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The Breeding Ground of Compromise

THE study of economics has always been decried as the "dismal science," and it is very strange that capitalist thinkers should have encouraged this particular notion regarding the "science of wealth." One would think such a science was particularly interesting, and as a matter of fact Marx did make it interesting, especially for the working class. In fact, we could modestly refer the wiseacres of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association to this much maligned economist for information as to their growing desire for Foreign Trade, and the relation it bears to their rate of profit as outlined in chapter xiv. of Volume iii. "Capital." However, we are not so interested in their education as in that of the workers.

We will, therefore, preface this article with a quotation from Karl Marx's third volume of "Capital" for consideration of the reader, and those sufficiently interested may refer to the analysis that precedes the conclusions arrived at by Marx.

"On the other hand, every particular sphere of capital, and every individual capitalist has the *same interest* in the productivity of the social labor employed by the total capital. For two things depend on this productivity. In the first place the mass of use values by which the average profit is expressed; and this is doubly important, where this average profit serves as a fund for the accumulation of new capital, and as a fund for revenue to be spent in enjoyment. In the second place, the amount of the total capital invested (constant and variable), which, with a given amount of surplus value, or profit for the whole capitalist class, determines the rate of profit or the profit on a certain percentage of capital. The special productivity of labor in any particular sphere, or in any individual business of this sphere, interests only those capitalists who are directly engaged in it, since it enables that particular sphere, or that individual capitalist, to make an extra profit over that of the total capital.

"Here, then, we have the mathematically exact demonstration, how it is that the capitalists form a veritable freemason society arrayed against the whole working class, however much they may treat each other as false brothers in the competition among themselves." (Kerr edition, p. 233.)

The slogan of "Greater Production" may appear more intelligible after a careful digesting of the above.

"Even in cases where a man without wealth receives credit in his capacity as an industrial or merchant, it is done for the confident expectation, that he will perform the function of a capitalist and appropriate some unpaid labor with the borrowed capital. He receives credit in his capacity as a potential capitalist. This circumstance, that a man without wealth, but with energy, solidity, ability and business sense may become a capitalist in this way, is very much admired by the apologists of the capitalist mode of production. Although this circumstance continually brings an unwelcome number of new soldiers of fortune into the field and into competition with the already existing individual capitalists, it also secures the supremacy of capital itself, expands its basis, and enables it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the lower layers of society. In a similar way the circumstance, that the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages formed its hierarchy out of the best brains of people without regard to estate, birth or wealth, was one of the principal means of fortifying priest rule and suppressing the laity. The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of a ruled class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule." (Kerr edition, p. 765).

The last paragraph of the first quotation is worthy of particular consideration by those interested in the political movement of the working class. The impossibility of compromise is glaringly evident. The second quotation will give some idea of where we may expect to find the party of conciliation. In actual daily experience, where do we find these exponents of the "ca canny" policy of political action, —amongst that mixture of "salariat," "labor leaders" and "profesional preachers" that we call the "middle class,"—the class that does not know where it is.

The middle class, or rather the "educated" class in society, are credited with being the "brains" of the capitalist system. The capitalist, as an individual, being non-essential in the processes of production and distribution, only appears as "the will" behind the world's activities in modern countries. The members of the middle class, therefore, appear as those possessed by "The Holy Ghost,"—the mysterious power that takes control of their energies to direct them into the presence of their Lord and Master—King Capital, whose kingdom is over all the earth. The "will" of capitalist society is expressed in the actual practice of extracting "surplus value," the failure to secure which has a disturbing influence on those failing in the task of administering the methods considered necessary to secure the desired end. This section of society, which has to attend to these higher duties of supervising the system of exploitation, are somewhat in the position that at one time priests held between the people and their Gods—intermediaries and conciliators. The members of this "middle class" are educated for various processes in life, the importance of their various vocations being measured in actual life by the standard of usefulness to the class which they hope to serve honorably. The usual idea of the "honor" is related to securing special privileges as a result of any particular ability they may manifest, and ultimately rest secure in "wealth"—the burden of their dream.

The capitalist class having relieved themselves to a great extent of the worry of looking after their affairs and entrusting the working of the system to the middle class, the idea has become current that in this section of society are to be found all the leaders necessary for any movement or undertaking. This finds its practical demonstration in the selection of political leaders like Lloyd George in England, and also accounts for the continual selection of middle class celebreties for the premiers of manufactured republics of recent years, such as Paderewski, Premier of Poland. It may also be recalled that the repudiation of Kerensky by the Russians was one of the sore blows to the vanity of these middle class democratic statesmen.

During periods of political and industrial crises, the peculiar position of the "educated" classes becomes very noticeable. The "middle" class is "be twixt heaven and hell" — their hope of ascending into the heaven of wealth or being plunged into the purgatory of the working class, is reflected in all sorts of warnings, first to the workers, and then to their masters. Throughout the whole strata of the "salariat" the desire to secure wealth and to cease from work is the great ambition, and place-hunting and all sorts of scheming to this end are manifest in their ranks. Balzac's stories in "The Comedie Humane" are masterpieces in French literature, depicting the desperate struggles of the ambitious members of middle class society in France.

Whatever may be the opinions of the master class as to the abilities of their lieutenants, it must be admitted that there are great numbers of the workers, who are overawed by the appearance of wisdom amongst their "betters." Their achievements have been by no means slight, and the organization of industry owes a great deal to their abilities. The contradictions of the capitalist system, however, do not depend on them for solution. They are the servants of the capitalist class, and that class cannot solve their problem but at their own peril. The middle class, therefore, finds itself in the role of reformers or conciliators, when they are actively engaged in attending to the results of the development of capitalism. In the mania for "place hunting" they are being hard pressed by the capitalists' necessity of satisfying the ambitions of their "friends" in the labor camp.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that one has to digest so many political nostrums of those who would be the "saviours of society" and the "champions of democracy"? Always insisting on the raising up of "leaders," when the great demand is for teachers who are not afraid to place before the people the indisputable fact that society is based on a "Class Struggle" under the wages system. Imbued with the idea of the necessity of capital their position in society makes them the party of Compromise,—a policy impossible so far as the working class and capitalist class are concerned, when the struggle for political power becomes a conscious necessity in the minds of the workers. Whilst confusion reigns, their services are in demand in various ways — press, pulpit, or the judiciary.

Not all, however, are under the delusion of the capitalist psychology, and the only trouble with their disillusion has been the tendency to try and water down the "materialistic" political doctrines with humanitarian appeals to "cease this sordid appeal to class interests." A proletarian dictotorship as the final outcome of the struggle for political power looks too drastic, no matter how unavoidable it may prove through the necessity of events. The only useful recruits from the middle class to the working class movements are those who have thoroughly digested the fact that the coming revolution **must** be the work of the working class itself, and cannot be a "gift" from any class,—no matter how gifted it may think itself. The labor leader under the influence of "middle class' 'ideas has proved a hopeless failure,—and it may be some consolation to the members of the middle class to think that Marx, Engels, and many others have "done their bit" for the working class movement that will never be forgotten when men eventually get down to solving their industrial problems free from all class bias.

H. W.

More Money Matters--The Silver Situation

THE money commodity, in order to retain its position, must possess certain properties. Such properties are dependent upon the conditions existing at whatever period we care to examine. What may appear a characteristic of absolute necessity to the money commodity at one particular time may, in other conditions, prove detrimental to the performance of its various functions.

In modern civilization, the properties indispensable to the material serving to measure values, have been enumerated by recent economists as portability, durability, homogeneity, divisibility, stability of value, and cognizability. The substance that possesses these attributes bids fair to defeat its competitors and relegate to itself the office of intermediary in the modern system of trade and commerce .

It will be noticed, at once, that the requirements of our monetary system automatically eliminate practically every form of material outside the category of the precious metals. Even within this category, very few of the occupants measure up to the qualifications demanded. The portability and durability of iron, lead, tin, and several others of the baser metals is not sufficiently noticeable to ensure their admittance to the channels of exchange. Gold and silver alone possess the requisite properties to the extent of functioning even fairly satisfactorily in this respect.

Back in ancient Rome, both in the time of the Republic and of the Empire, silver was the metal most commonly used in the capacity of money. In Saxon England it was still the most important representative of the mineral kingdom insofar as facilitating exchange is concerned. The system of coinage in that age was identical with a system of weights, the unit of weight resolving itself into the unit of value. The English pound sterling has its origin in the Saxon pound weight of standard silver, which was divided into two hundred and forty silver pennies each equal to a pennyweight.

During all the early years of the feudal system, in the most important countries of Europe, silver continued to function as the money commodity. Its natural qualifications admirably adapted, it to this position. Trade, during those years, was not carried on in a very elaborate manner, and the silver supply not being exceedingly plentiful, this metal amply provided a medium for transferring values.

With the discovery of a new world, however, a disturbance was inevitable. Vast deposits of rich silver-bearing ore were found in the two Americas. Capital, seeking an outlet, could here be profitably invested. The natives of these new areas, it is true, proved themselves monumental failures in the realms of production. They showed that healthy contempt for work so characteristic of all primitive peoples from the very start. They could neither be coaxed, bribed, coerced or frightened into accepting their new status in society, and, doubtless, caused many an unhappy moment to the Spanish, English, and French exploiters who were anxious to develop their newly discovered treasures.

When, through other means, the silver mines were placed on a paying basis, and great quantities of the metal exported back to Europe, a great change was effected in the trade situation. Not only was it possible to produce a new supply of silver at a greatly reduced cost, but the existing European supply, likewise, suffered a depreciation in value. With a materially extended world market, and soaring prices keeping pace with the growth of trade, the position of silver as a money commodity became yearly less secure. Something with greater value in smaller bulk was urgently demanded. This something was a characteristic of gold.

The immediate result was not a complete elimination of silver from the arteries of exchange, and the establishment of gold in its place. For a period of about four hundred years, in England, gold and silver were jointly appointed by law to fill the position. How well they functioned history has explained. As Marx has it—"To assume that there is an invariable ratio between the quantities of gold and silver in which a given quantity of labor-time is incorporated, is to assume, in fact, that gold and silver are of one and the same material, and that a given mass of the less valuable metal, silver, is a constant fraction of a given mass of gold.

Cheap politicians, of the W. J. Bryan type, unconsciously adopt this attitude. The spirited campaign for free silver, that enlivened the political history of the United States during the latter years of the past century, was founded on the absurd notion that the purchasing power of the precious metals could be fixed by governmental fiat. Bryan's idea was that the "gold standard" was of artificial creation, and this golden cross, on which mankind was being crucified, existed solely because of the hideous machinations of the banking interests. The financial magnates of the U. S. might well revere the name of a statesman who thus unreservedly ascribed to them a power approaching the supernatural. His solution was to destroy the existing standard and replace it by one of silver. Possessing no knowledge of economics, and very little of anything else, he thought it feasible to arbitrarily set a buying-power on silver.

Had the U. S. government secured possession of the world supply of silver, as well as the mines from which silver might be obtained in the future, and all patents covering the processes of manufacture, it might have been possible to place an arbitrary price on silver, and maintain it, though at an enormous and maybe ruinous cost. But, even in such a case, the gold standard would not have been put out of business.

The purchasing power of silver, or any other commodity that plays the part of circulating medium, is not determined by legislative enactment. The nomenclature of money may be established by state fiat, but when it comes to a question of what proportions any one will exchange for another, the problem can be solved only by understanding the relative quantities of social necessary labor time required to produce them.

Such being the case, we can see that any scheme pertaining to the establishment, and operation, of a system of bi-metallism is doomed to failure from the start. Fixing an arbitrary ratio between any two commodities is an utter impossibility as long as the law of value continues to function in human society. Each commodity being produced by a process peculiar to itself, whatever changes are introduced to the mode of production must, necessarily, reflect themselves in the values of the things produced, so that instead of having a rigid, iron-bound ratio confirmed between them, their values must vary relatively to each other, and consequently override any legislative decree to the contrary.

Here, then, we find, as Marx has pointed out, that though two commodities can be designated by law to jointly fill the position of a measure of value that, in practise, one only performs the function. The truth of this assertion can be found all through the history of English and American currency. When a change takes place in the methods of production, enabling one of the terms of the equation to be placed on the market with a relatively lower expenditure of labor than the other, all debtors will find it profitable to meet their obligations with the cheaper metal and, thereby, force the more valuable out of the channels of exchange. A **fixed ratio, free coinage**; and joint **legal tender**; these are the pre-requisites of bi-metallism and, as we have seen, these conditions cannot prevail.

After centuries of endeavor to maintain the double standard, in the face of economic laws, the scheme is practically abandoned, and one or the other of the two metals adopted as money. Among a population of over 700,000,000 people silver is today the money commodity. Although silver deposits are found chiefly in Mexico, Canada and the United States, the metal eventually finds its way to the Orient, where it serves among more than half of the world's population in the dual capacity of a commodity and a currency.

The great fluctuations in the value of silver during the past five years merit our attention. The average price of silver in the U. S. during the year 1915 was 51.8 cents per ounce, which was the lowest quotation for more than two centuries. In 1918 the average had risen to 98.4 cents per ounce, and by December, 1919, it had reached the unprecedented figure of $1.37⅝ per ounce. Since that time the value of silver, as measured in terms of gold, has been decidedly on the toboggan.

In adducing reasons for these fluctuations, several factors must be taken into conisderation. The reasons for the low price of 1915 are of just as great importance to the student of finance as those in regard to the high price of 1919. When war broke out the immediate effect on the foreign trade of both India and China was a great reduction in imports and exports, due to the scarcity of vessels for carrying on trade. The chief customers of the Orient were also the "dramatis personae" of the great war. Germany had always been a large importer of cotton, jute, rice, tea, and cocoanut products. England, France, and America had also done a thriving business with the merchants of the Orient.

Having little domestic differences of their own to settle, their buying and selling relations with their neighbors in the East were severely shaken for the time. This trade depression had a very decided effect on the position of silver.

As soon as it became apparent to the administrative officials of the Allied powers that the military game they had entered would last far beyond the three months limit, specified at first, they began to notice the necessity of replenishing the larder with everything essential to winning the war. It immediately developed that Asia, and the East Indies would be drawn upon heavily for war materials. Something must be tendered in payment for these supplies and, as the Western nations had but a small surplus of desirable articles to export, they were forced to fall back on the only available method of payment, which was none other than shipping silver.

Another effect of the war was to change China and India from the position of being the dumping grounds for the surplus products of other countries into great productive establishments of themselves. Both of these countries, are now industrially self-sufficient in many lines, taking their place in the production of cotton, jute, shoes, and woolens with the great industrial centres of Europe. As the raw material available for export has also greatly increased, at the same time, the enormous trade balance in favor of the Orient can only be met by increasing shipments of silver. The growth of industry within the boundaries of those countries necessarily involves an addition of no small magnitude to the medium of exchange. The quantity of money functioning as the circulating medium being determined by the prices of all commodities, divided by the rapidity of the circulation of money, it

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Economic Causes of War.

Article No. 7.

WE are told that Great Britain entered the war because of her treaty to uphold the neutrality of Belgium, that the treaties of 1831 and 1839 entailed an obligation on England to fight; but the text of the treaties contains no word of this obligation. Gladstone said in 1870 that the treaty of 1839 was without force. Lord Palmerston, the man who signed the treaty of 1839, answering Disraeli said: "Hansard," June 8th, 1855, page 1748: "It had been agreed by treaty that Belgium and Switzerland be made neutral, but **I am not disposed to attach very much importance to such engagements**, for the history of the world shows when a quarrel arises, and a nation makes war, and thinks it advantageous to traverse with its army such neutral territory, the declarations of neutrality are not apt to be very religiously respected." Major Murray, in "The Future Peace of the Anglo-Saxon," page 26, says: "As for treaties, there is no reliance to be placed on them. They are only considered binding as long as the mutual interests of the binding parties remain the same, and as long as there is power to enforce it. A prudent ruler ought not to keep faith when by so doing it would be against his interests." Could Bernhardi have beaten that quotation, fellow-workers? The real cause of the quarrel with Germany was no more an honorable one than that of a dread of a too powerful commercial rivalry which, if England had stood aside, might have culminated in a commercial alliance between Germany and France against her in the markets of the world. Germany was not so desirous of empire as she was of the preservation of the independence of Morocco, Persia and other states, as fruitful fields for German commercial expansion on the basis of the open door; in fact, free markets more than empire was her views of economic imperialism. France, on the other hand, wanted empire, not to secure free markets, but to monopolise undeveloped markets. Britain's traditional stand for free markets should have inclined British policy towards Germany, rather than towards her traditional enemies France and Russia. But that traditional attitude had been undermined and weakened by the fear and jealousy of powerful commercial, financial and social influences; it was crystalized in the Chamberlain Tariff Reform League, and aggravated by the extraordinary adaptability and success of Germany's economic progress in the undeveloped markets of the world. Britain's abandonment of her policy of the integrity and independence of Turkey, Morocco, Persia and Tripoli, developed an antagonism with Germany, because it eliminated the equal opportunity for commercial intercourse with these countries. This change of policy was detrimental to the German trade.

We were told that the war was to secure the future peace of the world, but when the Bolsheviki made public the secret treaties entered into during the war, they uncovered the beautiful platitudes that were used as lovely shop window dressings, and the complete defeat of Germany was seen in its reality to be necessary before the Allies could divide up the spoils agreed upon during the war. Russia was to acquire Constantinople, the Straits, and a large section of Asiatic Turkey. France was to acquire a large section of Asiatic Turkey and part of the German colonies. Italy was to acquire in addition to portions of Austria-Hungary, a section of Asiatic Turkey, an extension of her existing possessions in Africa, the right to conduct the foreign affairs of Albania, and a share in the war indemnity specified in the Treaty of London, 1915. The Anglo-Franco-Russian agreement as to the division of Asiatic Turkey was in the spring of 1916. Roumania was to acquire Hungary, south and east of the River Theiss. Britain was to acquire the "neutral zone" of Persia, part of the German colonies and Southern Mesopotamia, with Bagdad and two ports in Syria. From December, 1916, to March, 1918, there were nine peace openings from the Central Powers, which were turned down just because it was impossible to divide up the spoils secretly agreed to amongst the Allies, unless Germany was completely defeated and unable to oppose their greed.

Some people would have us believe that Protectionist countries are the creators of war, but Free Trade England is compelled to take part in a shuffle for spheres of influence and other monopolistic partitions of undeveloped countries, not merely by her capitalists crying for higher and more secure investments, but by the interests of her industry and commerce being threatened by her commercial competitors. Of course, we all know John Bull is an honest policeman. Did not John free Europe from Napoleon? He did his best to rescue Europe and France (who declined the favor) from the French Revolution. Whenever Britain succeeded in her liberating mission, it was to reinstate the Bourbon in Spain and Naples, and in 1815 to resettle the emigres, the priests, the Austrians, and an appalling reactionary regime all over the continent. Britain's historical mission is to fight for every scrap of paper without seeking any advantages of her own; merely accepting a few accidental gifts that may come her way. So the Henry Dubbs are taught; but if that is so, how is it that Britain did not fight Russia for violating the independence of Persia in 1911, also Frane for violating the guaranteed independence of Morocco? Why! Britain came to an arrangement about Persia's sacrifice; she also secretly sacrified the independence of Morocco before she signed the public agreement by which Morocco's independence should be respected. Of course, this is not the first instance of a policeman being in league with thieves.

Japan broke Chinese neutrality in her endeavor to drive out the Germans from China. Russia did likewise in Persia to attack Turkey, and Italy followed suit in Albania all through the Great War which was fought to uphold small nations. Is it possible for hypocrisy to be more naked and unashamed? A fight for the freedom of peoples, and yet the Allies were oppressing many more millions of men than the Central Powers. George Brandes, the Danish author, says: "Apart from the Russia of Czardom, the Allies held despotic sway over some 550 millions of human beings—from Irishmen to Indians, Egyptians to Arabs, Moors to Koreans. With this ballast they set out to liberate 30 millions governed against their wishes by the Central Powers.

The war was the outcome of the great industrial and economic development of the Great Powers, and instead of wars today being necessarily like the wars of primitive man, who was forced to expand over a larger surface of the globe in search of food during famine and scarcity, they result today from an over-production of the people's needs, and show again, signs of the instability of capitalism. The war was not sprung upon any unprepared nation. The conference of Paris of April, 1914, at which Sir Edward Grey was present, has been shown by the Soviet Government to have been a preparing of the plans, by the Allies, to encircle the Central Powers. Russia began her trials of mobilization in February, 1914, and continued them until the outbreak of the war. Lord Haldane at Bedford College, November 29th, 1918, said: "At the outbreak of war the fleet was in such a state of efficiency as never before, and we were two to one even then against the whole German fleet. We mobilized at eleven o'clock Monday, August 3rd, 36 hours before we declared war. Within a few hours, with the aid of the navy, the expeditionary force was across the Channel before anybody knew it." Belgian neutrality was the excuse, the moral tone, to give to the public. German troops did not enter Belgium until the night of the 3rd and 4th of August, 1914, while Grey on the 2nd of August, after a session of the cabinet and after receiving a letter from Bonar Law saying the Opposition was with him in whatever action was necessary, according to the British "White Paper" No. 148, said this: "I am authorized to give an assurance that, if the German fleet comes into the Channel or into the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts and shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power." Grey to Bertie, in Paris, August 2nd, "White Paper" No. 119 "The preservation of the neutrality of Belgium **might be**, I would not say a decisive, but an important factor in determining our attitude:."

Now, fellow-workers, do you wonder why the Kaiser has never been tried? The very people who are bluffing are the last ones who would desire its accomplishment, because of their own entanglements. Lloyd George said that Britain did not covet any territory, but wanted on honorable peace. The gods of fate have thrown the Bull Dog just a few morsels for being a good dog. For instance, listen to this from a lecture on "A New East," by Rev. J. T. Parfitt, twenty years Canon of Jerusalem, before the Greenock (Scotland) Philosophical Society, November 22nd, 1918: "The present opportunity was the best we ever had to achieve mighty things in this remarkable part of the world. Palestine did not offer commercial advantages, only strategic, but Mesopotamia was rich in prospects. Why, the oilfields which we had just taken over a few days before we signed the armistice were worth ten million thousand pounds, and were the finest in the world. . . . . We had not sought territorial expansion in the East, and were prepared to take up the white man's burden." That is one of the few morsels that Britain did not want; it just came to her because of her goodness of heart and her love of protecting inferior people like the Irish, Egyptians and the people of India, who, we are told, are unable to govern themselves.

PETER T. LECKIE

MORE MONEY MATTERS—THE SILVER SITUATION

(Continued from page 2)

stands to reason that the great increase in the quantity of manufactured goods and raw materials would make imperative an addition to the existing store of silver.

The rise in the price of silver, then, has been due primarily to the inordinate demand from the East. But there are other factors. The shortage in the world supply is secondary only to the Eastern demand. One of the most productive silver fields in the world has suspended operations to a large extent during the past few years. We refer to Mexico. The decapitation of presidents, and looting of treasuries, have assumed a more elevated status than the mining of silver. The diversion to war industries of labor, in the American and Canadian fields, has had its effect. The increased use of silver money by soldiers in the war, as well as the stimulated demand for silver for surgical and medicinal purposes, have all combined to strengthen the market position in recent years.

The decrease in silver prices of late is directly attributable to the relaxation of the demand for Eastern products since industrial reconstruction, on a large scale, has extended to the belligerent countries. The embargo on the export of gold, put into effect by most of the participants, has now been removed. This removal results in giving to the commercial interests the option of paying in gold instead of silver, and so tending to reduce the demand for the latter. As international trade recovers, a further decline in silver prices, as stated in gold, is to be anticipated. The gold question will be dealt with in our next.

J. A. McD.

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EDITORIAL

PRITCHARD'S ADDRESS TO THE JURY.

THE able address of Comrade W. A. Pritchard to the jury in the Winnipeg State trials at the Fall Assizes, 1919-1920, printed in pamphlet form, has just come to hand. Comrade Pritchard, in his defence, has assumed the position of accuser of society as it is now constructed, with its multifarious forms of oppression, and with special reference to the operation of the machinery of law as it was operated in and around Winnipeg, centreing upon this trial.

The address is an altogether creditable performance, and will endure primarily as of a political rather than a legal bearing. Comrade Pritchard bases his remarks upon the exhibits filed by the Crown, and from that abundant material outlines what is not alone an excellent case in defence, but a sound groundwork of educational substance worth while studying.

Altogether apart from the wide interest the case has aroused from the legal standpoint, and the problems in connection therewith that remain to be dealt with, the booklet will serve well as of valuable reference in connection with Socialist literature, and works connected with social problems

We recommend its reading to all who have interested themselves in this trial, and to others it will provide food for thought as a document that is essentially of working-class interest.

Single copies and small quantities can be sent from this office, price 25 cents per copy post paid.

Large orders should be sent to J. Law, 220 Bannatyne Avenue, Winnipeg, or to A. S. Wells, 405 Dunsmuir Street, Vancouver, B. C., from whom special rates may be obtained.

RUSSIAN TRADE.

OUR information concerning the details of the mission of Krassin in London, emissary of the Soviet Government, is dependent upon the daily news sheets. We have long since learned to be sceptical about any items in the press columns regarding Russia, and we are as sceptical now regarding the news of the negotiations of the emissary of that country.

The presence, in London, of the Soviet commission, whatever may be its outcome, is a certain indication of up-to-date failure on the part of Britain in her Russian policy. One by one her mercenaries have been annihilated or have been rendered fugitive from Soviet territory, while Poland today, in her aggression against Russia, faces the overwhelming defeat of her armies, which Britain has largely equipped and outfitted without a bill of costs.

While the press news indicates the existence of serious deliberations between the Soviet and British representatives, its presentation is so obviously doctored and garbled that it serves a useful purpose as being indicative of what is not so. Whether or not there may be any serious minded people who imagine that Krassin's mission can busy itself exclusively as a commercial mission without regard to political considerations, it would be folly for us to ignore the fact that Russia is at the present moment an outlaw country in the capitalist world. Her revolution has cut deep into the standards of the institution of private property, and while her present proposals for a working basis of exchange of products with capitalist countries remain unannounced, it is difficult to estimate the true worth of the hand-shaking from a practical standpoint, as related to her present needs.

Her present needs, while they may be more evident, are hardly less insistent than are those of her enemies now in negotiation with her. Their needs may compel them to forego past claims against Russia in whole or part, but in any event, the consideration that prevents their mutual abandonment as Allies lies in their mutual economic and political dependence upon each other for continued existence as States. The several Allied countries are competitors in the same market,and while they may manoeuvre for advantageous position, their interdependence and combined interest as profit producing countries, as against the Communist aims of the Soviets, serve as a check upon their everready willingness to undo each other as occasion may demand.

The liberal press of each country involved, in its advocacy of a policy of trade with Russia, is representative of those interests whose abandonment of true bourgeois principles is more apparent than real. Their liberalism towards Russia is based upon a merited distrust of their own capitalist competitors.

Our good wishes are wholeheartedly with Russia, but we are not confused as to the fundamental issues involved, and we know that her spokesmen are under no delusion as to the real meaning of trade relationships with the exploiters of human labor.

LOUIS FRAINA.

LOUIS FRAINA has had levelled against him the most serious accusation that can be made against any man who calls himself a Socialist. He is accused of being now, or of having been in the last year or two a secret service agent, acting for Palmer, official stifler of open opinion in the United States.

We do not intend to repeat the story as it has been given by "The Call' (New York), and echoed by others. We hold no brief for Fraina, and we have looked with disapproval upon much of his hair-brained, alarmist propaganda in past years, but we are of opinion that in grave matters of this kind, it is a discreditable practice on the part of the Socialist and Labor press to imitate the sensation worshipping manners of the scurvy press. One kick is enough at a time, that is, until the victim has a reasonable chance to be heard.

The charge against Fraina may very well be true; but then again, it may not be true, and in any case, this kind of charge always leaves a mark. If those papers that rehashed the original news item had presented any evidence of their own in connection with the case, they would be less liable to classification as next-of-kin to the well oiled press. They have presented nothing that has not appeared in the original article they have copied, and now their duty will be to reproduce everything they can see in Fraina's defence, even if it fills every inch of their space.

We know nothing of Fraina or his personal character, and we are not appearing in his defence, but we dislike the practice of howling that a man is a rogue because a well-informed person next door says so. We have no quarrel with the original publication of the charges, but we quarrel with the questionable methods of the imitators. No section of the workers' movement can thrive through the disparagment of any kind of man unheard.

SUGGESTIONS.

IT is frequently—but vainly—asked: "What will Socialist society be like, how organized and controlled; what will be its life condition?" Our querists are no whit daunted by the reason of dialectic, or satisfied with the empiricism of historical materialism. They demand concrete and detailed structure and correlation.

Since social institutions are the reflex of social economics, it would almost seem to be obvious that, given the fundamental of social economy, its superstructure could be predicated. And so indeed it could if all the data could be conceived and stated; but that is just exactly what cannot be done.

Evolution is not a circle; does not follow telic lines for set purposes; is not bounded by the paltry logic of finite concepts. On the contrary, it is a cycle of events, of changing complexity, never passing in identical phase or form twice. From initial causes, or motion, it develops in ever increasing complexities, in endless concatenations, in manifold directions. And yet it is ever subject to the prime laws and limitations of being and constitution. It is like a stream that here breaks in foaming rapids, there laughs in rippling shallows, thunders in sparkling cascades, glides in placid deeps, swirling and eddying by bend and hollow in minature cycles of its own motion, never returning, never repeating the same series, ever flowing, broadening, deepening, gathering weight and power in volume and potentiality unknown.

So with society. It comes, develops and changes. Development itself produces changes in its own nature, quality and substance ,and so changing, changes the mode of progress, alters the whole fabric of social organization, weaving a new pattern of social institutions, determined by the forceful necessity of ceaseless movements. Like light and shade that play over the face of nature ,so social devices and forms of society are the unstable formations of transitory human need, evolved from the material progress of universal "must." From primal base and concept there is developed an ever widening series of relationship between man and man, between man and nature, between man and his necessity. Corresponding with such relationships and their necessary change, comes ideality and its equally necessary change. New power bequeaths new knowledge, new knowledge an increasing power, countless gradations, extensions, directions of action and its thought, of thought and its action.

One can but forecast Socialist society vaguely, negatively, and that only at its inception—which itself will be gradual and not ideally predetermined. We can say that profiteering shall not exist—that its whole economic shall be forgotten like an evil dream; that classes shall have disappeared; statecraft be no more; slavery and its civilization vanished like a ship in the night.

We may aver that society will collectively produce the fullest satisfaction of its wants and desires; that all shall be free of access to the utmost of world resources; that all shall individually enjoy all that is socially produced. Thus secure in the means of life, in the fullness of comfort and wellbeing society will take root and flourish in new soil, form new concepts, build its institutions, direct new conditions, master the laws of change and adapt to them new attainments and purposes.

It will be a society where men and women will not be the craven spawn of commerce, where childhood will not be ground in the mills of profit, where thought will not be cankered by finance, where mentality may rise to grandeur. A society whose religion may be humanity, its ethic, liberty, and the living fount of truth the inspiration of its normal action.

R

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Ireland.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article must be considered as our correspondent's viewpoint. His article is kindly written for us at our own request

IN the kaleidoscope of world politics the struggles of Russia and Ireland stand out pre-eminently as indicating the direction of future economic and political actions, one fighting for the overthrow of economic capitalist society, the other for the overthrow of political imperialism. In both countries conditions are to a certain degree analogous, inasmuch as both are as yet incompletely emerged as full fledged capitalist States, i.e., feudalism is rampant within the borders of each, and both are so misrepresented by their friends and enemies that the actual issues are in danger of becoming overclouded by transitory circumstances. A cursory glance, however, at the main contending factions in Ireland, their composition and aims, will enable the readers of the "Western Clarion" to form an accurate opinion as to the crux of the situation.

Statistics as to party serength are furnished on recent elections under P. R. system. The Unionist party, the party of the big business and land owning classes representing about 18 per cent. of the total electorate, stands uncompromisingly for the solidity of the empire. Its devotion to the imperial idea is equalled by its class consciousness. Loyal to both, it commands a certain respect by its willingness to go to any extreme, including bloodshed, in defence of what it judges to be its right.

The Home Rule party, founded by the petit bourgeoisie, and still the mouthpiece of its founders,—treated with contempt by British and Irish, has recently been reduced to almost insignificant proportions. Its strength, drawn from the farmers, absorbs about seven per cent. of the national vote.

Opposed to these are the two wings of the Nationalist movement, the Sinn Fein and the Labor Party. In the interests of clarity we shall examine each on its respective merits. The Sinn Fein party is the creation of Cumam Sinn Fein, an economic movement, started about twenty years ago by Arthur Griffiths and William Rooney, editors of the "United Irishman." The disgust at the actions of the Home Rule movement, its futility in securing any real economic relief for the prevailing conditions in Ireland was the primary cause of its inception. It laid down the principle that as long as Irishmen recognized the right of Britain to legislate for Ireland, then Britain, "ipso facto," possessed that right.

Appealing to the electorate at the general election of 1918 with a Republican platform, it secured 75 per cent .of the total poll, and forthwith established an Dail Eircann (Irish Assembly) at Dublin on January 21st, 1919. It has appealed for international recognition as the de facto government of Ireland; has reorganized the republican army; established co-operative banks; authorized a loan of $30,000,000 divided equally in U. S. A., Australia, and Ireland (which latest advices report to be oversubscribed); passed laws for the nationalizing of vast estate, which the republican army is at present attempting to effect; set the machinery in motion for extensive draining of bogs, and it has established Courts of Justice throughout the country. It is an essentially "national" movement, inasmuch as its main or primary objective is the overthrow of imperialism in Ireland.

The Labor Party of Ireland having as its mouthpiece the Socialist Party is, on the other hand working not merely for a "national" revolution but also a social one; not merely for the overthrow of British imperialism, but also of that system of civilization that Britain represents in Ireland. In Connolly's "Labor in Irish History," we are told that up till 1849 "the basis of society in Ireland rested upon communal or tribal ownership of land . . . . . Communal ownership would undoubtedly have given way to the privately owned system of capitalist landlordism if Ireland had remained an independent country, but coming as it did in obedience of an armed force without, instead of by the operation of economic forces within, the change has been bitterly resented by the vast mass of the people, many of whom still mix with their dreams of liberty, longings for a return to the ancient system of land tenure now organically impossible."

The Socialist Party of Ireland, like that of Canada, is not affiliated with either the Second or Third International, though they are fully in sympathy with Moscow. It cannot be considered as purely Marxian, as economic conditions, exploited under the protection of armed troops, have caused it to take active part in industrial action. Internationally it might be regarded as a party of the Left, although the lack of class-consciousness among sections of the proletariat make this stand rather unpopular from the standpoint of numerical strength.

During the recent municipal elections it contested seats in every industrial centre, taking care not to split the republican vote, and its success is ascribed by "Le Socialiste" (Belgium) as one of the most convincing pieces of evidence re the growth of Socialism.

It has forced the farmers of Ireland to sell their bacon produce at prices stated by thie trade union executive; it has succeeded through the trade unions, in having distributed big landed interests. It is perfecting its organization so that in the first electon under the mandate of the Republic it will loom large as the mouthpiece of the proletariat, the only unsullied protagonist of Irish independence.

But the question arises: What significance does the Irish question bear to world politics? The answer is provided by the imperialists themselves when they declare Ireland to be the key of the Empire. Ireland, the first conquered—now practically unanimous in its demand for secession, is bringing before the world in clear relief the old, old question of nationalism vs. imperialism. Its victory means the liberation in India of the toiling millions of slaves of the East; the relief from imperial aggression of the white slaves of the Empire. To the workers of Ireland it means more. Once free from foreign yoke they will be able to concentrate upon the slave owners in their midst..

Tribal ownership of land is, as we know, impossible with us today, but the principles of our Gaelic civilization stand clear and rugged against the system of social robbery of the capitalistic era. As the Irish septs were counted Irish or English according as they accepted or rejected the native or foreign social order, so the Irish toilers will base their fight for freedom upon their progress towards the mastery of those factories and farms upon which a people's bread and liberties depend. In so doing, they appeal for the support of all of us, the victims of the same system. Are we not big enough to give them our sympathy in their hour of need? Mankind will yet be masters of this earth. Together, the workers of Ireland and the world can go forth hand and hand, one indissoluble unit and claim for all men political and economic freedom.

DAL RIADA.

Manitoba Provincial Election, 1920

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
MANIFESTO, No. 2.

To the Working Men and Women of Winnipeg:

We, who address you, as candidates for election to the Provincial Legislature, have neither honeyed words to offer, nor specious promises to make.

As students of historical development, we contend that present day society readily divides into two classes, the workers and the shirkers—those who produce but do not possess, and those who possess but do not produce. Compared with this fundamental division, all other classifications must be relegated to very secondary positions.

We contend furthermore that the present master class retains control of the means of life (mills, mines, transportation, etc.) through its control of the political machinery; that between those who live by working for wages (the working class) and those who live by paying wages (the master class) an antagonism of interest exists, making itself manifest in modern society (and more plainly so with each passing day) as a Class Struggle.

Every Class Struggle is a political struggle. The highest expression of the Class Struggle is the consciousness and concerted effort of the working class to wrest the machinery of government from the hands of the master class and use that machinery as a weapon for effecting economic freedom.

While we, whose names appear at the foot of this manifesto, are at present in durance vile, we ask that this fact be not counted in our favor. Nevertheless, we consider it incumbent upon us to deal with the process used by our opponents to place us at our present abode. Those who have taken notice of the trend of affairs in Canada, generally, and in Winnipeg, particularly, do not stand much in need of any elucidation on this point. But for the uniniated, and as a means of placing ourselves on record, we ask your indulgence for a brief time in order that our position be made clear.

In the recent State Trials in Winnipeg the opponents of the working class sought to gain their ends by various means. So ill-begotten was their nefarious scheme that, finally, in order to bolster their case, they made fully eighty per cent. of their evidence out of the literature and propaganda generally of The Socialist Party of Canada. This propaganda has been persistently given out under the party's auspices since its inception in 1905.

Seventy-two years after the "Communist Manifasto" we realize that the workers have nothing to lose but their chains; that reforms and palliatives even when considered of value, are only transitory and not of lasting benefit, for so long as capital reigns supreme so long will the workers receive mere subsistence. That is the position accepted by the Socialist Party of Canada for many years, and from that position we refuse to recede.

However, the Socialist Party of Canada, contesting both Provinical and Federal Elections during its history, according to circumstances, financial, etc., has never before entered the election lists under conditions similar to those which now obtain. A most vital and pressing question is now interjected: **Shall the Socialist Party of Canada Subsist or—Subside?** That is a question which those who support the position and propaganda of the Socialist Party must face ,and face squarely.

The judicial dictum which has placed our part, its literature and spokesmen in jeopardy, was delivered here in the City of Winnipeg, and the effete and obnoxious indictment against a carefully handpicked few was written, and made possible by Manitoba's present Attorney-General, Hon Thomas Johnson.

The gauntlet thus thrown down, cannot, and must not be ignored by us. The utmost possible freedom for our educational work in History, Economics, Sociology, etc., must be maintained. And that (whether we like it or not) is an issue not of our raising, but an issue, nevertheless, which, if left untouched and unsettled, will hamper at all times and places the work of the Socialist Party in this country.

R. B. RUSSELL
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The Science of Socialism

By H. M. Bartholomew.

Article No. 9.—Social Control.

THOSE of my readers who have done me the honor of carefully thinking over what I have already written in this series, will be in a favorable position to re-examine the position of the Socialist movement as laid down in my first article.

You will remember it was stated that the position of the social reformer is an illogical and (from the standpoint of social progress, an ineffective one. The social reformer passes legislation in an haphazard, opportunist fashion with the end in view of patching and bettering the existing social order. Therein is the final and complete futility of his position revealed. The social evils of the present day are the effects of the existing social order; are the inevitable and natural products of the present system of ownership of land and capital. Social reforms of every kind deal with the effects, and leave the root causes untouched—mop up the floor and leave the tap full on.

We have seen, in the previous articles, that poverty and its attendant evils, are the effects of a cause which is operative the world over—the private ownership of the means of wealth production. **The polarisation of riches with the inevitable polarisation of poverty is the evil child of the existing social order which we know as Capitalism. It is futile to attempt to solve this pressing problem by passing social reforms, by the application of any "solution" which deals with effects and not with causes.**

The sane, logical method to pursue is that of the Socialist—that since Capitalism is the common cause of so many evils the only course to pursue is to abolish Capitalism itself. The scientific Socialist, whilst denying the futility of social reform within the existing social order, affirms his belief in the overthrow of capitalism and the progressive utility of social revoluton.

The aim and object of the Socialist movement is to assist and to guide the workers in this task of social revolution. It believes that the means of wealth production should be owned and controlled by the workers; that the processes of wealth production should be operated, not, as at present, for the individual aggrandisement of a small and privileged class, but should function in order that each individual in society should have his or her fair share of the necessities and amenities of life.

In other words, Socialism is the socialization of the wealth producing machinery of the world, the conscious control, by society, of those economic forces which have for so long enslaved submissive mankind.

In order that this position may be clearly seen, it is necessary, once again, to enter into first principles and to analyse cause and effect.

We have seen—have we not?—that the trend of social evolution of the last fifty years is towards the socialization of all the machinery of wealth production, but that this process of change is more or less subconscious, largely the product of the pressure of economic necessity, and is for the exclusive benefit of the capitalist class. Trusts and State Industries increase in number and in power, until we are faced with a condition of affairs almost approaching an industrial monarchy.

This condition of affairs cannot continue for long. The growing standard of intelligence of the workers everywhere, the increasing pressure of economic conditions already almost intolerable will sound the death knell of the Capitalist regime.

Private ownership and individual appropriation must disappear, must give place to social ownership and social control.

How is this to be accomplished? By what means and in what manner will the workers exercise control over the economic life of society?

The socialization of land and capital implies complete control by society. In the past government has concerned itself with the government of persons, with the enactment of legislation dealing with persons. Before the advent of the present State and representative government, government was in the hands of the elders of the family, of priests and of kings. Disputes took the form of combat with arms, arguments as to right and wrong were settled by duels, tournaments and wars. Government was of the most opportunist kind, mankind was the hapless victim of an environment over which he had no means of control.

The inadequacy of combat and of warfare, the pressure of economic progress forced the establishment of more democratic and intelligent governmental institutions. Parliaments elected upon a more or less popular vote, took the place of the divine right of kings, the old method of settlement by force or by chance gave way to the more intelligent and democratic method of argument and debate.

The State grew in power, and with the rapid growth of capitalist industry, it encroached more and more upon the economic field—found itself compelled, in the defence of social rights, to assume the ownership and control of many and diverse industries.

But these State-owned industries are not socialized industries. Controlled by the capitalist class, operated by the representatives of that class these State industries are almost as anti-social as the genuinely owned capitalist concerns.

We must not forget, however, that the establishment of State industries and the extension of elective powers paves the way to socialization. The increased power of the workers everywhere as the result of the extension of the suffrage, must, perforce, assist in the struggle for economic emancipation. The State, which, for so long, has been used as the bulwark of the propertied class against the wealth-producing class, will be used, by the workers, to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

Heretofore, the State has been the favorite playground of the possessing classes. They have used the powers invested in the State to buttress the system whereby they secured their wealth, to suppress every attempt made by the dispossed class at economic emancipation. The State has been the weapon which has been used, BUT THE POWER OF THAT WEAPON CAME FROM THE POSSESSION OF LAND AND CAPITAL. THE POSSESSION OF THE MEANS OF WEALTH PRODUCTION WAS THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE. THE RAISON D'ETRE OF ALL GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS.

It has been said, and with truth, that to possess land and capital is to be the complete owner of all the people who work and have their being from that land and capital. It can also be asserted, with equal truth, that government without the ownership and control of the machinery of wealth production is but an empty dream.

The activities of society will be primarily and essentially social only when society exercises complete control over its economic life. Instead of private ownership there must be social ownership, in the place of individual monopoly must come collective control.

Therein does the Socialist thinker display the logic of his reasoning, and the truth of his position. **The Socialist knows that in the social ownership of land and of capital democracy will cease to be an idle dream. The Social Revolution ushers in the administration of things, and in so doing renders unnecessary the government of persons.**

Social reformers are political tinkers and quacks who stroll through the economic field seeking what they may patch. They have not yet realized that until the people of the world cease to patter party politics and to think economically, there can be no economic progress. Where there is no vision the people perish, and where there are social reformers there is confusion worse confounded.

This socialization of the machinery of wealth production, brought into existence by the workers of all countries through the instrumentality of the State, sounds the death-knell, not only of Capitalism but of the State as an institution. Says Engels:

"The State was the official representative of society as a whole, the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only insofar as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production with the collisions and excesses arising from these are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society, the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society, this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not abolished. *It dies out.*"

Last Article: Towards the Goal.

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These Soldiers

OLDIERS never seem to sense the uses of diplomacy. They have a broad frankness that refreshing, after the evasive subterfuges of our nting ministers and statesmen, and an honest untness, that cuts through the rottenness of hired urnalism like a knife.

Thus, General Hoffman put his soldierly boot on e table in the midst of the Brest negotiations.

So, later, he upset many fairy stories anent Germany's defeat, by his declaration that the "upstart enin, was responsible for the internal unrest that ndid the military arm."

Did not General Dyer shoot up the Hindus, and ecome totally unable to understand why any fuss hould be made over it? It was enough for him, hat his word must be kept, rather than have them hink him a weakling.

Here (U.S.A.) we have General "S.O.S." Wood, a romising white hope for autocrat of "God's country." How many anxious hours must he have aused his backers? And since he blurted out his emorable creed, or beliefs of the methods needed ere to preserve "lawnorder," entitled "Back to the arn at sunrise," or "Ship 'em, or shoot 'em," hat a change in his hopes of fortune, politically.

And now, here is General W. S. Graves, late commander of Uncle Sam's forces in Siberia, back in our idst. And he is so crudely uninformed. Fancy im telling us this:

Said he: "At the mention of the word Bolshevik eople instantly conjure up a mental picture of a rowsy anarchist, with a bomb in one hand and a orch in the other."

Can you blame 'em, General, they have seen those ictures often in thep ress.

"But," he goes on, "the Bolsheviki in Russia are orking for peace, and the good of the country. In y belief, they are trying to be eminently fair and ust to the people. They have deplored the murders and bloodshed which took place before they ame into power in Siberia, January 31st, this year, nd are doing everything they can to stamp it out."

Him from Siberia too, and been fighting against he Bolsheviki. He ought to have knewn better. However, we, the salt of the earth, see in the papers very night almost, "authenticated" stories of the atrocities committed there. Even as I write, a paper stares me in the face, shrieking its headlines t me. "Kaiserism and Bolshevism, twin spawn rom Hell." Really, General, you are very naive. Do you wonder you have been assigned to that obscure grave in the Phillipines, Fort McKinley, Ryzal. It is a grave offense you have committed. You will never make a diplomat, General Graves.

But "It's an ill wind that blaws naebody guid." Indeed, yes!

F. S. F.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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"The Opium of the People"

ACCORDING to the Paris correspondent of the Chicago "Daily News," the Vatican, in southwestern Europe and Germany has seemingly entered on a movement of the greatest importance, namely, open co-operation not only with Protestants and all other Christian sects, but even with the Jews, to combat the anti-religious spirit as manifested by Socialism. He quotes Msgr. Kordatch, Archbishop of Prague, who, in a speech before a conference of his co-religionists, among other things said: "As Catholics, we will even go as far as to hold out our hand for political action. We will extend our hand to faithful Protestants who, like us, believe in the divinity of Jesus and in the Decalogue, these ten commands of God. We will work with them in politics. We will work to construct states even with believing Israelites, and even with Liberals. I have expounded these principles to the representatives of Jesus Christ, to Pope Benedict XV., who has absolutely approved of them."

The Church has always realized that an antagonism exists between science and religion. Unfortunately, very few workers realize that. Practically all the Socialist parties in the world have maintained that "religion is a private matter." Even such a Marxist as Pennekoek is addicted to that view. They do not seem to realize that the great theoretic weapon of the wage-workers in their fight for freedom is science; that religion has been one of the stumbling blocks in the paths of progress.

Soon after Constantine proclaimed Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, Science began to feel the heavy hand of the church.

"The Christian Party asserted that all knowledge was to be found in the Scriptures and in the traditions of the church; that in the written revelation, God had not only given a criterion of truth, but had furnished us all he intended us to know. The church thus set herself forth as the depositary and arbiter of all knowledge."—Draper.

She was ever ready to resort to force to compel obedience to her decisions. Inquiry was considered to be a crime; to doubt was to de damned; and the Bible was made the final authority on all questions. Papacy thus took a stand which determined her whole future career; she became a stumbling block in the intellectual advancement of Europe for more than a thousand years.

"Not till the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the universities, not till Mohammedan science and classical free thought and industrial independence broke the sceptre of the Church, did the intellectual revival of Europe begin."—(Lecky).

Thousands of men and women were either burned at the stake or imprisoned in vile dungeons for doubting the statements found in the scriptures. Men were murdered for maintaining that the earth was round, or that the earth was not in the centre of the universe. Galileo was treated with remorseless severity for maintaining that the earth moves around the sun. Bruno, one of the greatest scientists of the middle ages was burned at the stake, charged with teaching the plurality of worlds. De Dominis was imprisoned for offering an explanation of the rainbow. By order of the church, the great Alexandrian library, the greatest library of ancient times, was destroyed. According to Draper, the Inquisition, that terrible weapon of the mediaeval church between the years of 1481-1808, punished over 340,000 heretics, 32,000 of these being burned at the stake.

So much for the past history of Christianity. Volumes would be necessary to record the crimes committed by the religious fanatics during the dark ages. We must, however, not forget for a moment that Protestanism, Judaism and other religions have a past that is just as black as that of Roman Catholicism. The history of these churches is covered with the blood of thousands, nay millions, of victims sacrificed to Superstition.

Luther, the founder of the Lutheran Church and the Father of Protestantism was revolutionary when the conflict was between the Papacy and his masters, but when the Peasants' War which in a few weeks spread over entire Germany, Luther the revolutionary priest became one of the most zealous defenders of the then ruling class. Against the Peasants' breach of obedience, he now turned his wild fanaticism with a desperate blood thirst, an absolute delirious cruelty. In his brochure against the rebellious peasants, he states:

"Inasmuch as they are evil-minded, and brazenly refuse to obey, and furthermore resist their masters, they have forfeited life and soul as to all faithless, perjured, mendacious, obedient knaves and villains. Therefore, it becomes the duty of all here to strangle and stab secretly or publicly, all such, and remember that there is nothing so poisonous, injurious and fiendish as a rebellious person; just as you would kill a mad dag; if you do not strike him, he will strike you, and with you the whole country."

The greatest strength of the church lies among the ignorant, superstitious, backward agricultural population of the world. This reactionary mass constitutes the greatest menace to Socialism. The majority of the supporters of the various Centrist or religious political parties of the world come from this class. In Hungary, Poland and Belgium, they control the government. From Msgr. Kordatch's statements, it would appear that a union of the liberals and Centrists is a foregone conclusion. Atheist France is now represented at the Vatican by Jules Cambon! Gone are all the petty differences between the two groups. Both realize their common enemy, Socialism.

With the exception of Italy, the platforms of the Centrists are more or less of an extremely reactionary nature. In Italy, however, they are face to face with a different situation. Due to the strength of the Socialist movement, the platform of the Italian Catholic Party is more or less similar to that of the various yellow Socialist parties of the world. One writer in the "Nineteenth Century," of January, 1920, enthuses over the significant statement:

"I salute the good fortune of Italy. The cancer in her heart is healed. The Catholic party is now the defender of the State, and public authorities are no longer in conflict."

There is no question that the church has little influence with the great mass of industrial workers. Despite the free movies, lots of pretty girls and other inducements, the majority of the churches in the large cities are conspicuous by the absence of the workingman. The cause of the irreligion of the industrial proletariat is due, as Veblen puts it:

"The artisan class, on the other hand, is notoriously falling away from the accredited anthripomorphic creeds and from all devout observances. This class is in an especial degree exposed to the characteristic intellectual and spiritual recognition of the undisguised phenomena of impersonal, matter-of-fact sequence and unreserved conformity to the law of cause and effect. This class is at the same time not underfed nor overworked to such an extent as to leave no margin of energy for the work of adaption."

Religion is the handmaid of Capitalism.

"Churches are supported to exist only on condition that they preach submission to the State as at present capitalistically organized. Indeed, the religious bodies, as the almoners of the rich, become a sort of auxiliary police, taking off the insurrectionary edge of poverty with coal and blankets, bread and treacle, and sothing and cheering the victims with hopes of immense and inexpensive happiness in another world, when the process of working them to premature death in the service of the rich is complete in this."—George Bernard Shaw.

Under all its multifarious forms, the modern mission of religion is to cloak the hideousness and injustice of social conditions and keep the exploited meek and submissive. Socialism, however, is the possibility of social conditions that are rational and humane and need no mask. Therefore, to tear the veil of hypocrisy and mysticism from modern society is to urge the workers to end its misery and inequality.

However, the importance of the religious question must not be overestimated. It is important, but yet secondary to the great class war that is raging over the entire earth. But it must be remembered that religion is one of the bulwarks of Capitalism, and that it is used by the ruling class to keep the slaves in subjection. No intelligent workman can honestly avoid the religious conflict.

"Religion is the opium of the people."—Marx.

JOHN TYLER.

THE FEMININE POINT OF VIEW

WOMAN suffrage, like prohibition, is one of the excresences of the capitalist system. Under the older systems of production, women had been expropriated from all voice in the democratic governments, but as the capitalist system developed, and women became more and more stock holder in the various enterprises, thereby becoming property owners, they wanted, and began to demand, a voice in the governments, which were controlled by those enterprises. The male of the species, thought they saw their dominance threatened, and opposed them.

The politicians had sufficient work to swing the vote of the male workers into line without adding that of the woman.

Opposition, as usual, made the woman more determined, and they began to war-dance. The propertyless woman, not having any more acumen than the propertyless man, joined the war party in the spirit of adventure. Of course, they were camouflaged, like their brothers, into thinking that suffrage would place them all on an equality. The fight thickened. The war broke out, and in order to line up all sentiment to make the war a success the capitalists endeavored to swing the suffrage sentiment to help win the war. They partially succeeded. The ranks broke, but some, like the National Women's Party, stuck to their guns. Success seemed certain. The war closed. The capitalist parties finding themselves nearly equally divided, and looking for recruits for their respective camps, "about faced" and are now competing with each other in the hope that credit for the final victory of the women of their class may keep, or carry, them again into power.

However, the women have been getting their education along with the boys in the trenches. They are asking, "Where do we come in?" and are realizing that it is not the intention of their leaders that they shall "come in" at all. Now they are wondering what all this democracy is about anyway. Their experiences with the politicians have not enhanced their respect ,and they are finding out that the democracy for which they have been fighting is not what they thought it was after all. And so, many of us are looking into the subject, and learning that democracy is the form of government that develops inevitably with the trade of a country, and is called the rule of the people. Then we want to know Who are the people? and as it has been hammered into us for centuries that women were not people, by digging in we learn again that the people of a country have always constituted a very small proportion of the inhabitants of that country, namely, the owners.

Now we are digging in deeper, this time into Marx and Engels, Morgan and Dietzgen, and are fast arriving at the conclusion that the great adventure of life is not so much to swing from convention to revolt, as to struggle out of confusion into clearness of mind.

KATHERINE SMITH.

CLARION NEWS AGENCIES

THE "WESTERN CLARION" IS ON SALE AT:

CALGARY, ALTA.—Alexander News Stand, 204 Eighth Avenue West.
Labor News Stand, 814a—2nd Street East.
MONTREAL.—S. Feigelman, 421 St. Lawrence Boulevard
Frierman and Baranowski, 12 Ontario Street East.
NEW WESTMINSTER.—News Stand, B. C. E. R. Depot.
PORT ARTHUR.—Viking Book Store, 264 Bay Street.
TORONTO.—D. Goodman, Blind News Agent, corner Queen and Chestnut Streets.
VANCOUVER.—Columbia News Stand, corner Hastings and Columbia Streets.
John Green, Carral Street.
W. Love, Hastings Street East.
WINNIPEG.—Reformers' Book Agency, 222a Phoenix Block (Opening evenings).
BUFFALO, N. Y.—Onward Book Store, 196 Gold Street.
CHICAGO.—Radical Book Shop, 867 N. Clark Street.
Walden Book Shop, 307 Plymouth Court.
ROCHESTER, N.Y.—Proletarian Party, 580 St. Paul Street
TACOMA.—Raymer's Old Book Store, 1317 Pacific Avenue.
SEATTLE.—Raymer's Old Book Store, 1330 First Ave.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICER FARCE.

ONE of the jokes of the existing social system is the "Public Health Act."

We do not expect butchers to preach vegetarianism, nor hotel keepers to lecture on prohibition, and it would be a howling joke to put the anti-cigarette crusade entirely in the hands of the cigarette manufacturers. Nevertheless, this is precisely what we are doing in the case of disease. The man who makes his living from disease and who would starve to death in a perfectly healthy community, is deputed by our all wise government to hold the control of disease in his own hands. In some instances the medical officer of health is individually put beyond temptation through being debarred general medical practice, but in the majority of cases all over the country he makes the bulk of his living by private practice.

As a country teacher, this fact is at the present moment being brought home to me in a very lively manner. An epidemic is in its initial stages, and with the Public Health Act at my elbow I am doing my level best to nip it in the bud by enforcing quarantine so far as the school children are concerned. Meanwhile the local medical officer of health absolutely ignores the Public Health Act and issues permission broadcast for children to mix with others, two or three weeks before danger of infection is over. I have not a doubt that if, thanks to his assistance, the epidemic gets a thorough hold he will suddenly become severe (having well sown his crop of "cases") and close down the school.

Scientific specialists in disease tell us that contagious diseases could be as effectually stamped out as leprosy and the plague, and to a large extent smallpox has been, but there is no hope of this happening so long as we are willing to support that closest of all combines—the medical trade.

There are many honest, noble and self-sacrificing individuals among medical men, and we imagine they would welcome the day when the people control a medical service, whose interest and not whose loss it will be to combat disease by every means in their power.

A TEACHER.

SOVIET RUSSIA MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

We are asked by this committee to publish the following financial statement:—

Brooklyn, N.Y., June 1, 1920.

Treasurer's Financial Statement, April-May, 1920 as to May 31, 1920.

Receipts—		
Contributions		$1,776.37
Net proceeds from Mass Meeting, May 22		177.42
		$1,953.79
Expenditure—		
Printing of Circulars	$ 230.50	
Postage, Stationery, Miscellaneous	142.32	
Clerical Help	97.50	
*Medical Supplies	$1.000.00	
		$1,470.32
Balance	$ 483.47	

*Note—First payment advanced for Medical Supplies, May, 27th, 1920.

Note.—Since June 1st, another payment of $1,000 has been advanced for the purchase of medical supplies.

June 10th, 1920.

Contributions may be sent to Jack Shepherd, Secretary Local (Vancouver), No. 1, S. P. of C. All sums received will be acknowledged.

HERE AND NOW.

Following, $1 each: John Burton, G. Velge, G. W. Howard, Mary Ertz Will, A. D. McLeod, B. I. Tisher, H. Weiss, J. Cartwright, Trevor Maguire, D. Thomson, R. Bayliss, J. Johnson, F. W. Borden, A. Sumner, Martin Ophus.

Following, $2 each: J. F. Knorr, J. F. Maguire, R. Sinclair, Wallace Grayson, M. Goudie, Alex. Shepherd (Mountain Park Social Club), Nels C. Nelson.

W. F. Rampe, 30 cents; J. Rivers, $12; Geo. Wallack, $5; A. Harris, $5; W. Breeze, $5; A. Fisherman, $1.50; R. C. Mutch, $19; J. A. McD., $14.50.

Total subscriptions received from 11th to 25th June, inclusive, $93.30.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Martin Ophus, $4; P. Dayon, $5; Dick Burge, $1.
Total from 11th to 25th June, inclusive, $10.

A HOME FOR THE JEWS

THE pages of the servile press are striving to forge weapons of deceit in a frantic effort to maintain the present order. The class conscious observer knows the depth of the reports of capitalist press representatives.

A lengthy article has been published of a Jewish Convention held lately in Alberta, when a resolution was passed to offer thanks for the release of the Jews in establishing a home by proclaiming a British Protectorate over Palestine.

I presume those Jews in assembly were not acquainted with the facts that Britain had to cover up her plundering dispostion by asking the Jewish people to occupy a house of which she held the key. The secret treaties between Britain and her Allies during the spring of the year 1916 gave Britain Southern Mesopotamia, Bagdad and two ports on the Mediterranean. The ports of Haifa and Akka are the gates to Palestine and Damascus. Then again Britain seized Alexandretta, a natural outlet for Mesopotamia petroleum. We know that the Mesopotamia-Dardanelles report tells us of ghastly scenes when British soldiers fought to protect the oil installation at Abadan, belonging to the Persian Oil Company, of which the British Government had become huge shareholders. We are told by the report that wounded men had to make a fourteen days' journey to the port of embarkation without any attention. We are also informed that those wounded soldiers lay huddled together on the deck of a ship with insufficient room to perform the functions of nature.

The God of inflammable matter cries out in despair for the return of his lost ones to the Holy Land flowing with the raw material to manufacture coal oil and gasolene.

Capital requires labor, and as the British money monger hoodwinked the warrior, he can also decoy the Jew to develop the Holy Land and build transportation lines to the holy oil holes, and make profit for the owners of the key of the house that the Jewish people are asked to live in.

GEO. PATON.

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 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.