANDIDATES:

George Armstrong, R. J. Johns, W. A. Pritchard, R. B. Russell.

Campaign funds are needed. Collection Cards can be secured from, and donations made to:

ALEX. SHEPHERD,
P. O. Box 1762
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

NOTICE.

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

Labor Defence Fund

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

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

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

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State

By C. M O'Brien.

MARX intended to co-ordinate the discoveries of Lewis Henry Morgan together with his own materialist conception of history, but illness, then death (1883) prevented. So his co-worker Engels published (1884), "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,"* and in 1891 he completely revised the fourth edition. It is hoped that the following sketch will assist those who may be induced to study this excellent little book.

Until 1861, the historical development of the family had not been recognized.

"The patriarchal form of the family, described more exhaustively by Moses than anybody else, was not only . . . . considered to be the most ancient. but also identical with the family of our times. . . . . " (Engels).

It was admitted that some ancient nations and some present-day savages did not trace descent to the father, but to the mother. Oriental polygamy and Indo-Tibetan polyandry were known; and that a period of sexual license might have existed. Since then many writers have furnished much data, but by erronous construction most of them have added considerable confusion.

The American Indians lived in pairing families, a loose monogamy, easily dissolved, which did not conform to their method of expressing their kinship or relation to each other. The form of marriage, expressed but not practised by the American redskins, was in vogue in Asia and in modified form among numerous tribes of Africa, Australia, and in Hawaii, though the latter was in process of decline. This form of group marriage is called punaluan, but in turn, it was not in keeping with the method of expressing kinship which suggested a more primitve form. This consanguin family must have existed though it is not now in practise anywhere. There exist several other forms of class and group marriages, and all of them indicate a preceding simpler form of marriage in promiscuity, unrestricted in the sense that barriers drawn later on by custom did not exist.

The forms of the family change, but the method of expressing kinship lingers for a long time.

"It is the same with political, juridical, religious and philosophical systems in general." (Marx).

"By thus constructing backward the history of the family, Morgan, after forty years of careful study, furnished the key to an understanding of the evolution of ancient societies including the family. Which has the same signification for primeval history that Darwin's theory of evolution had for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus-value had for political economy." (Engels).

Other animals have societies that are not so permanent. Jealousy among the males causes them to dissolve, each mating season. Humans do not have sabre teeth or great claws, neither were they ever as fleet of foot or as strong as many of their enemies. An individual as relatively defenceless as was evolving man could not afford to be jealous. Such defencelessness had to be replaced by the united strength of continued co-operation. Freedom from jealousy was the first condition for the formation of large permanent groups. Jealousy, like individual sexlove, is a by-product of our one-sided monogamy. Long inbreeding tends to degeneracy, hence they began to restrict sexual intercourse, first, between those of different generations then, of the same generations. then of the same generation, to the second and more remote degrees.

In this way the gens was formed with maternal lineage. Morgan and Engels have nothing but praise for this social unit of savage and barbarian tribes. One of the strictest rules was that men and women of the same gens must not marry each other. When two or more gentes that were closely related formd a phratry within the tribe, then the above rule applied to that phratry.

'Among other savages and barbarians of the lower and middle stages, sometimes even the higher-stage women not only have freedom, but are held in high esteem." (Engls).

Tameing of animals and cultivation of soil increased men's economic power, and maternalism yielded to paternalism, the pairing family and finally monogamy were gradually established. The various forms of group marriage correspond to savagry, the pairing family to barbarism, and our one-sided monogamy to private property, slavery and civilization. As mortgage clings to private property, so prostitution clings to one-sided monogamy.

Can prostitution be abolished without abolishing monogamy? Yes! Previous to civilization production was very limited, but it was controlled by the producers.

"To win it back on the basis of man's present gigantic control of nature and of the free association rendered possible by it, that will be the task of the next generation."

Again, "a race of men who never in their lives have had any occasion, for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for any other reason but love, or for refusing to surrender to their lover for fear of economic consequence."

Again, "Since sexlove is exclusive by its very nature—although this exclusiveness is at present realized for women only— marriage founded on sexlove must be monogamous."

And again, "Not only will it (monogamy) not disappear, but it will rather be perfectly realized." (Engels).

And Morgan writes:

"'. . . . . the family has passed through four successive forms, and is now in the fifth . . . . . it is the creature of the social system, and must reflect its culture. As the monogamian family has improved greatly . . . . . it is at least supposable that it is capable of still further improvement. . . . . Should the monogamian family in the distant future fail to answer the requirements of society, assuming the continuous progress of civilization, it is impossible to predict the nature of its successor'"

During the long period of the evolution of human society through low, middle and high savagery, to low, middle and high barbarism, the different social systems are determined partly on the development of labor, partly on that of the family. The less labor is developed, the more society is under the domination of sex ties.

Until the middle stage of barbarism is reached, the evolution of human society in all parts of the world is much the same; thenceforth labor becomes ever more the determining factor. And the different natural resources of the two great bodies of land, tameable animals on the eastern, few such animals on the western, so cultivation of cereals leads the population of each hemisphere to divergent development.

With the advent of civilization the units of society are no longer sex relations, but geographical boundaries. A complete revolution. The family is subordinate to property.

"Property and office were the foundations upon which aristocracy planted itself. Whether this principle shall live or die has been one of the great problems with which modern society has been engaged through the intervening periods . . .. Since the advent of civilization, the growth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interest of its owners, that it has become ,on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to mastery over property. . . . . The interests of society are paramount to individual interest. . . . . A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past, the time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence: and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. . . . the next higher plane of society . . . . will be a revival, in a higher form . . . of the ancient gentes." (Morgan).

*EDITOR'S NOTE.—"The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." See Literature Price List.

Class Consciousness

JUDGING by the remarks one hears on the job and in other places, most of the workers seem very lately to have been men of independent means, and many of the superior ones are waiting hopefully, like Micawber, for "something to turn up" to land them in a position of security, if not of ease.

In keeping with the American tradition that every boy may become president ,the wage-slave is prone to look upon his present condition as a transitional period between office boy and great man, as a sort of purgatorial test of his fitness to direct affairs in reality. Petty minded, his class vision is obscured by hopes of becoming a petty trader or contractor where his hours of effort will not be restricted by interfering unions.

The labors of all statisticians have in his case been in vain. He dreams of independence through small enterprize, while every statistical report shows further concentration of capital. These figures, taken from the report of the Industrial Relations Committee (U.S.A.), are illuminating. They refer to 1913, before the war had lent its impetus to systematic concentration:—Two per cent. of the people own sixty per cent. of the wealth; thirty-three per cent. own thirty-five per cent., **while sixty-five per cent. own five per cent .of the wealth.** These facts of wealth distribution, supplied by the U. S. government, are indicative of an antagonism between the two per cent., who own, and the sixty-five per cent., who do not own.

The struggle between employer and employee is ever becoming more sharply defined. All working class intelligent action must begin with a recognition that while capitalism lasts, our position will remain static within the category of the sixty-five per cent. who own five per cent. We must draw sharp the lines of the class struggle, and keep our attack ever towards the ownership of the means of wealth production, now controlled by the two per cent.

The working-class road to emancipation lies, not in petty bourgeois enterprize or in a fair day's wage, but in the abolition of the wages system. We fight for working-class supremacy. Education along class lines is our method.

Close up the ranks. **WM. REYNOLDS.**

From My Notebook.

By H. M. Bartholomew.

IN a recent issue of the Winnipeg "Evening Tribune," I read a special news despatch which tells me that:

"The Standard Oil Co. is trying to drive the people of the United States to war with Mexico."

Several paragraphs later, this "special' 'says:

"The big point is, the Standard Oil Co., and other oil concerns interested in the Mexican oil fields are rushing forth with explanations of the high prices. (Of gasolene. etc.) They say Mexico is to blame, that President Carranza will not permit drilling, that this hated Mexican is trying to strangle the United States by cutting off her oil supply."

And so, according to this much respected Capitalist journal, the Standard Oil is deliberately raising prices and carrying on active propaganda throughout the U. S. so that Uncle Sam will step in, send "this hated Mexican" about his business, and establish a real, good and peaceable Standard Oil Government in Merico."

The truth will out. If the "Tribune" keeps this up there will be no necessity for the "Western Clarion."

* * *

Speaking of Standard Oil I notice in one of our Capitalist papers that the various interests of this huge commercial octopus are in a very prosperous condition. The prices offered in New York on April 17th for Standard stock were as follows

"The par value of shares is $100 each. Here is what the stock is selling at: Atlantic Refining Co., $1,325; Ohio Oil Co., $340; Solar Refining Sq., $420; Standard Oil of Indiana, $740; of Kansas, $615; of New Jersey, $786; and of Nebraska, $520."

Well might the Sunday School teacher say: "The earth **is the lord's, and the fullness thereof.**"

* * *

At the ninth Conference of the Russian Communist Party held at Moscow recently, our comrades conferred upon M. Clemenceau and the Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill the most distinguished order of the Red Flag for their valued services to the Russian Revolution. And then Winston tells us that Labor is unfit to govern; Pshaw! Where is my Omar?

* * *

Robert Blatchford has "woke" up! He finds that the beautiful dreams of his youth are in danger! There is compulsory work in Russia, and dear old "Nunquam" is shocked into a scream of anguish. "No man is good enough to be another man's master," he wails.

H'm! The oracle of Worship Street is quite prepared and ready to advocate the conscription of millions of men to die, but he is **not** ready to advocate the conscription of men that they may live! He pours forth articles by the score to secure more and still more cannon-fodder to make the world safe for autocracy, but he lets up a howl of pain and sorrow when the Bolshevik government put into practice the sound Socialist doctrine that each man and woman must do his and her share towards the maintenance of the body social!

Thus it happens that Blatchford has decided to stop growing red roses, and to cultivate while ones instead! I hope there is more light to be found in so doing.

* * *

I have just received a vivid account from an eyewitness of the moving scenes outside Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. Inside the jail there were over one hundred Irish, men and women, who had been arrested by the Autocrats of Westminster for daring to demand a measure of freedom.

"Outside the jail, in the public street, there is a crowd of people. They are relatives, friends, fellow-citizens of the prisoners inside . . . . Boys chalk on the prison gates, "Long Live the Irish Republic," and "Remember Thomas Ashe," who died after being forcibly fed in this very prison. Now and again they sing a patriotic song to encourage the men within, and occasionally an handkerchief flutters from a cell window in response.

"Suddenly a rumour—happily not yet true—goes round that one of the prisoners has died. Immediately the crowd begins to recite the Rosary. All the long day the people stand in the cold, wet street, simple, kindly folk who believe in their religion, praying that the men in jail may have strength to continue their struggle, that they may not die yet, that if they die their souls may rest in peace."

And so the bitter struggle for freedom, and the age-long fight for liberty continues. Always has that struggle demanded men and women of unflinching faith and of high idealism; ever has that fight displayed the highest and the noblest in mankind.

The Socialist takes part in this struggle. But he fights with more powerful weapons and with a better chance of ultimate success. **The Socialist knows that this bitter struggle must continue, and that class-warfare be waged so long as the economic structure of society is class ownership of land and capital.**

THE WORLD BUDGET.

(Continued from page 3)

modities ,will prove a combination fruitful of contention and discord. More production there cannot be, for there is no market in which to realize profit. Higher wages—even if obtainable—would but stifle an already sluggish output, while any additional credits (or other charity)—sufficiently large to be effective—must completely swamp the now debt-staggering, machine industry of international capital. The necessity of capital is increased production; the necessity of capitalist industry less production. Therefore will taxes be hard to collect. And the more difficult of collection, the more will be the social chaos, the mire explosive the stifled social forces, the heavier the iron hand of repression.

Two things appear quite evident:

(1) That the ruling class is utterly blind to the economic processes of its exploitation; and

(2) That it is looking squarely into the actual reality of immediate bankruptcy.

From which we may quite safely conclude, that matters will drift from bad to worse to their destined end, and that the capitalist regime, and its sacred property right, will be defended at all costs and hazards, to the last ditch. Therefore, although the world budget sounds the knell of capital, and foreshadows the triumph of Socialism, that triumph will be wrung through deep suffering from the wily Hydra that now flaunts itself, wanton and callous, before the nakedness and abject degradation of a plundered world.

R.

Here and Now

Following, One Dollar each: A. Korlan, A. Sandison, A. F. Miller, J. Hubble, J. Reid, O. Erickson, Lee Wilson, J. Emery, J. Dolstra, S. T. Mitchell, D. M. Brodie.

Following, Two Dollars each: J. F. Maguire, G. Alley, Bob Sinclair, W. Bennett, Wm. Cameron, S. E. White.

E. M. Carruthers, $2.50; W. Breeze, $4; Ben Davidson, $1.37; Wm. Erwin, $4; E. A. Wilson, $10; J. A. McD., $14.

Above are subscriptions received from 27th May to 10th June, inclusive. Total, $58.87.

The Value of Understanding

IT is a common opinion amongst the workers that Socialism is a sort of political religion, having Marx's first volume of "Capital" for its bible, and a number of other writings as commentaries, much in the same way as the Protestants, among religious bodies have their books of faith and doctrine. In fact, amongst "labor leaders," the opinion is by no means suppressed that the Socialists are more or less out to "save by faith," and the possibility of the workers ever getting to the position where they can understand our point of view, instead of being indifferent or idly sympathetic is considered too remote to consider. However, when a spirit of enquiry becomes manifest in the rank and file, we find all sorts of attempts being made to steer them away from Marxian ideas. Why is this so?

The abolition of capitalism—of the wages system—may sound all right as a slogan. Slogans are all the rage these days. To have a good pair of lungs and to shout, does not signify understanding. The working-class have shouted themselves hoarse many times, but who and what they were shouting for is only beginning to dawn on them. Surely, one would think that their experiences on the "economic field" had taught them something definite as to the social system under which they live ,and yet we find the workers in this country and that country adopting tactics that have been demonstrated as futile, over and over again. This is not accidental.

Men, and groups of men, only act according to the knowledge they posses. Their experiences have been useful, so long as they have been understood. The great question is as to how general and complete this understanding has been. The old saying that "experience is the best teacher," holds goods to this day, but we have been able to supplement this method of education by the aid of writing and speaking, —in recording the experiences of our fellow men, and repeating our opinions and reflections concerning them. The human race as a whole is not given to thinking as a habit, the human being only thinks when he has to—not because he particularly likes it. In fact, to a great many of us it seems somewhat tiresome and profitless. However, there are some individuals who cannot help thinking, and the result of their efforts sometimes has the effect of leaving us with very valuable and practical knowledge. This saves the average individual all the trouble of finding out these things for himself by personal experience, and all he has to do is to examine the results, to satisfy himself as to the correctness or otherwise of the laws or theories of the subject dealt with.

In order to understand anything, a certain amount of effort is necessary. Faith requires no effort,—just simply an acceptance. Faith, in the labor movement, generally finds expression in "millenial hopes." The hopes of men have been powerful motives for action, and in attempting to realize them they have overcome one obstacle after another, only to find some other problem confronting them. The time they took in solving each problem depended upon how soon they understood it, and how to set about its solution. Each class in society had its definite problems to solve,—the feudal lords, the capitalist class, and now the workingclass. This last mentioned class has at its disposal the lessons of the past, the experiences of its own attempts to overcome the barriers in its way. That the workers will finally solve their problem is no longer a question of faith. It is a definite problem, duly forcing them into the position of realizing and finally understanding that: "Workers of the world, unite; You have nothing to lose but your chains," is not simply a slogan, but a brief and accurate summing up of the great task of the workers.

How it comes about that the working-class have to face the solution of such a problem, and why the capitalist-class cannot solve it, is what the working-class have to understand, not because the Socialists insist upon it ,but because social development has forced them into the position.

A correct understanding is therefore of great importance to the workers. The task of the Socialist is to assist in this great work of enlightenment.

H. W.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

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The Function of Money---(Continued from Page 1)

it is more convenient to deal directly, trade in goods still obtains. In many agricultural communities money is little used. The farmer buys from the merchant the things he requires, but does not produce, and gives in exchange eggs, butter, cereals, meat, and other agricultural products he may happen to be well supplied with. Both storekeeper and farmer find this a more expeditious method than the handling of money in each transaction. Of course the monetary system, even in those cases, is still utilized to translate their respective products into dollars and cents and make a settlement of whatever balance happens to remain at stated periods.

Prof. Jevons ascribes the disadvantages of the barter system to three factors:—

(1) Want of coincidence;
(2) Want of a measure of value;
(3) Want of means of sub-division.

At a very early period these shortcomings were not of great moment. The simple wants of primitive man were satisfied almost entirely through his own efforts. It was only in exceptional cases that he offered some of his store of provisions, weapons, or ornaments in exchange for something possessed by neighboring tribes. But, as the population grew, and the division of labor became more specialized, the difficulty of carrying on business by means of barter was soon obvious.

The problem could be solved only by placing one commodity apart to measure the values of others, and serve as a medium by which certain portions of one could be translated into terms of another. Money functions in the complex system of today as a measure of value; standard of price; medium of exchange; store of value; and means of deferred payment. All these functions, with the exception of the last, it has performed since its introduction to the realms of trade. Jevons in his book—"Money and the Mechanism of Exchange"—explains in a fairly comprehensive way these different functions so we will not attempt a repetition here .

As for the articles that have been utilized as the money commodity they are many and varied. Even in modern times, among backward peoples, and on the outposts of civilization, a goodly assortment of commodities has been designated at one time or other to measure the values of all things frequently exchanged. Sumner, in his "History of American Currency,' informs us that in the early American settlements in the Carolinas and Virginias, tobacco was set aside by law as the money commodity; three shillings per pound being the ratio at which it was to perform its function, and a penalty of three years' hard labor was imposed on those who refused to accept it at the specified ratio. He states that when the Virginia Company imported girls from European countries to fill the role of wives for the settlers a price per head of one hundred pounds of tobacco was exacted. When the cost of living advanced, this price was raised to one hundred and fifty pounds.

In Australia, the natives have long made use of green stone and red ochre, the one indispensable for sharpening their weapons, and the other lavishly employed for painting their bodies as a medium by which they could transfer one use value in place of another. The Canadian Indians, whose tribal territory bordered on the Pacific coast, have used strings of haiqua shells and other articles of ornament to facilitate their exchange.

In the process of development that led from the earliest social division of labor up to the intricate structure of today, one thing particularly noticeable is the fact that, in each stage of that development, the conditions of trade made imperative the employment of some special article as a medium of exchange and measure of value. In the incipient stages of this process the most important economic goods were generally selected. During the hunting stage, the skins and furs of animals were called into action. The pastoral stage saw those develop into the animal inself, which served satisfactorily for a lengthy period, due to the fact that their natural means of locomotion responded to all the demands of trade.

With the introduction of agriculture, the various cereals alternately occupied the position of intermediary between the goods that were bought and sold. Even in this period, however, the qualification of mobility was of sufficient importance to the agricultural peoples to cause them to employ the ox or sheep in such transactions as involved any considerable distance in their consummation.

Later, when mining and manufacturing made their appearance on the stage of events, the products of the mine were found to possess, in a greater measure than those of the field or the chase, such characteristics as were considered most necessary in exchanging values. Scarcely a metal of importance has been overlooked. Iron, tin, lead, copper, bronze, silver and gold have at various periods been more or less extensively employed in the channels of circulation. Compared to the means adopted in previous ages they stand high. The qualities essential to the material of money are nowhere to be found in such a degree as in most of the metals.

Compared with each other, however, we soon discover that all metals are not equally adaptable to perform the alloted function. When, in some primitive community, one metal was found in profusion, and signs of no other existed, this one, no matter what its nature, stood so far in advance of other substances, in general qualifications, that no hesitation was in order in escorting it into its proper position. Tin abounded in Britain; copper in Cyprus; iron in Gaul; and silver in Spain. Naturally, the prevalent metal in each geographical division was promoted to the exchange department within its borders. But, as trade and commerce expanded, and the ancient world market embraced all sections contiguous to the Mediterranean Sea, the interchange of products was no longer confined to local markets and tribal boundaries, so the virtues and defects of the medium of exchange were soon visible.

Iron was discarded because of its rusting proclivities which prevented any impression of a coin being maintained beyond a brief period. The abundance in which the metal could be produced with little expenditure of labor left it of too great a weight in comparison with value to function satisfactorily in civilized countries. The softness of lead, and the tendency of tin to break, obviously impaired the use of these metals in an exchanging capacity. Copper and bronze fared better, being in many respects well suited for coinage. In Greece, Rome and Palestine these formed the principal mass of the currency, and even in many of the European countries, particularly in Russia, Sweden and Norway, copper sufficed as a substance for coinage up till recent times.

Today we frequently hear the question asked: "Why not a platinum standard?" The decrease in the value of gold, and the consequent high prices, have prompted the question. There are many reasons why platinum fails to fill the requirements. One of the requisite qualifications of any commodity set aside to express the relative worth of others is that it possess a minimum of value itself in regard to its social uses. As an agent adapted to the needs of science and invention no other representative of the metal family compares with platinum. Especially is this true of recent years. Many of the acids and machines manipulated with such deadly effect during the war period could be produced in desirable quantities only through the instrumentality of platinum. Naturally, when the anxious officials of the Allied governments issued a proclamation calling on all loyal subjects to gather up their platinum plate, jewelry, ornaments, etc., and despatch them to the central authorities who would amply repay them for their valuables and efforts, we all felt imbued with a patriotic desire to assist in winning the war. Even though our patriotic propensities were, in many cases, exclusvely confined to a fruitless search for platinum trinkets we displayed in this regard, at least, the proper spirit to ensure success.

The industrial uses of platinum are many and varied. It is a most important agent in extracting from the atmosphere those elements necessary, in combination with the fumes of sulphur, to the manufacture of sulphuric acid. Again, in the production of nitric acid, the natural affinity of platinum for the elements of air and water make of it an invaluable pre-requisite in the chemists' laboratory.

No less important is the position of platinum in the shop of the inventor. Electric furnaces, airplane engines, contacts for telephone, telegraph, and wireless systems, scientific and surgical instruments, as well as the dental industry, all require an ever increasing amount in their manufacture and operation. Its durability, low affinity for oxygen, high specific gravity, and cognizability render it an excellent substance for makng various kinds of plate. A few years past it was introduced extensively in the manufacture of wedding rings. In this capacity, however, it was not a success. A much softer and cheaper substance suffices to tie the matrimonial knots of today.

In addition to its use value in the realms of production, the natural attribute of platinum make undesirable its use in the form of currency. The difficulty encountered in melting the metal, as well as the fact that coins already in circulation cannot be withdrawn and recoined without considerable cost, leave it wellnigh impossible from a currency standpoint.

Further, its presence in so few localities, 95 per cent. of the world's supply being obtained from the Ural mountains, leave no opportunity to increase the supply of platinum, so that in case any great demand should arise, its lack of stability of value would prove a decided hindrance to its use as a measure of value. The monetary system of today will occupy out attention in the next.

J. A. McD.

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 he worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

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

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

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