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WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of CURRENT EVENTS

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HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

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The Will of the People

SHORTLY, we shall be called upon to decide the political policies to be adopted in these trying times by "our" country. The issues and slogans are now being prepared, and, we have no doubt, many wonderful things will be promised, many agreeable changes predicted, with the advent of a new government, "safely and sanely" elected by the democratic will of constitutional usage. Of course! We are a free and a great people, having things done in this, "our" country, just as we, "the enlightened people," desire them. Not at all like those unfortunate "Bolsheviks," under the dictation of a fanatic clique of extremists, drunk with power, who have twice ruined Russia—being the occasion of a blockade which denied the means of production to those sweet people; and the direct cause of this present famine. O, "Bolshies," how shall we give you an accounting?

Some of us proud British born possess the prerogative of suffrage. But the possession of a privilege carries with it the advantages of its powers and benefits. If we use the former at all, the profit of the latter must surely accrue to us. In these circumstances therefore, the present social condition of society must be the "will" of society. Is that so? If so, why is society restless and discontented, riotous and unruly? Why does it manifest such aversion to its own "order?" Why this continual need for the appearance of change? Why so many laws enacted contrary to majority interests? If the "people" are responsible, why are they ignorant of their own enactments? And their fateful consequences to themselves? It will not do to say it is "original sin." That is the antithesis of the premise—the intelligent majority. And it does not explain how the derivable advantage is invariably on the upper side. Nor is the "will of God" any better. That is but another "Bolshevik" usurpation of the "people's" authority. For, it surely cannot be contended that since we are an enlightened and democratic people we cannot control our own social organization. Especially when human control is everywhere evident.

Yet, nevertheless, the "will" of God is the cause—albeit it is neither the "God of Bethel," nor any other human abstraction, but the omnipotent "god of the machine." We cast a ballot, it is true, and change the name of the government. Which signifies nothing. Because we were not informed enough to elect and vote for our own nominees.

One or other section of the capitalist class always nominates the members-elect. They are selected either directly from the ruling class itself, or from its pendant following of capitalist ideation. Individually they have, therefore, the same class viewpoint—and interest—private property. The "class" provides its nominees with a "platform" and a "watchword," with propaganda and campaign necessities. The former is the transient economic interest, and the key and motive of its monetary "philanthropies" and hurrying activities; the latter is the veil and orange blossom with which that interest is bedecked and jewelled, so that we may be enticed into matrimony with the painted conscript. For by that union is the privilege of property guaranteed. The ruling class, through personal initiative, private influence, and publicity wailing, puts forth every effort to get its representative elected. For this suddenly important individual is, in reality, their class representative—the political expression of their economic interest, the embodiment of their sovereignty of power.

The ruling class—as a whole—possess all the means of education, all avenues of information and knowledge, all channels of publicity and research, and to the fullest of its ability—which, in this direction is of a high order—it uses those means to distort the fact, to suppress the truth, to veil the issues of reality, in order to preserve intact its sacred right of property. To be sure, between the capitalist factions there is considerable "muckraking" continually going on (which becomes very marked during elections, for the savor of plunder is in their nostrils) but they contrive that nothing inimical to their common capitalist property even sees the light of day. Not if any means can obliterate it. They see, of course, that their greedy quarreling over the spoil draws unwelcome attention to their methods, and its fruits, but it is the fatal necessity of capital to educate its support, both theoretically and practically, and for it (capital) education becomes the "snare of the fowler."

On the other hand, through the blindness and apathy of the slave class itself—a product, of course, of capitalist evolution—through the general conditions of adversity and the constant necessities of livelihood, the labor press is so circumscribed and narrow orbited, its influence (because of its poverty) so negligible, and local and working class ideation and effort so awry and disjointed, that no efficient organization can be put against its opposing propagandist to clothe and dignify the new ethic of the rising social power with visible authority. Or, to put it better, to gather the disjointed efforts and vague aspirations of social production into the coordinated invincibilty of Socialist society. For, the power of the capitalist class lies in its control of the forces of the state, i.e., its authority is the state itself. A fact which proclaims the futility of all reform within the sphere of capitalist activity, and which, in due time, under the increasing pressure of economic circumstances must compel us for our emancipation, to the assumption of State authority. Our changeful times are hastening on that necessity to the ripest maturity, and the forward pressing social forces cannot be much longer restrained in the seething abyss of effete capitalism.

Hence it comes that our minds take on the hue of our capitalist environment. So we are confused with the shifty, kaleidoscope of capitalist property right. So we eagerly run after the fleeting rushlights of transient self-interest. So the social traditions of a vanished past, bind as to the individualist present. So the partial equality of a rising era veils our social evolution, and sacrifices us on the developed antagonisms of class law and to the harried slaves of today presents, as a Utopian dreamworld, the kindling aspirations, the fore-glimpsed grandeur, the achieved fraternity that "trails a cloud of glory" on the certainty of the Socialist humanity of tomorrow.

The working class of today has no identity of interest with any other section of society. It possesses neither "right" nor" equality," and on its economic inequality its political subservience hinges, and its social disadvantages automatically follow. The wage slave is allowed to vote. Yes. But he cannot vote in his own interest. Because he does not possess the data necessary to form a true judgment. Because the knowledge necessary to sift the issue—the one issue—at stake is suppressed. Because the trained powers to detect and expose the subtlety of treachery around him is denied to him. And (because of those things in turn) he lacks the principle of public interest wherewith to determine public freedom. That is why all of us burn "strange fire" on the altars of ancient gods.

For those reasons the "popular" will is an illusion. In political democracy, the representation of all interests is an impossibility, because constitutional government signifies the law of the ruling class, symbolizes the dominance of the modern capitalist class and its exploitation of wage-labor. The government is the council board of that class, and it is almost entirely composed of class members with

(Continued on Page 5)

"IT IS TIME, POSTUMUS---!"

A POINTER FOR PRE-ELECTION AUDIENCES

A correspondent sends along this item to illustrate the condition of affairs here, now that we are being massaged with words concerning our welfare—our future welfare of course. If windy utterances contained food values, the working class would be well fed at election times. When are we to hear the dinner bell ring?

Dear Mac,—I send along a biting epigram of the ancient Roman cynic Martial, being the reply of a peasant to a windy lawyer, which I find quoted in the last number to hand of the "Freeman." Working class readers who understand the false-faced politics of the old line parties will appreciate the Roman's satire. Substitute for the Roman peasant, Canada's working masses, whose ever-present problem is one of livelihood, for, "the common man has won the war and lost his livelihood"; and for the windy lawyer, substitute Messrs. Meighen and Mackenzie King, spokesmen in politics for "the hard-faced interests who did well out of the war"—and their respective camp followers, the subsidiary and auxiliary parasites and mercenary riff-raff of ward politics. Those who read the windy speeches of the above- named gentlemen, having not the least bearing on working class problems, and the accounts of the tom-tom beating in the nomination caucuses, will appreciate the neatness with which the old Roman's epigram caps the pre-election futilities in Canada today:

> "My suit has nothing to do with assault, or battery, or poisoning, but it is about three goats, which I complain have been stolen by my neighbor. This the judge desires to have proved to him; but you, with swelling words and extravagant gestures dilaté on the Battle of Cannae, the Mithridatic war, and the perjuries of the insensate Carthagenians, the Syllae, the Marii, and the Mucii. **It is time, Postumus, to say something about my three goats.**"

What is a Point of View?

Part 2.

BY C. STEPHENSON

(Note: **This is the second and concluding part of this article. Part 1 appeared in the "Clarion" of September 1st.)**

I have, in this article, to make use of some more or less unfamiliar terms, therefore, to commence with, here are their dictionary definitions, as follows:—

ANIMATE—Living: Possessed of animal life.

INANIMATE—Without animation or life.

ANIMISM—A theory which regards the belief in separate spiritual existence as the germ of religious ideas. The belief is considered to have arisen from the evidence of the senses, interpreted by the crude and child-like science of the savages.

(Latin—**anima,** the soul).

ANTHROPOMORPHISM — The representation of the Deity in the form of man or with bodily parts: the ascription to the Deity of human affections and passions. (Greek—**Anthropos,** man, **morphe,** form).

Also, as additional authoratative testimony on "Animism" I quote from a small volume published by Constable & Co., London, one of a series on "Religions: Ancient and Modern." The volume in question treats of, "The Religion of Ancient Greece." The author of the volume is, Jane Ellen Harrison, honorary degrees Aberdeen and Durham, staff lecturer and sometime Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. Says the author:—

"The study of comparative religion shows that man does not at the outset attribute complete personality to the things he worships. Personality comes with the giving of human or animal form. Before complete impersonation, we have "animism," when the gods are intangible Things, powerful but not personal, dwelling anywhere, everywhere. These Things are scarcely, in our sense, gods; but they become gods when man enters into relation with them, localizes them, fixes them by some form of worship. Wholly personal they scarcely become until an artist makes of them some image, however rude, or a poet takes them as material for a story. With animism is closely connected fetich—worship. Man imagines that the spirit things he vaguely conceives of dwell in chance natural objects, and chiefly in stones or trees."

This article is part two and conclusion of my discussion of the nature of a point of view, the first part of which saw print in the issue of the 1st of September. In that issue I tried to describe a point of view as a system of principles and standards of judgments, which served as the bases of opion upon any social facts brought to our attention. Such principles and standards of judgment, I also tried to show, were mental prepossessions (a bias possessed beforehand) which, in the main, were acquired unconsciously under the diciplinary influence of habits of life enforced by the manner of procuring a livelihood, and by those entailed in conforming to the conventional institutions and standards of conduct pertaining to any definite form of social organization. Under the long term disciplinary influence of habits of life, such mental prepossessions as make up a point of view become habits of thought and as such there is resort to them without conscious effort when opinion is expressed upon any matter.

The principles and standards of judgment of a point of view acquired in this way are held unquestioned and uncritically, being not of reasoned conviction. Nevertheless, their hold on the mind is perhaps all the more tenacious, as indefeasibly right and good and common-sense principles, because they are a matter of unreasoning habit. Such is the genesis and nature of those unreasoned out principles and standards of judgment, as well as the quality of their hold on the mind, with which men rise to a reasoned consideration of facts. In part I. I also endeavored to throw in contract the bourgeois point of view and the socialist point of view as, in their principles and standards, fundamentally opposed to each other. I pointed out that the bourgeois point of view being the traditional point of view, was maintained in the minds of the people by the inertia of habits and by control of educational institutions and other means for forming opinion in the interest of a parasitic social class, long after the material conditions had passed away which had given that point of view what validity it may ever have had. I pointed out also that the socialist point of view, on the other hand, was born of the social facts of today and that its principles and standards struck the note of a new order of social life based on production for use instead of for profit. I further stated that the socialist task was to remove the bourgeois point of view from the minds of the working class and to substitute in its place the socialist point of view; and that thus the nature of a point of view had a bearing on our educational work both as to its character and our methods.

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To throw further light, if I can, on the question, "What is a point of view?" I deal in this issue with "animism", a point of view on external facts of man's environment which found universal expression among primitive savage peoples; and which, moreover, is so natural to man that it has still persisted in varied forms down through succeeding ages, though with continually lessening force. I selected animism because I thought the simplicity of its elements and the artless quality of primitive man's thought reactions to his environment would be easily comprehended, more be-token that, in those respects as well as others, there remains a good big chunk of primitive in us yet.

Though I am dealing with Animism, I am not giving any complete survey, however brief, of that conception of things. My account of it will be of the sketchiest, just what I consider necessary for my purpose, but sufficient, I hope, to be suggestive and provocative of thought on my primary theme.

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Students of Primitive Society tell us of the enormous part played in it by animal tales, myths and cults. The primitive savage of the infancy of the human race, dramatised the things of the world coming under his observation. His view of them was what is termed, a subjective view, that is, he saw them not in the objective matter-of-fact way of modern science, but through the medium of his own personality. Both inanimate as well as animate things were conceived to be possessed of spirit. Streams, rocks, trees, fire, etc., as well as the animal kind, were credited with having a life of will and purpose, and of fears, loves and hates like man's own. External objects were believed to do things, or rather it was believed they were seen to do things. It was to that way of conceiving of inanimate things rather than of animate things to which has been given the term "animism."

The beliefs of many savage or semi-savage tribes today illustrate this trait. The Pueblo potters (women) are said to believe that certain clays have likes and dislikes for each other. Such a conception arises, no doubt, from some such experience as that certain clays will not properly amalgamate, and also that one kind of clay may be necessary as tempering material for another. Many primitive peoples also impute spiritual qualities and magic virtues to their tools and weapons. Perhaps vestigial remains of that trait are retained by us to this day in our habitual use of the feminine gender in referring to machines, engines, etc. It is still customary with us to refer to a ship in that way; and the old time deep water sailor's superstitious regard for the spiritual qualities of his ship is at least a matter of repute, if not now a matter of fact with his degenerate successor. Then there is the wholly illusory, though edifying and consolatory belief so prevalent today in regard to social affairs, that there is an ameliorative trend in things—almost it is primitive animism again, stripped of anthropomorphic elements—a trustful faith in evolution as though the evolutionary theory postulated developmental progression only, and not also retrogression, as is required in the conception of modern science of a process of mechanical causation.

In the course of immense periods of time under the diciplinary influence of matter-of-fact experience, less and less of spiritual endowment is imputed to inanimate objects themselves, and anthropomorphic or man-like agencies are conceived to carry on their life and work in some degree of detachment from material objects. The principle of animism, which is only a more archaic form of anthropomorphism, is maintained, but is now expressed in anthropomorphic terms. At this stage, approximately, anthropomorphic religion definitely makes its appearance in human affairs. There is then much further and more elaborate myth making until, as Veblen with sly humour puts it:

"In the course of elaboration and refinement there may emerge a monotheistic and providential Creator seated in an infinitely remote but ubiquitous space of four dimensions."

The trait or propensity of man for projecting his personality into external objects, found a much more favorable field for expressing itself among animate or living things than among the inanimate. In respect of animate things, for obvious reasons animism maintained itself longest and in greater force. Savage man regarded the animal kind quite literally as a part of his community and with having a "consciousness of kind" with himself. His myths and legends of animals tell us that, captured or killed in the chase, they yet let themselves be so done to. Thus were produced not merely the multitudes of tales and legends of savage peoples dwelling affectionately upon the activities and features of animals, but also those elaborate rites and cults which made animals ancestors, heroes, tribal figure-heads and divinities. Man, down even to this day, is an inveterate nature—fakir, as the late Teddy Roosevelt knew, but time and the cultural disciplines of work-day habits of life entailed in tending, breeding and improving stock, and of using domesticated animals, as well as the diciplines of other modes of life brought on with the progress of the industrial arts, have weakened that animistic habit. Those matter-of-fact disciplines have induced more matter-of-fact mental prepossessions also in regard to animate as well as inanimate phenomena. The saying that "familiarity breeds contempt" is true in its rigorous meaning only sometimes. It is more universally true that familiarity breeds matter-of-fact knowledge, and is thus the dispeller of illusions oftimes mere matters-of-make- believe.

At a certain stage of social development, long after the magic and myth making of savage society is left behind, we arrive approximately at a point when certain forms of man's beliefs and ceremonial practices may be characterized as definitely religious. At this stage, the anthropomorphic gods who walk with the children of men are innumerable: gods that were tribal ancestors, gods of localities, of the seasons and the elements, gods of war and of industrial pursuits, gods malevolent and beneficient. But gradually, with the increase of knowledge born of experience with external facts, the spirit powers are pushed further into the back ground of observed phenomena, many of them to be dispensed with altogether. This process is also furthered by the amalgamation of the tribes and the federation of independent towns and cities into political unities, and by the growing intercourse among peoples through trade and commerce and travel, followed as a result by the exchange of ideas and the growth and general diffusion of knowledge: And last, but not least, it was also furthered by the political needs of the great Imperialisms, which, antagonistic, demanded unity in religious ideas as well as political in the interest of the centralised State. So finally, there emerges triumphant over the autonomous gods the monotheistic God, Supreme overlord of the universe. And, as evidence of the effect of a highly institutionalised social organization on the mental outlook, the people of the middle ages conceived of God, and of the subordinate spiritual powers of the upper and the nether worlds, as organised according to the feudal model of status. And in respect of the science of the time, speaking of the ancient, but more enlightened Greeks, and their conception of universal laws having a guiding control over the course of things human and in nature, Professor Dewey has this to say of the related conception of the Middle Ages:

The Middle Ages added to this Greek idea of control the idea of a command proceeding from a superior will; and hence thought of the operations of nature as if they were a fulfillment of a task set by one who had authority to direct action."

With the passing of years since the middle ages, the Animistic preconception continued to lose force as a result of the influence of scientific thought and enquiry, together with the increasing control over natural forces exercised by man through modern industrial processes. So that it has come to be said that the modern working class, especially those in the mechanical trades, are irreligious by occupation. The old anthropomorphic conceptions of a personal God and personal Devil only continue to exist in

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History of the Art of Writing

IN THREE PARTS—PART I.

By Katherine Smith

THE art of writing, and its progress, superficially considered, may appear a trivial subject for investigation, but without the art of writing, the labors of our ancestors, in every branch of knowledge, would have been lost to us and our best thought contributions would fail to reach posterity. The word of mouth method gave us tradition, but not authentic history, as the latter can only be compiled from written material.

The art of writing is as old as civilization itself, indeed Morgan uses it to mark the introduction to civilization. It is thought probable that in North Babylonia the pictograph or hieroglyphic stage had long passed eight thousand years ago. We are told that seven thousand years ago in Egypt, Babylonia and Crete, both reading and writing were of hoary antiquity. The written word has always been of mysterious significance to the savage. Among such peoples, the person who could use symbols for communication was next to the gods; hence written languages ministered to forms of worship and remained in the church. In this way the currency of civilization and learning became written language, consequently the reverenced part of education has not been the sciences as first hand studies of reality, but language and books have been made the prominent constituents of the curriculum until very recent years.

Writing has evolved through the same general stages as the evolution of speech. First, there was the gesture language, corresponding to the signal system of the animal herds, to give alarm and a means of communication with fellows; next there was the onomatopoetic, or growl writing, ideographs in which forms of actual objects were united, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the picture of a man was drawn to represent the idea of man, etc. This is a note or word formed in the evolution of language. Gradually intonation was added, accent for extra meaning or emphasis; this stage in its earliest development is well illustrated in the Chinese representation of complex ideas.

The really important factor in human progress has not been so much the discovery of a method by which words can be recorded as it has been the invention of some facile, graphic device, such as the alphabet, by means of which the art of writing can be so far simplified as to become attainable before the age of adolescense has passed. A people may possess the art of writing without the knowledge of an alphabet, but such a system of non-alphabetic writing will be so limited in its power of expression as to be of little value, or else be too difficult, complicated and unsuitable for general use. The methods of writing used by the early Egyptians, Assyrians and Chinese go to prove that without the alphabet any complete system for the graphic representation of speech is an acquirement so difficult as to demand the labor of a lifetime. Under such conditions, science and religion necessarily tend to remain the exclusive property of a priestly caste, extended culture becomes impossible, and such a system of writing, instead of being the most effective means of progress may become one of the most powerful means of enslaving the masses.

The hieroglyphics system of the Egyptians, although it is the source of all existing alphabets, is far from being the only graphic system invented, or the only one which attained the alphabetic stage of development. Various races have succeeded in inventing methods of writing independently of one another. The characteristic fact to be remembered is that the starting point and general direction have been the same, i.e., all systems of writing have been found to have had their beginning in rude pictures; these pictures being conventionalized, more or less gradually came to be used to represent words and later became the symbols of more or less complex and abstract thought.

Let us enquire briefly into the primitive forms of writing from which all alphabets are abbreviated descendants, to instance similar stages found among the nations of today, and to show how our own alphabet has reached so high a stage of perfection. After a survey of a long period covered by the development of writing we are able, for convenience and brevity, to arbitrarily divide the whole into three stages:

1.—The mnemonic, or memory aiding.
2.—Ideograms—
 (a) Pictures of objects.
 (b) Pictorial symbols, or words.
3.—Phonograms.
 (a) Verbal signs.
 (b) Syllabic signs.
 (c) Alphabetic signs.

1.—**The Mnemonic Stage**: In this some tangible object is used, as a message or for record, between people living at a distance from each other, and also for purpose of accrediting the messenger. This stage borders on and anticipates the symbolic stage of expression. Good examples of the mnemonic are "quipers" or knotted cords still used by the Puma herdsman of the Peruvian plateaux to register their herds. The history of the "quipers" is long, the idea being still with us in both the rosary upon which the Roman Catholics count their prayers, in the knot tied in our handkerchief to help our weak memory and in the sailor's log-line. The device was of widespread use, reaching its most elaborate form amongst the ancient Peruvians, from whose language the term "quiper," meaning knot, is borrowed. The following is a description from the story of the alphabet, by Clodd:

"To the main cord at given distances are fastened thinner cords of different colors, each cord being knotted in divers ways to represent special purposes and each color having a peculiar significance of its own, i.e. red for soldiers, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, etc., while the meaning of a single knot was ten, double knot one hundred, two double knots two hundred. Besides being a convenience in reckoning they were used for keeping the annals of the Empire of the Incas, for sending orders, for preserving records of the dead in old Egypt, etc.

"At the present time small cords are used by the native tribes of Ardrah in West Africa; while other African tribes have devised message sticks similar to the well-known Australian types, more highly developed knot reckoning is found among the Mexican Juni and in more primitive form among some of the North American Indians. A generation ago the Hawaiian tax-gatherer kept account of the assessable property throughout the islands in cord from three to five fathoms in length. The Chinese used the knoted cord prior to the invention of writing and its use is also found depicted in Egyptian hieroglyphics. In 1834 the Houses of Parliament were destroyed by overheating stoves in burning up an accumulation of tally-sticks that had been used to keep the accounts of money lent to the government. In Scotland fifty years ago the baker boy made a notch on his 'nick-stick' for every loaf of bread left on his rounds. Thus the use of objects was almost universal in the distant past, and still survives in some measure."

Because of our familiarity with the wampum of the North American Indian little need to said on the subject. The use of wampum belts is not widespread. The belts consist of handmade beads or perforated shells arranged in various patterns on bark, filament, hemp or deer-skin strips, the ends being selveidged by sinews, or fibres of hemp. The patterns are usually pictorial symbols recording events in the history of the tribe or treaties between tribes. The Iroquois developed the wampum belt to quite a high degree of art.

2.—**Ideograms**: These are pictures intended to represent either things or thoughts. They are of two kinds: (1) pictures or actual representations of objects; and (2) pictorial symbols suggesting abstract ideas. "The earliest actual record known of any actual event is the scene depicted on the fragment of an antler which was found in the rock shelter at Langerie Basse in Auvergne. It portrays a primeval hunter covered with hair creeping up to a gigantic urus, feeding in the grass, and the hunter is seen in the very act of casting a spear at his unsuspecting enemy." It is evident that primitive man, in his attempt to record and transmit his thoughts in a graphic manner selected such objects within his environment as were most frequently encountered in his struggle for existence. Clodd writes: "The necessity of identifying personal as well as tribal property, especially in land and livestock led to the employment of various characters more or less pictographic which have their representatives in signaries used in ancient commerce and in manufacturers' trade marks." In the marks used for branding cattle can be recognized survivals of Indian writing. Prof. Ernst of Caracas says "that in tatooing, aside from its symbolic and religious significance marking the connection of the man with his clan-totem or individual totem and also its decorative purpose, there is also a utilitarian purpose. It is known that certain red tribes of Red Indians tatoo both sexes so that the captured individual may be identified and ransomed in case of war. The grave of a chief is indicated by his totem scratched upon a slab, tribal boundaries are marked by stones engraved with the totem of the tribe. The very curious records on Pictish stones of Scotland; the pictures on the magic drums of the Laplanders; the drawings found on rocks in Australia, Siberia, Peru and Arabia not only show how keenly men of different races have striven to record some lasting memorials of their deeds, but these drawings are also of value in proving the essential similarity of the means used by different people to give effect to their desires."

A further extension of the system of picture writing became possible when it was discovered that complex ideas could be conveyed by combinations of simple ideograms.

(To be continued.)

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THE SOAP BOXER

Of the different forms of society which are open to the adherents of the Socialist movement, that of the street corner propagandist, or "soap boxer," possesses a remarkable attraction, and much value. Not only is it effective in familiarizing the workers with the truths of Scientific Socialism, but it also serves as a valuable aid in broadening and deepening that understanding of the working class mind, which is so necessary to the student of society and its affairs.

In Vancouver, amide the squalor of the downtown district, hard by the slave market, where the workers in mine, field and forest have the privilege of reading on the employment boards, the price and terms upon which they shall render up the use of their bodies in the process of production, the work of education along scientific lines has been carried on for many years. Old timers in the revolutionary movement often refer to the argument and discussion that used to rage around "Lestor's Corner," in the days when the movement in Canada was very young, and many of them can point to it as the place where they first developed the habits of thought and viewpoint peculiar to revolutionary Socialism. And it is of the utmost importance that this street corner propaganda should be carried on. Here it is that the migratory worker can be met and appealed to under circumstances which make his mind more susceptible to new ideas, and his miserable precarious condition as a wage worker is revealed to him in a manner that cannot be disputed. With a keen recollection of hard and brutal tasks performed for a wage barely sufficient for his most simple needs, and doubtful as to his ability to secure even this in the future that seems to await him, he will eagerly join the crowd that gathers when the street corner meetings begins.

But the Socialist speakers are not alone in their claims for a hearing. Here also come the religionists of different, but not conflicting creeds, clamor-

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GET IN AND HELP

While the orthodox political parties all over the country are talking to a bewildered working class about the lying habits of each other, the working class, patient and hungry, are wondering when the three-meal-a-day period is due to set in. .... Meighen is touring Eastern Canada talking about how the country has been run, and Mackenzie King, in the same area has been talking about how it should have been run. If words were nutritious, the working class would have enough to carry them from one election date to another.

Explanations aplenty have been made as to why it is that a vast working population of wealth producers in this country is turned out of mill, mine and factory, the chance to earn a living taken from them. The war in Europe and the ensuing difficulties of "re-establishment" have come to be the stock-in-trade excuses of the politicians for the hunger and want that follow unemployment to the mass of the workers. The true explanation lies deeper than that. The workers have served a full apprenticeship in listening to wind bag politicians in the years gone by. If they will attend to the campaign conducted by their own class candidates in this eleection they will come to an understanding of their own troubles, of employment as well as unemployment.

The nominees of the Socialist Party of Canada are now hard at work in B. C. and Manitoba. Alberta comrades are making their preparations for the campaign. They are likely to have three of four candidates in the field. Campaign funds are hard to gather, and earnest support from all interested workers is required. So far, the nominees of the S. P. of C. are:—

B. C. CONSTITUENCIES:
NANAIMO— W. A. Pritchard
VANCOUVER, (3 Seats)—
Burrard: J. D. Harrington
Centre: T. OConnor
South: J. Kavanagh
MANITOBA CONSTITUENCIES:
WINNIPEG (3 seats):—
H. M. Bartholemew
R. B. Russell
Chas. Stewart

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SECRETARIAL NOTES

Local Vancouver study classes are under way. Economics, every Sunday at p.m. History, every Thursday at 8 p.m., at 401 Pender Street East. Come all, and welcome! Bring with you any interested workers of your acquaintance. No fees. Membership in the S. P. of C. is not essential to class membrrship.

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Classes about to be formed anywhere will do well to consult the article by "Geordie," in this issue, reprinted from "The Red Flag." This should prove helpful and it answers many questions as to how classes should be conducted. "Geordie's" series "Concerning Value," will be continued in next issue.

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The case of the "B.C. Federationist, Ltd." and of A. S. Wells, manager, has been adjourned again for a week. **Funds for defence are urgently required.** Contributions sent to this office will be forwarded.

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A book has reached us entitled, "Farmers in Politics," by Wm. Irvine, of Calgary, Alberta. A review should prove interesting during these election times of such a book, and we promise to devote a column or two in an early issue.

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HERE AND NOW

Some wiseacre long ago said that "Silence is Golden." We've tried it out and our conclusion is that the ancients didn't have to worry about "subs" or they wouldn't have framed that text for future use. If they'd had printers to face day by day, presenting an appalling bill of costs, they'd have started a yell for "subs" there and then. We're yelling for "subs" here and now. Look at our totals. If the adding machine companies depended on us for trade they'd be bankrupt and starving, with nothing to add up but their accumulating worries.

Let the truth be known. The best way to spread it around is to increase the sub. list.

Federal Election, 1921

Socialist Party of Canada Manifesto No. 1

In entering candidates for the forthcoming Federal Election, the Socialist Party of Canada reaffirms its position; and has neither promises to make nor apologies to offer.

We contend that modern society is divided into two major groups: the owners of wealth producing machinery who receive its benefits in the form of surplus values, and the operators of that machinery, the modern wage-working class, who receive for their labors, when working, sufficient in the form of wages to represent mere subsistence.

These relative positions are today maintained by virtue of the fact that the coercive powers of society (the State) are held and wielded by the representatives of the master class. It does not matter to our present argument that divisions between certain sections of the masters produce struggles on their part to obtain or maintain (as the case might be) control of the administrative and governmental machinery.

This is well exemplified at the present moment. During the early days of last year, several of our party members were given jail terms in the City of Winnipeg for allegedly engaging in activities which supposedly resulted in setting class against class in the community. Now, today, behold the tariff! The present premier of Canada has deliberately launched an election campaign which has for its object the setting of the industrial (town) against the agrarian (country). Over against this position is set the righteous indignation of Mackenzie King, one-time expert for the Rockfeller interests, who decries tyranny and desires freedom.

But what is this all about? A whole host of gentlemen (and ladies) , some distinguished for what they have said, some for what they have done, and still others for what they have neither said nor done, now spread themselves throughout the land, beseeching the listening ear. They are all apparently solicitous, too, for the welfare of the dear worker, the back-bone of the country, the horny-handed son of toil. When before, one might enquire, was such interest displayed on behalf of the workers? And come to think of it, 'twould seem as though such performances were indulged in only at election time, when working class votes are sought for the purpose of giving sanction to master class purposes.

Members of the Working Class! We desire, as workers together with you, to deal openly, candidly, bluntly. At a time when the means of producing those things necessary to human sustenance have developed to a degree never before thought of, unemployment, with all its devastating misery and degradation for you, as workers, stalks abroad through the land with all its irritating unpleasantness. Is this not an appropriate time for asking (and having answered) the question as to why such a state of things exists? Will the spell-binders of the master class supply this answer? Will they even as much as attempt to meet the question? They will not. They cannot. They dare not.

But we dare, and we will.

Things are today produced not because of their utility to mankind, primarily, but because of the profit that can be realized in their disposition. Not the needs of hunrgy men, women and children, but profit, profit, profit—that is the guiding principle of modern commercial life. The worker's wages representing merely sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, on an average, to maintain in working order a worker and his dependents, are merely a fraction in value of the result of that worker's labor. This surplus (the difference between the value of what the worker gets and what he creates) must of necessity find its way to the world market and there, in competition with the products of other workers of other nationalities, seek a purchaser. The result of this situation is a market glut, industries close down, workers are thrown out of work in their thousands, unemployment results. And the present period of unemployment is remarkable for the feature that it is universal in its scope and applicable to all industries.

A high tariff and a corresponding high cost of living, or a low tariff and a corresponding low cost of living, are questions of import only to our masters. They do not affect in any way the position and real interests of the working class. Does not your own bitter and painful experience tell you, plainer than any theorising might, that when you can live cheaper you can work cheaper: a lower cost of living means a lower price for your labor-power?

All these various schemes and palliatives are useless. Even if they possessed any merit they are damned in their making by their authors. Think seriously if you will and tell us whether the alleged reforms and acts of parliament that have been passed in the last quarter of a century, ostensibly for YOUR benefit, have resulted in any benefits to you; or have they not rather tended to fasten upon you in still firmer fashion the chains of wage slavery.

The only question worth while for you is: Shall those who work the machinery of wealth production own that machinery and thereby benefit from its functions; or shall the present masters (whether represented by Liberal free traders or National tariff-mongers) continue in their ruthless work of exploiting labor for the sake of profits?

If you are desirous of registering a protest against a continuance of the present system of production and exchange, you will do so by marking your ballots on election day for the candidates of the party of your class—The Socialist Party of Canada.

HERE AND NOW

Following, $1 each—C. L. Pearson, F. Harman, Mrs. G Kolonn, J. S. Lidgerwood, B. Peake, C. Lee, W. G. Lindsay, J. Wedin, F. Kissack, A. Beaton, A. Legge, W. Truscott, A. Manson, S. R. Davy, J. Greenwood, T. Richardson.

Wm. Craig, $3; Parry and Sim, $3; J. Henderson, $2; Sid Earp, $5; H. Norman, $2; R. C. McCutchan, $2; Gus. Johnson, $2; W. Hoare, $2; W. E. Dickens, $2; W. Lewin, $3; W. Scott, $2; J. J. Albers, $3.

Above, Clarion 'subs" received from 29th September to 13th October, inclusive—total, $47.

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CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

"B.L.J.," $2; A. C. Roga, $2.50; "C.S.," $10.

Above, C. M. F. contributions from 29th September to 13th October, inclusive—total, $14.50.

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Study Classes in Political Economy

SOME SUGGESTIONS IN METHOD AND PROCEDURE

By "GEORDIE."

(From "The Red Flag," October 4, 1919)

THERE is, at the present time, a very noticeable increase in the number of classes and in the interest displayed in the study of economics. This is the more gratifying, as it has always been recognized in well-informed Socialist circles that the systematic study of Political Economy and kindred subjects was the most effective, if not the most attractive method of propaganda.

Now, this being the time of year when classes are in process of formation it has occurred to the writer, who has had some little experience in this matter, that it would be well, for the guidance of classes forming for the first time, to give here some of the results of that experience. I am the more impelled to do this because I am strongly of opinion that the method of study is of as great, if not greater, importance than the subject matter, so far as beginners are concerned. That is to say, that one of the main objects to be attained is the development of a certain attitude of mind—the scientific method. Possessing this attitude of mind, believing nothing, questioning all things, insisting on clear and accurate definitions, testing every statement by an appeal to facts, the student is in a position to securely pick his way through the mess of lies, misrepresentation and clotted nonsense which is modern popular literature.

The matter of class-organization and methods may, I take it, be left to the commonsense of the class itself, but the procedure will, in general, consist of reading in turn from the text book, followed by questions and commend by the members. As to the text-book, "Wage-labor and Capital" will probably be the best for a start, but, if this book is used, it will be well to get a sufficient number of the revised edition recently issued by the S. P. of C., as most editions of this book are very defective. For advanced students, the first nine chapters of "Capital" could be studied. "Value, Price and Profit," starting at the sixth chapter, is also very good. Other standard works ought to be at hand and the class should possess a really good dictionary. Every word has, and every statement ought to have, a meaning, and it is the business of this class to find it. No portion read from the text-book ought to be passed up unsifted and the chairman should, so far as possible, see that every member of the class is satisfied before proceeding. Many controversies and most arguments will be found at the bottom to consist of a question of definition. Many words and terms in general use have so wide an application or may mean so many different things that for the purpose of scientific statement they must be limited to invariably indicate one thing or category of things. Such words as "Wealth," "Commodity," "Value," are of this nature, and will often be found used to indicate very different things by different Economists. Where the consensus of authorities has given any term a definite significance that meaning should be ascertained and the term used in that way but in any case some definite meaning should be attached to it and the word or phrase used invariably in that sense. While this method may be followed in the case of a word, the case is very different when we come to a statement of fact. The statement or proposition is true or it is not true, that is to say, it agrees with the facts or it does not, and no amount of authority will help it in any case.

It is customary to quote strings of authorities in support of this, that or the other proposition, and it is a weakness with many Socialists to quote a tag from say, "Capital," and to imagine that the question is thereby finally settled. The opinion of an accurate observer and painstaking investigator such as Darwin or Marx has, of course, due weight, but should always be accepted with the reservation that an appeal to the facts is the only proof of which any proposition is susceptible.

No statement is worth considering that can not be expressed in good, plain, simple English, and the class should be encouraged to use this mode of expression rather than the cryptic and exotic terminology so much affected by many members of the Marxian School.

The selection of a chairman is rather important. It is his business to see that the discussion does not wander from the matter in hand; that no one, including himself, monopolizes the time of the class; to encourage timid, bashful members to take part and see that the discussions are carried on courteously and in regular form. I do not, for one, approve of the appointment of a teacher or instructor, but the class would be as well to have a director whose function it would be to be responsible for the work done. It would be his business to look up in advance the matter liable to come up, to verify the definitions, etc., and be prepared to initiate and carry on the discussion. This office may be combined with that of chairman, or if there is no one willing to act permanently, individual students should be made responsible for the proceedings at each meeting of the class. That is to say, that the work of each meeting should be laid out in advance and some one member made responsible for it.

It has been my experience that classes of this kind are liable to be infested with a variety of freaks and cranks of one kind and another. These people, of course, should have a courteous hearing in discussion, but should not be allowed to monopolize the time of the class and, if necessary, should be firmly suppressed; a little verbal brutality will do them no harm and will be helpful if they are any good. Such people are generally interested in the propagation of certain political or religious theories, and it should be remembered that the object of the class is the study of Political Economy, that is to say, the science of the production and distribution of wealth under Capitalism, and not to draw plans for the New Jerusalem.

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THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 1)

class philosophy, whose business —and interest—it is to protect class privilege. No other will be nominated and elected to that position. And whatever stray members from the slave class succeed to that "honor" are either revisionists (or worse), or are so hopelessly outnumbered as to be negligible.

Like everything else, parliament is the result of a long evolutionary process. It has its roots deep in unfamiliar and forgotten ages. It was the council of tribal communities—a council of equals. It became the "moot" of the communal middle ages, and developed into the representation of the third estate—the commoners, i.e., the rising merchant and trading classes of the early capitalist period. And now, with the completed development of capitalist society, it is no more than a name. It lives on the prestige of its ancient traditions. It is stripped of all real authority; it has been shorn of its privileges; its functions have passed into the higher control of the modern cabinet, and its powers are but the mockery of "sanctioning" what the cabinet decrees. Because, just as the tribal commune was more and more invaded, and dominated by the flourishing process of exchange, and grew gradually into chattel slavery, so the council of equals lost its original character of equality and became obsolete. Just as the accumulating merchant of the middle ages broke up the natural economy of the feudal fiefs, so the communal village moot lost its pristine nature and significance. And just as the nation of manufacturers and traders has progressed into the all-absorbing commercial empire, so the young parliament of the commoners has disappeared in the overshadowing might of the Imperial Cabinet. That is why the "will of the people" is but an empty name, the shadow of a substance, distant by thousands of years.

Political "representation" is economic interest. Nothing more. And so long as it remains in existence, so must slavery endure. For it is but the expression of that slavery. Slavery is exploitation, and today, exploitation is accomplished through wages. Therefore, the one interest of the slave class is the abolition of the wages system, that is to say, of capitalist society. And that abolition must be entirely effected by ourselves, the new developed medium of social progress. Master class and slave class interests are diametrically opposite, and no wise scheme or glamoring reform can ever abrogate their opposition. There can be only common interest when there is a common class, i.e., when there is Socialist society. Then with economic freedom, we shall be equals, with the privileges of equals—with the guarantee of everything that this highest of human societies can encompass and achieve. There is no other issue.

R.

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TO THE WORKING CLASS OF CANADA

Fellow Workers,—A few weeks ago Russia sent out a cry for help. The workers of the Russian Soviet Republic are appealing to the workers of the world for aid in the terrible calamity that has overthrown their nation. Decimated by seven years of incessant warfare, deprived of food and clothing, of medicines and drugs, of agricultural implements and industrial machinery by the capitalist powers of Europe, weakened by the internal struggles that follow in the wake of every revolutionary upheaval, Russia now stands helpless and unprepared to face the destruction of its harvest in the Volga district. The great granary of the Russian nation. A terrible drought, no rain, from March until August, has burnt up every vestige of vegetation for hundreds of miles. Land that in other years brought forth food for thousands of hungry workers lies blackened and charred under the blistering sun. Great herds of cattle upon which millions of children depend for their food have had to be slaughtered because there is no grass to feed them. Eleven million men, women and children are starving. Cholera, that dreadful disease that stalks in the wake of starvation is wiping out entire townships. Babies are sobbing at their mothers' breasts and there is no milk. Boys and girls are pleading for food, and there is no bread. Thousands are dying from preventable, curable diseases, and there are no medicines. Cleanliness could check the spread of contagious diseases, and there is no soap. Even the next harvest is in danger, for the seed corn has been used to assuage the hunger that is eating out the vitals of the nation.

We know why Russia has had to suffer, why war against Russia went on long after hostilities in other countries has ceased. We know why Russia was forced to keep her workingmen at the front while fields lay fallow and the factories stood idle. Russia has secrificed year after year, her men, her industries, everything, the very lifeblood of the nation, that its spirit might live, the spirit of Working Class brotherhood of working class internationalism. Russia has been attacked by the great powers of Europe, and by America, it has been slandered and vilified, fought with fair means and foul. The capitalists of the world, the men who live in wealth and luxury because you and your fellow workers live in want, hate Russia because she carries the message of working class freedom from capitalist oppression to the world, because she has fought your nation, brought inspiration and hope to you in your struggles.

All over Canada committees have sprung up for the purpose of helping Soviet Russia. By their very number they are defeating their purposes; they are duplicating their effort and there is practically no co-ordination. The American Federated Famine Relief Committee is endeavoring to unify the work of collecting funds for the famine stricken and the "Canadian Famine Relief Committee for the Drought Stricken in Societ Russia" is directly affiliated with that committee.

$220,000,000 must be raised. It is the most vital task that you have ever undertaken. Workers of Canada, your Russian brothers are calling for your assistance.

Wil you desert them now?

We must get together for one great drive for funds.

Address all moneys to—**Canadian Famine Relief Committee, P.O. Box 3591, Sta. B., Winnipeg, Man.**

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 21.

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE PARIS COMMUNE.

By PETER T. LECKIE

THE vacant throne of Spain was giving concern to European chancelleries. At last the Spanish ministry found a suitable candidate in Prince Leopold of Germany. This candidate was obnoxious to France and when this prince of the Hohenzollerns consented, a storm of protest broke out in the French press. Of course we are told what the press says "is public opinion."

Louis Napoleon's exploits in Mexico had proven a miserable fiasco. The opposition was gaining power and Napoleon felt he could gain his popularity by a victorious war against the Germans. Under pressure of foreign powers Spain was forced to withdraw the offer which she had made, and Leopold renounced his candidacy through his father King William I. The French Ambassador was commanded to obtain from King Wiliam a declaration that the candidacy of Leopold of Hohenzollern would never be supported again. The king refused to confer with the French ambassador, and France, being affronted declared war. Bismarck was as anxious as Napoleon for war, as his papers have shown since his death.

The Germans desired the return of Alsace and Lorraine because of its vast natural resources of iron and coal. Germany was entering the world's markets in competition with the other world powers. The French were being defeated on all lines; by 1871 the French army was in a terrible plight. The recruiting officers pressed into the army men whom they could not arm nor even feed.

The sting of hunger was so great in Paris that horse flesh became a delicacy. The women waited out in the cold for hours for a starvation allowance. Children died on the empty breasts of their mothers. Wood was worth its weight in gold, and the people had only the fantastic "success dispatches" to warm them. Engels' preface to Marx's "Civil War in France,' says: "Finally, on the 28th of January, 1871, Paris starved out, capitulated, but with honors hitherto unheard of in military history. The forts were surrendered, the line fortifications disarmed, the weapons of the line, and of the Guards Mobile were handed over to the Germans, and the men themselves regarded as prisoners of war. But the National Guard retained its weapons and cannons and only entered into a truce with the conquerors."

The Prussians were forced to salute the armed revolution which they intended to revenge. The Red Flag floated over the Hotel-de-Ville.

The masses were in favor of the Commune because they saw through it their emancipation could be accomplished.

Thiers, who was head of the Government at Versailles, seeing the danger of the rule of landlords and capitalists, attempted to disarm the Parisian workers. He sent some troops to steal the artillery belonging to the National Guard, which had been manufactured and paid for by public subscription during the seige of Paris. The attempt failed. Paris armed herself to a man and declared war on the French Government at Versailles. On the 26th March the Paris Commune was elected.

Among the first things done by the Commune was to abolish the night work of bakers, and also the registry office for procuring employment, which had been the monopoly of scoundrels appointed by the police. The abolition of pawnshops as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. The highest salary of a functionary of the Commune was not to exceed $1200 a year The separation of the Church from State and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes. All things appertaining to the individual conscience i.e., religious symbols, dogmas, prayers were abolished and the carrying out of the principle of religion as far as the State was concerned was a purely private matter.

Some Socialists have endeavored to evade explaining religion by expressing religion as a private question of the individual, but it is not so, as we find the question put when taking the census or if you are unfortunate enough to be brought before the police court for a contravention of capitalist laws.

The Commune fetched out the guillotine and publicly burned it amid loud applause. The column on Place Vendome which had been constructed by Napoleon I. after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon was overthrown, because it was a monument of national vanity and international jealousy.

The government troops were driven out of Paris when the Commune was declared. Then came the seige of Paris by the French Government. Paris was continually bombarded by the very people who had stigmatized the bombardment of the same city by the Prussians as a sacrilegious outrage. The Commune was formed and chosen by universal suffrage; the majority of its members were working men. The Commune was a working body and not a parliamentary body. The police were stripped of political attributes and turned into responsible agents of the Commune. The Commune prohibited landlords to dismiss tenants and prolonged overdue bills; therefore are we surprised all the monarchists, bourgeoisie, all slaveholders which composed the Assembly at Versailles yelled: "Paris is only a rebel, the Central Committee a band of brigands." When the struggle was keen the Central Committee issued a fine proclamation: "Workmen, do not deceive yourselves about the import of the combat. It is the engagement between parasitism and labor, exploitation and production. If you are tired of vegetating in ignorance and wallowing in misery, if you want your children to be men enjoying the benefit of their labor and not mere animals trained for the battlefield and the workshop, if you do not waat your daughters, whom you are unable to educate and overlook as you yearn to do, to become instruments of pleasure in the arms of the aristocracy of money, if you at last want the reign of justice, workmen be intelligent, arise!"

The Commune first degree was the suppression of the standing army and the arming of the people as a substitution. Even although the majority of the functionaries abandoned their posts at the signal from Versailles from street inspection, lighting, markets, public charities, telegraphs, etc. These services were soon set right by the Commune, and the committee overcame a greater difficulty of providing for three hundred thousand persons without work. Its true secret was that it was essentially a working class government; as Marx puts it: "The produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor." Marx points out the strange fact, in spite of all the talk of the emancipation of labor, that no sooner the workers attempt their emancipation than the mouthpieces of present society exclaim: the workers intend to abolish private property, the basis of all civilization. The Commune intended to abolish that class property which makes the labor of many the wealth of the few.

The Commune sprang up in the Provinces, at Marseilles, Toulouse and Narbonne, but the middle-classes betrayed the workers. The revolts of these towns died out one by one, and the revolutionists of the provinces were completely disorganized, therefore Paris had very little help from that quarter. M. Thiers suppressed all the goods trains and kept all correspondence destined for Paris. Thiers struck a bargain with Bismarck. The Prussian had surrendered the neutral zone to the Versailles troops. Lissagaray in his history of the Commune says: "Of all Thiers' crimes, one of the most odious will certainly be his introducing the conquerors of France into our civil discords and begging their help to crush Paris." One of Thiers' former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist, but a devoted member of the Commune, addressed Thiers on a placard thus: "The enslavement of labor by capital has always been the corner stone of your policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labor installed at the Hotel-de-Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals.' "

Marx says in "Civil War in France," p. 55-56: "The financial measures of the Commune, remarkable for their sagacity and moderation, could only be such as were compatible with the state of a beseiged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the city of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors, under the protection of Haussman, the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the Orlean family. The Hohenzollern and the English oligarchs, who both have derived a good deal of their estates from church plunder were of course greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000 francs out of secularization."

The Commune had good odds against it. Bismarck let loose all the French prisoners and gave help with Prussian troops, all done in the name of law and order. Teh press as usual lied about the conditions existing in Paris. They issued official despatches from Versailles, picturing Paris as the pandemonium of all the blacklegs of Europe recounted thefts and errests en masse, detailed sums and names. According to them women no longer dared to venture on the streets; 1,500,000 persons oppressed by 20,000 ruffians were offering up prayers for Versailles. M. Thiers, leader of the French government at Versailes, telegraphd "The insurgents are emptying the principal houses of Paris in order to sell the furniture." The traveller to Paris found the streets for the first time since the revolution of 1848, had no police. Lissagaray says: "The pillagers had only pillaged the guillotine." Persons full of indignation against Paris were so struck with its orderliness and tranquility, in a few hours caught the Paris malady.

Marx's "Civil War in France," page 58, says: 'Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought on Paris. No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees, American slaveholders, and shoddy men, Russian ex-serfowners and Wallachian bayards. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies. . . . 'We,' said a member of the Commune 'hear no longer of assassination, theft and personal assault, it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its Conservative friends."

The Commune had a placard posted up at the Hotel-de-Ville: "Every individual taken in the act of stealing will be shot." The Commune papers even in the excitement of the battle had no appeals to plunder or murder, while the Versailles papers of the Law and Order bunch demanded shooting en masse as soon as Paris has been vanquished. During the Commune elections, M. Thiers telegraphed the provinces: "The elections will take place today without liberty and without moral authority." The elections were conducted in a way becoming a free people. At the approach to the halls, no police, no intrigues. The liberty was so absolute that in all Paris not one single protestation occurred.

The only reprisals registered against the Com-

(Continued on Page 7)

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

(Continued from Page 3)

mune was the execution of Clement Thomas, the man of June, 1848, the insulter of the revolutionary battalions who was caught examining the barricades, and another — General Lecomte — who was dragged into his garden by the soldiers and shot. The officers of the National Guard made desperate efforts to have them tried by court-martial, but the multitude were impatient and Lecomte who, in the morning had three times commanded fire upon the people, wept, begged for pity, was forced against the wall and fell under the bullets. When the Paris Commune was defeated by the aid of Bismarck's troops, and after the release of the Napoleon prisoners of war, then we find the true nature of the Versailles Law and Order group. The blind fury of the soldiers, encouraged by the men of law and order, pillaged the shops of the tradesmen who had supplied the Commune. Theft followed massacre. The soldiers smashed the furniture and carried off jewels, wine, liquors, provisions, linens, etc., in their knapsacks. In the darkness of the night a Versailles officer was surrounded by the Commune outposts and shot, "without respecting the laws of war," said M. Thiers the next day. Though during the four days he had been mercilessly shooting thousands of prisoners, old men, women, and children. The wholesale massacre is estimated at 20,000. The chief military justice admitted 17,000 shot. The municipal council of Paris paid the expenses of the burial of 17,000 corpses, but a great number were killed outside of Paris. Numbers were shot and buried before they were dead, as sometimes a hand would be stuck up through the earth where they were buried; the inhabitants of the houses close by could hear the moans of the buried alive in the stillness of the night. Some were taken prisoners to Versailles and made to kneel down in front of aristocratic clubs, and churches amidst an infamous mob of lackeys, fashionables, and prostitutes crying "Death! death!" do not go any further; shoot them here."

During these atrocities, where even some women were disembowelled and a soldier of law and order amused himself by dividing the protruded entrails with the end of his bayonet, the officers a few steps off allowing him to do so, the bourgeoisie raised its bloody hands to heaven, undertook to incite the whole world against the Commune people, who after two months domination and the massacre of thousands, had only shed the blood of 63 prisoners. All social powers covered the death rattle of the victims with their applause. The priests, those great consecrators of assassination, celebrated the victory in a solemn service, at which the entire Assembly assisted.

Lissagaray says: "Twenty-five thousand men, women and children killed during the battle; three thousand at least dead in prisons, the pontoons, the forts or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life; old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of france, one hundred and eleven thousand of victims at least; that is the balance sheet of the bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the 18th of March."

Karl Marx's "Civil War": "In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilization, based upon the enslavement of labor, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue and cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene workingmen's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodhounds of "order." And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilization."

"The workingmen's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariat, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government of Versailles cries: "Incendiarism," and whispers this cue to all its agents down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its enemies everywhere as suspects of professional incendiarism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar."

"When the governments give State license to their navies to kill, burn and destroy, is that a license for incendiarism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the capital at Washington and to the Summer Palace of the Chinese Emperor, was that incendiarism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burned down, by the help of petroleum, towns like Chateaudun and innumerable villages, was that incendiarism? WhenThiers, during six weeks bombarded Paris under the pretext he wanted to set fire to those houses only in which there were people, was that incendiarism? In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If the defenders have to retire, they themselves light the fires to prevent the attack to make use of the buildings. To be burned down has always been the inevitable fate of buildings situated in the front of the battle of all regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against the enslavers the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good."

Marx goes on to illustrate the Commune used fire as a defence and resorted to it when the Versailles troops had commenced the wholesale murder of prisoners. Besides, the Commune had long before warned them that if driven to extremities they would bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow. The Commune knew that its opponents cared more for the buildings of Paris than the lives of its people.

P. 75, "Civil War": "All this chorus of culumny, which the party of law and order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebian, while in the hands of the plebian a weapon of any kind constituted itself a crime."

"The conspiracy of a ruling class to break down the Revolution by a Civil War carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader. . . . . culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris . . . He gloats over thecadavres of the Paris proletariate. For him this is not only the extermination of the revolution, but the extinction of France . . . . . With the shallowness, characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. Whenever before has history exhibited the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was therefore no belligerent. She acted the part of a bravo, a cowardly bravo because incurring no danger: a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood money of 500 millions on the fall of Paris." "And thus, at last, came out the true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany. And this unparalelled breach of the law of nations . . . . instead of arousing the civilized governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government the mere tool of the Prussian Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not given up to the hangman at Versailles. That after the most tremendous war of modern times the conquered and conquering hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariate—this unparalelled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society, but the crumbling into dust of the bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of what the old society is still capable is national war, and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes and to be thrown aside as soon as the class struggle bursts out in a civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform. The national governments are one as against the proletariate . . . . . While the European governments thus testify before Paris, to the international character of class rule, they cry down the International Workers' Association—the international counter organization of labor against the cosmopolitan of capital . . . . The working men of Paris with its Commune will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society."

"Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

The above history from Marx's "Civil War in France," could be well transported to the Russian revolution situation, where the conquered and conquerors united to put down the proletariate. The same lying press as to the conditions existing in Moscow and Petrograd is a repetition of the history of the Paris Commune.

After a knowledge of the above history there is no difficulty in understanding why the British newspapers of 1870 were against France.

The "Daily News" of 8th August, 1870, gave its views: "There is no longer any question as to whether the Germans will take or rather retake Alsace, but rather as to whether, having got it, they will give it up again. Some 200 years back Louis XIV., stole it. The lapse of years may hide a theft, but not the justification of re-conquest. The population of Alsace is German by origin, by language and by custom."

The "Times," 14th September, 1870: "Till the French are ready to recognize that they have acted unjustly towards their neighbors, and to offer sureties against a repetition of such conduct, the fair demands of the German (40 miliiards and Alsace-Lorraine) cannot be considered satisfactory. We can assure France, if she finds these conditions hard, that there are many persons in Germany who consider them remarkably light, and who would be only too pleased to complain at their hereditary enemy getting off so lightly. Alsace-Lorraine—we mean German Lorraine, in other words the possession of Metz and a small strip of Lorraine with the Vosges and Alsace—is the minimum condition the peace-loving Germans can accept as a basis of peace."

For the history of European powers up to the war from 1870, read the writer's "Economic Causes of War." As I have not dealt with the dividing up of Africa, I will continue the lessons with that continent's history so far as the European powers are concerned, and conclude the series with the Irish question.

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ing with drum and trumpet, and the fretful, unmusical wheeze of a bilious looking harmonium.

With strident shout, accompanied by a fanatical rolling of the eyes, threatening and coaxing by turns, they preach the gospel of salvation by faith alone. But converts are lacking these days, especially on this corner, their meeting is soon finished and they march away, singing in ecstasy, a pitiful spectacle of human weakness.

Dealing in unsentimental language with the facts of everyday existence, analyzing topical questions presented by the daily press, explaining the method and form of production peculiar to Capitalism, which is directly responsible for the phenomenon of social distress amidst an abundance of things required for social comfort, and pointing to the mental apathy and class ignorance of the workers as being the chief obstruction to their own welfare, the Socialist speaker, supporting his statements by proving them, makes an impression on the minds of his listeners that stays and grows. The continued and increased sale of literature, the discussion of questions, social and political, in place of trivial gossip in these places where wage-slaves gather, and a better understanding of the revolutionary movement, this is the object of the "soap bover," and a worthy recompense for his efforts.

S. E.

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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.

2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.

3—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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WHAT IS A POINT OF VIEW?

(Continued from Page 2)

primitive types of mind, and, also as a phase of State policy. There is, to be sure, the thin wraith Vitalism (Animism in extremis), held to by a few intellectuals who are just posing, I think, so that they may seem odd in a mechanistic age.

At last, the Rubicon crossed! Scientific thuoght at anyrate is conscious of the fallaciousness of the old method of reasoning. And so wide-spread is the indifference to the Animistic conception of supernatural forces, that we may anytime meet a representative who, almost apropos of nothing, insists on declaiming his intellectual emancipation. Happily, may be, he may do it according to the wisdom of old Omar, the Persian tent maker, who, so long ago percieved behind the pathetic phantasmagorias of the human mind, a primitive trait at work!

I sent my Soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-life to spell:
And by and by my Soul return'd to me,
And answer'd " I Myself am Heav'n and Hell:"

Heav'n but the Vision of fulfill'd Desire,
And Hell the Shadow of a Soul on fire,
Cast on the Darkness into which Ourselves,
So late emerged from, shall so soon expire."

In the opening statement of Part I. I said that although the facts of a social problem may be presented, unanimity of opinion was not thus necessarily ensured, and this, because of differences in the points of view from which facts were estimated. Hence, information on facts was not the only essential.

The last observation is only true in a limited sense. Points of view are habits of thought which only break down under the unremitting impact of new experiences and habits of life of sufficient duration and force to replace them with new habits of thought. But the traditional habits of thought persist when they no longer fit the new conditions of life; though seen through the glamour of the old habits of thought their significance and meaning is obscured.

The Animistic conception, as I have tried to show, goes into the lumber room of time under the unremitting impact of objective experience which contradict it. The bourgeois point of view, so far as the toiling masses are concerned, is undergoing a like process. We may accelerate its going by presenting the facts of the social situation as they really are. So may we assist the material forces of changes by educating away the traditional habits of thought, until the whole life and mind of the masses of the people is saturated with the upward filtration of a proletarian internationalism, pregnant with a morality and with social aspirations all its own.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

"Large Crowds Hear Lectures on Health." So read the captions over a report of a meeting in the Wesley Methodist Church in Vancouver. Dr. J. C. Elliot addresses afternoon and evening meetings on foods and nutrition, and on over eating, and why business and professional men die young. At the close of the lecture the entire audience joined in health culture exercises. The doctor is reportd as saying, in part: "That millions are suffering under shattered nerves today who might find relief in a proper food supply, and proper care of the body. Many must eliminate half or more of the present food supply. Eliminate hot breads, pie and cake, rich and highly seasoned foods, under shattered nerves." The report contains much more to similar effect, but that is the gist of it.

In another report, we read of men walking the streets of a prairie metropolis and of having been without food for two days, being unable to obtain employment even at the harvest season.

Are those double standards of existence singular —the starving workers in Regina and the overfed obesities and nervous wrecks at the Wesley Methodist Church in Vancouver? Nay, they are general, as anyone knows!

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The workless, in bitter jest, mount the block on Boston common, and offer themselves for sale as slaves: "How much," patters the auctioneer, "for this young returned soldier? Come on, gentlemen, make your bids, how much? Going! going! served in France to make the world safe, gentlemen! No bids! . . . . . Get down you, you're not wanted. They put up his dog, and it sells for five dollars.

They clamor around the poor law relief offices, huge concourses of the workless, in Great Britain.

Great Britain and the United States are the richest and the most powerful countries in the world, leaders in a civilization whose productive capacity, in the means of life and well-being, exceeds anything ever dreamed of in previous times. But it is the power of the rich, and the riches of the over-fed. It is productive capacity regulated in the interest of a profitable price: it is industrial processes sabotaged for business purposes running contrary to the needs of the communities: needs for that full measure of all things which a full exertion of our social powers in production, in a system of production for use, would give to them.

But we have the profit system called capitalism, and the typical accompaniments of it: widespread unemployment and poverty of the things of life among the working class: and a vast preoccupation and concern as to their own health by the over-fed.

C. S.