

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMIC
PHILOSOPHY

No. 850

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 1, 1921.

FIVE CENTS

Imperialist Expansion

IMPERIALISM means conquest,—conquest of the world market. It is the accrued policy of the ruling class of Empires, i.e., nations, their colonies and outgrowths—to attract to themselves the wealth of the world. Step by step capitalist development has grown from petty production and local exchange to national production and exchange, to the comity of international commerce.

The day of the small trader and reactionary exclusiveness has gone by, and in their stead reigns the mighty octopus of Imperialism, extending its tentacles in all directions, assembling under one flag all manners and colors of peoples, gathering to itself the overflowing surplus of their exploitation. Where yesterday there was a diversity of little nations, developing in commercial intercourse with each other, with the world's resources inviting yet unexplored, today there are a scant half dozen Empires, controlled by a few groups of powerful overlords, vested in every natural resource, with the world explored, classified and divided, facing each other in deadly rivalry for further development.

Further development would seem to imply Imperialist development—augmented and accelerated. If capitalist society is to continue in existence, only in that development can the world's peoples find the wherewithal of existence. In the face of the vast and intricate mechanism of the greater industry the niggard experiments of liberal philosophy can hardly prove effective to the purpose. And moreover, the burden of executive expense in support of the industrial and commercial system has assumed such proportions that only in increased accumulation can the growing impositions be sustained. The struggling bourgeoisie of the lesser dimension may sigh for the "time of plenty," but the shadow on the dial cannot be put back.

But all such increased accumulation must be at the expense of a rival Imperialist power. The ruling class of one Empire can only enrich itself by appropriating the exploiting power of another. Yet this appropriation involved, on the one hand, not alone an added drain on accumulated wealth, but an actual hindrance to its acquirement, for to that extent it limits the outlet for its surplus production, and on the other hand—and concomitantly—a rapid extension of social destitution, i.e., industrial stagnation.

The nature of capital is such that it cannot move without accumulation; without profit and surplus for more profit. To exist it must despoil. But the process of despoilation takes place through human interest, i.e., the production and exchange of human necessities takes place through the medium of private ownership. Capital, in developing commerce has (which, perhaps is the same thing) developed social necessity and doing so has knitted the nations together. No Empire can produce and supply its own developed necessities; no Empire can live exclusively to itself; their activities are mutually conditioned and on those conditions they unite or conflict.

Imperialism, in the concrete, is thus self interest, the interest of private corporations. Naturally it wants to survive; and will not preservation itself furnish incentives for survival? Will not the consciousness of privilege aid the mechanic of need? Is not the evidence—and desire—for industrial reorganization patent? Is not social extremity apparent? And how can that extremity be alleviated

if not by better industrial organization? And if so, why may not interest and necessity, haltingly, walk together for yet a little longer? Driven into a sullen union under the impulse of capitalist necessity and privilege, social duress and tradition, and proletarian discord and misunderstanding?

It is not Imperialism that requires salvage. Imperialism is but one manifestation of capitalist development, and as in the past, more urgent material conditions will not fail to bring forth other phases of development. The term of Imperialism may have been brief, but mere time extension matters not, and the nearer capitalism approaches climax, the more rapid will be the manifestations of change and the more transient their operation. It is not Imperialism but the principle of exploitation that demands to be saved. And is not the next forward logical step monopoly organization, pure and simple? The cooperative co-ordination of all industry, the elimination of the struggling fry of small capitalists bringing with it the ruin of their pernicious philosophy, and the amalgamation of the world's proletariat on a common basis of class interest and class understanding.

That would mean the organization of capital in co-operative international groups, definite in character, demarcated in interest, thoroughly controlling all industrial and commercial operations, competing amongst themselves for greater power by every means, open and secret, striking at communism and its revolution and combined—as far as possible—on the mutual ground of privilege, against the increasing mass of dispossessed and thrall-like labor. Why not? Saving only revolution, what is to prevent it? Are not world affairs indicative of such an eventuation? Would not such an organization be welcome to Imperialist states now, distraught with baffling difficulties, impotent with discussions (at least sadly handicapped by them), foreign and internal, and saddled with debts and burdens almost beyond toleration?

What is the actual situation? Business is stagnant as a consequence of war economies. The Treaty of Versailles has drawn indemnities upon the Central Powers which the victors dare not accept—and yet cannot afford to reject. The same treaty has carved out new nations and boundaries, which cannot be maintained because they have dissolved the organization of industrial unity. Whole peoples are in distress because political exigencies have cut them off from the means of livelihood—such as it was. And still others are subsidised for the "glorious" purpose of counter revolution. The Treaty of Sevres has set France and Britain at variance on the oil, mandates and slave herding of the East. It has set the Greek against the Turk, the Arab against the Persian, in the hope of saving expansionist Britain from the unwavering kingdom of Bolshevism. The conditions of victory are steadily separating Britain and America, as steadily tending to unite Britain and Japan, involving the East—near, middle and far—in continual warfare, forcing Russia into a new road of development, shattering the sentimental unity of national Imperialism, and replacing it with the unity of interest of particular nationals in world commerce. And through it all, and greater than it all, society, destitute and miserable, clamoring not for the control of its own destiny, but for

a slave's job. How exasperatingly slow is social evolution.

Thus Imperialist expansion puts a brake on present production and builds for the future instead. Society is forced back from all too willing labor till the profits of greater industry shall refuse it—or some of it. Protectionist policies in all countries prohibit interchange of product and—what is worse, perhaps, from our point of view—the peasant everywhere is out for profit, i.e., thinks in terms of small production.

To these impossible conditions is the inevitable reaction. The American Legion, Red Cross societies, Relief organizations, famine leagues and leagues of nations are but so many political devices for the renewal of commerce. They tend (in combination with general economic vicissitudes), to further the projects of financial conferences and trade treaties. They draw particular countries together in terms of mutual interest, foster contracts for big business, veil the labyrinthian ways of diplomacy and delimit the terms for the final clearance of the pettifogging ideology of yesterday.

However, no matter what turn the road takes—international combines, proletarian revolt or chaotic conflict of town and country—it is abundantly evident that the socialist is not yet out of a job.

R

MENTAL PROGRESS.

Buckle says mental progress consists of "a two-fold progress, moral and intellectual. The first having more immediate relation to our duties, the second to our knowledge." The moral aspect finds its performance in duties recognised, and knowledge of their able performance constitutes the intellectual. All moral codes vary according to time and place, stage of community and state development, with which, of course, must be considered religious codes and their observance. The moral code of the superstitious barbarian compared with that of the present day Christian (considered otherwise than in its relation to the matter of property rights) present a close similarity, while in comparison, the intellectual stride of the latter is great.

By this is meant that while our "moral principles" were known to the ancients, modern intelligence, developed through industrial changes and organized in science, has achievements to record that were unthought of by the ancients. The modern religious man, recognising a moral code which he thinks is based upon and held together by religious belief and observance, at the same time and in company with his fellows, discovers ways and means whereby he may harness the forces of nature to his own use and in so doing he uncovers the cloak of his own superstitious beliefs upon which he has hitherto thought his "good" conduct, measured by his moral code, to be based. Thus the standards of religion are undermined and man's attention is more and more, as time goes on, reveted upon the realities of life. If he is a wage worker his moral code will be bound up in the ethics of his class, and his intellectual advancement will be measured by his recognition of his class interests.

M. M.

What is a Point of View?

BY C. STEPHENSON.

PART I.

When confronted by the same set of facts which go to make up a social problem, it is but too well known that opinions differ among people as to the nature and significance of the facts and, as a consequence, opinions differ as to what had best be done under the circumstances. While it is true that one of the essentials for unanimity of opinion is an exhaustive enquiry into the facts of a social problem and a wide distribution of information about them, it is not the only essential. It often comes as a discouraging shock to many people, who hoped for a harmonious settlement of some problem as a result of a reasoned consideration of all the facts, to find, after all, that unanimity of opinion as to the nature of the problem is not thus necessarily ensured. The trouble, in such a case, as in like case with the social problem exhibited by our industrial system today, is that the differences of opinion arise only in comparatively small degree from lack of acquaintance with facts, but mainly arise from differences in the point of view, i.e., in a difference in mental prepossessions which form the bases of opinion or standards of judgement, with which different people approach the observation and consideration of the facts of a problem. In this article, I am treating of the points of view upon social problems and why they differ. In Veblen's "The Vested Interests," a small volume of collected essays, he has, in part, this to say: "What is spoken of as a point of view is always a composite affair: some sort of a rounded and balanced system of principles and standards, which are taken for granted, at least provisionally, and which serve as a base of reference and legitimation in all questions of deliberate opinion. So when any given usage or any line of conduct or belief is seen and approved from the modern (capitalist, C. S.) point of view, it comes to the same as saying that these things are seen and accepted in the light of those principles which modern men habitually consider to be final and sufficient. They are principles of right, equity, propriety, duty, perhaps of knowledge, belief, and taste."

The capitalist or bourgeois point of view supports the present industrial system of production for profit through the exploitation of wage-labor, and regards as sacred the "rights" of private property in the material means of wealth production. The Socialists aim for a revolutionary overturn of the capitalist system of production, into an industrial system based upon the common ownership of the means of wealth production; production to be carried on for the livelihood of society as a whole primarily, instead of for the profit of a few.

The knowledge of the twentieth century of the ways and means of production, is the cumulative result of the experiences of the human race all down the ages. It is a social product and it is in the possession of society as a whole, though the bulk of it, is in that section of society, the producing population. This knowledge is ineffective unless it has access to the material means of production. The discretionary use and the benefits of this knowledge are thus in the control of the capitalist class who own the material means of production, to which society must have access in order to live. The bourgeois point of view regards this industrial order of things as eternally right and good.

The socialist point of view, on the other hand, denounces that order of things and claims that the so-called eternal and sacred "rights" of property are mere prescriptive rights, i.e., rights that, by long use and custom, together with coercive force and partizan education, have received social sanction in law. Thus their tenure is a temporary one, and it may be annulled without fear of offending the (supposed) eternal verities, divine or otherwise. The Socialist point of view holds that it is in the best

interests of society, even a dire necessity, that it take over the material means of production and operate them as a social plant for the benefit of society as a whole. The bourgeois point of view conceives of an industrial system as existing for private advantage. The Socialist point of view conceives of it as a means or an instrument of community welfare. This disregarding of the metaphysical concept of "rights" to private ownership in the material means of wealth production, and regarding the industrial organization solely in its functional aspect is characteristic of the mechanistic thought that is a typical product of the influence of the machine processes of production on the mind of this age. As propagandists of that point of view, Socialists are but the conscious expression of the great social drift towards a new order of life and thought.

Socialists have the task set them of removing from the minds of the working class the bourgeois point of view, and, of substituting in its place the Socialist or revolutionary proletarian point of view. Therefore, the nature of a point of view, its source, how it is acquired, and the quality of its hold on the mind should be worthy of consideration as having a bearing on our educational work, both as to its character and to our methods. This article is but a summary treatment of its subject, to which is applied the materialistic conception, but I hope it may serve as a good lead to thought on the subject.

Points of view, I have already said, are mental prepossessions, a balanced system of ideas, which serve as the bases of opinion. They are a set of ideas, a mental attitude, which we possess beforehand and bring to bear upon any matter the mind takes up. Such ideas are always regarded by those who hold them as "common sense" ideas. Mental prepossessions are the reflections of the social and natural environment. Thus there are group prepossessions, as, for instance, occupational prepossessions, the prepossessions of class, and natural prepossessions. These are also the prepossessions of a particular age or epoch, which prevail generally throughout all sections of society. These mental prepossessions pertain to those broader features of human interest with which art, science, religion and philosophy deal, and in some degree they may be regarded as a consensus of all the other prepossessions and as thus expressing the intellectual temper of an age. All these specific prepossessions may exist in the mind together, but merging with and modifying each other. Being reflections of the material environment ever in process of change, the mental prepossessions are thus subject also to change, but being ideas that have become habits of thought, engraved in the minds by long use, they persist in the mind as traditional prepossessions, sometimes long after the material conditions which gave them birth have passed away. However, they are subject to displacement by the ideas which spring out of new material conditions. Thus in every mind there is a constant war going on between the traditional prepossessions and the new ones for the dominant position. Man is, in that sense, a dual personality. Prepossessions of that nature, prevalent during any age, are the cultural effect upon the mind or the discipline of the habits of life of a people enforced by the manner and conditions of procuring a livelihood on the one hand, and on the other, by those habits of life entailed in conforming to an order of institutions economic, political, legal and religious, around which, as the organs of the body politic, a society may be organized. These factors, the conditions of work-day life and the institutional character of the society, which latter is conditioned on the stage of development in production, are the great cultural influences in a social environment. Either of these factors will be dominant as a cultural influence according to whether industrial activity, as in capitalism, or predation and war, as in feudal society, is the dominant feature in the social life of a people.

Every age has its own general prepossessions held to more or less firmly by all sections of society. Thus we are able to contrast the point of view of antiquity with that of medieval times, and the latter with the modern point of view, and to trace the slow and gradual change from one to the other, due, not to the self-developing power of intelligence, but, primarily, to changes and improvements in the ways and means by which society gets its living and, secondarily, as an outcome of those changes, to changes in the institutional features of society. Such points of view then, being the mental reflexes of habituation to material conditions of life, are not consciously acquired and are thus not of reasoned conviction; they are, on the contrary, held uncritically in every age. It is from such prepossessions that men arise, as it were, from a spring-board to a reasoned consideration of facts. When the material conditions of life change, they enforce new habits of life and thought, at first among those coming most nearly under their influence, as well as among a few sensitive intelligences. Later, they affect the whole of society in some degree as the new conditions become more and more the normal and dominant features of a new order of social life. The old prepossessions gradually lose force, but die hard, for they have the tenacity of age-long habits. The natural slowness of mental change, caused by the retarding effect of habit, is still further augmented in class societies by the efforts of ruling classes to preserve the traditional point of view.

Within every society based upon the institutions of property, classes arise with conflicting economic interests. As this conflict develops, besides the different points of view which arise from differences in modes of life, there also arises in each class a point of view antagonistic to the other class or classes as the case may be. Though the prepossessions held in common by society at large are the result of habituation to certain material conditions of life and are thus not consciously acquired or of reasoned conviction, the class prepossessions, in so far as they relate to the conflict of economic interests, are a result of a more or less successful reasoned apprehension and consideration of the conflicting interests at issue between the classes. Such reasoned out prepossessions may be also, by habitual study and reflections on the economic questions at issue between the classes, so strengthened as to become mental habits, and thus we can have instant and effortless recourse to judgment upon which to form opinion on any social question involving a class viewpoint. This habit-contracting trait of the human mind acts as a labor saving device without which we could hardly exist as reasoning beings; for, we should endlessly have to laboriously reason out a basis of judgment for each one of the innumerable opinions and decisions that life activities call for.

Part II. of this article deals with the animistic preconception of primitive man as an illustration of the nature of a point of view.

THE FAMINE AS A MEANS OF PRESSURE

Moscow July 26th.

"Rosta Wien."

The statement of foreign papers that the Soviet government has applied to the American government for the despatch of food and that the former has surrendered the control over this food is an invention of these papers. America has made no proposals to the Soviet government in reference to the despatch of food and in the same way the Soviet government has carried on no negotiations with America. The foreign press have merely made use of the appeals of Maxim Gorky and the Patriarch Tiekon to make demands upon the Soviet government.

(Since this message left Moscow the bourgeois press brings reports of a definite proposal on the part of Mr. Hoover. These proposals are bound to lead to negotiations. The fact that these reports have crossed should not however lead to confusion.)

An Appeal to All Slaves

THE fast changing conditions that drive the proletariat to think, and in many cases to act in a certain direction, is the dynamic force of nature, working toward the economic freedom of all mankind.

Capitalist civilization has not come here because we lived through the ages, kings, rulers, schemers of various kinds, but because the objective conditions outside of us kept changing, nature's forces buffeting mankind hither and thither like a ship without a rudder on the angry billows. Man, being an animal and a product of nature, had from time to time to conform to the conditions outside of him or go out of existence. We can follow him from the time he emerged from the primeval forest and follow his career right until he arrives at civilization; we can clearly see that the conditions imposed upon him in different ages, in different geographical areas, determined his mode of making his living, his institutions, his morals, his religion or short his general make up, including physical and mental characteristics.

It is from a viewpoint of change, or in other words "evolution" in its broad sense, that the anatomy of mankind today can be analyzed. His customs and habits can only be explained when we understand that his hunt for food in all history was the driving force; all animals have got to eat to live, and before they can reproduce their kind.

Man is conservative by nature. He clings to the ideology of the past after the conditions that might his ideas have greatly changed. We therefore find a conglomeration of ideas, antagonistic and conflicting in character. The average American merely believes that the U.S.A. form of government is the most democratic and best in the world. The Englishman boasts of the roast beef of Old England even on an empty stomach; he also tells you of the Englishman's high sense of fair play, justice, etc., when millions of men and women are destitute and going hungry all around him.

Changes take place, and can only be noticed in the relationship of time and place is considered. When the mode of getting a living changes the institutions will eventually change also, including the ideology of the people, which is generally the last to change.

With the development of capitalism science had made great strides in the competitive struggle. The operatives that built the great factories and the going greyhounds, etc., had to be taught and treated by their masters, that they be enabled to produce the maximum of profits.

Science has given man control over nature. To enable those who control the productive forces of society to glut the markets in a short space of time, it extends its usefulness to the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat in their great struggle for

economic freedom. It is the golden key that opens the door that has for years obscured the vision of fettered slaves in all lands. Yesterday it was the tool with the aid of which our masters accumulated untold wealth, and exploited their slaves to the full limit of the world markets. Today it is the weapon being wielded to free mankind from the last form of slavery. The proletarian Science, clarified from the impurities of superstition and reaction is here now to carry out its historical mission.

To those who understand capitalism and see its ugly aspects, its contradictions, its chaos and bankruptcy, they don't become alarmed, as knowledge can only come through understanding the laws and forces of nature. We see capitalist civilization in all its gaiety and culture; we also see the dark, ugly sores planted and inherent in it. We see its carnage of blood and murder, with its prostitutes, intellectual and otherwise, with its foul smelling slums, hunger and privation, disease and death, yes, with its pie and mansions in the sky, but only for the slaves after they are dead. The benevolent charity of those who own the earth and the fullness thereof, meting out doles to hungry slaves. Silk clad females of the bourgeois giving out their cast-off clothing and kind looks to the wives and children of the damn poor. We see the bread line and tickets for soup to the hungry unemployable.

Fellow workers, exert your thinking tank, if any be left, and learn to understand why your misery becomes more miserable. Understand why members of your class do jail sentences and are persecuted by those who rule in all climes.

You who build mansions for those who control your life, you who build beautiful limousines and never ride in them, you who fought your master's battles, who have bled for them in all past wars, get down to business and learn to understand the first time in your hungry lives why your babies go hungry and half naked.

The old earth is bountiful, with your aid all appetites can be appeased if you will only understand the barrier that stands between you and the grub pile.

You slaves of the ages, learn that history is in your favour; cast aside the shackles that tie you to a master class. Read the message of Socialism. Listen to those who expound the knowledge that leads to emancipation and happiness to the whole human race.

Your masters can't solve their own problems. The voice of the industrial proletariat is calling for your help, from the four corners of the earth; they alone can solve society's problems; their's is the historic mission to fulfill. Arise out of your lethargy and help in the great strife for freedom.

D. MACPHERSON.

"G.B.S." Takes the Veil.

Book to Methuselah. A Metabiological Pentateuch.
By G. Bernard Shaw. (Constable.)

LIKE ourselves (and Wells) Shaw regards education as the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night. Unlike Wells, who, if too advanced in years to be a revolutionary, is an earnest thinker and courteous in controversy—at least to bearded contemporaries—Shaw has a transcendental disregard for fact which prevents him being anything but a boisterous rebel. If Wells's views on education are warped by the miasma of social solidarity, he must at any rate be credited with singularly profound insight on the less direct-political aspects of teaching. Shaw's brisk excursions into the political issues of education leave with no residual energy for useful comment in other directions.

Being politically an apostle of social solidarity he sees in deficient social education the sources of our political and economic evils; and being professionally an epigrammatist he contrasts this with the diabolical efficiency of our technical instruction, the gross defects of which (unlike Wells) he elects to ignore. Having overlooked the class structure of society he fails to recognise that our present system of social education—which sends young men in unthinking thousands to the shambles, keeps up a constant supply of labor leaders who preach increased production in the teeth of company reports showing hundred per cent. bonuses, and so befogs the minds of a large section of the community with celestial glories as to inhibit any intelligent attempts towards material benefit—is in point of fact most damnably efficient in fulfilling its function, i.e., in serving the needs and policies of the governing classes of Europe.

As the Play, itself has neither coherence nor conspicuous dramatic power, the Preface chiefly invites comment. This is certainly not dull, since the author rarely uses mere argument where vituperation can be conveniently substituted. It contains a

religion, an ethic and an epistemology, combining the more sinister defects of Christojudaic mysticism upholstered in the new mythological outfit.

The crux of the matter is that Shaw feels compelled to inflict a moral consciousness on the universe. Disregarding the objection of Dietzgen and the modern scientific philosophers (Ostwald, Mach, Whitehead et alia) that such a procedure lies outside the limits of verifiable knowledge, the only difficulty Shaw finds is the seeming imperfection of the works of God. This he contrives to get rid of (along with poor old Helmholtz's eye) by introducing evolution as likewise overcargued with moral endeavour and purged of materialism. The latter achievement rests on the revitalisation of Lamarck, whose views on evolution are about as germane to modern biology as a discussion of what Christ would have thought about Einstein and the Morley-Michelson experiment if he had lived in the same house as Lord Haldane.

No experiments hitherto performed, Shaw declares (by that you understand since the eighties, when Weismann entered the lists and Shaw found the further pursuit of current scientific advances tedious), dispose of the Inheritance of Acquired Characters, because they consist of mutilations that have no regard for the animal's own moral preoccupations; therefore they are not habits—also not acquirements. If you can follow this suggestive train of thought you may be able to understand why the mere disposal of certain experiments performed in the eighties (supposing they are discredited by this ingenious dialectical artifice) and the disregard of any evidence that has since appeared constitute a reason for accepting the Lamarckian principle. Presumably—evidence or no evidence—we must believe in Lamarck, because of the "humane conclusions" of Shaw's incorrigible fellow dilettante Samuel Butler, and while "possible to many for whom Nature is nothing but a casual aggregation of inert and dead matter" is "eternally impossible to the spirits and souls of the righteous."

But it would be an injustice to Shaw to state that he belongs to the nineteenth century merely in his total inability to throw off the teleological outlook. His attitude to truth is that of the eighteenth century in its remoteness from working values. Indeed, it leads him to insist that artists get there before the scientist. Nor does he pause to note en passant that artists get into so many surprising (and inconvenient) corners that the occasional success of an Empedocles in anticipating a scientific theory is inevitably lost sight of in the general confusion till experimentalists come to the rescue. Along with the mechanism of Modern Science, Karl Marx is brightly and summarily dropped into the tempestuous waters of inchoate invective. Marx was one of our materially-minded comrades, too gross to envisage the vital bond between the working-class demand to control its destinies and the revolt of Bayswater spinsters against chloroforming cats.

The indecency of coupling the proletarian movement with all these anti-vivisectionist—anti-vaccinationist—uric-acid—free-diet—sun-cooked-food and kindred reactions of the bourgeoisie to forces it has itself liberated, is only exceeded by the improbability of the working class ever achieving its emancipation until it throws off the slave ethic of humanitarianism for the robust and conscious Will to Power of men themselves about to become a governing class. When a younger man Shaw himself expressed this with vigour and dramatic force in the gospel of St. Andrew Undershaft. But the new Shavian ethic is a condensation of the decadence of Androcles. And if inspired by the earlier Shaw you will assuredly have no pity to waste on the author of Major Barbara living to witness his own intellectual putrefaction.

Thus Shaw, like his master Tolstoi, turns to end his pilgrimage in the convent. He accepts. He has become his old bogey, "the just man made perfect." To this, at last, has his unrepentant amateurishness brought him! "THE PLEBS"

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C.,
Phone Highland 2583

Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor Ewen MacLeod

Subscription:

Canada, 20 issues \$1.00
Foreign, 16 issues \$1.00

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VANCOUVER, B. C., SEPTEMBER 1, 1921

THE INVASION OF BREAD

THE anxiety of the Allied governments over the Russian famine is shewn in its true light by the efforts of each group to edge out the other as relief administrator, a term which might be better understood to mean relief interventionist. Where Denekine, Koltchak, Yudenich and Wrangel failed to subject the Soviets to the rule of capital, it is the hope of these statesmanlike gentlemen that famine may succeed, and "they will make their charity pay dividends in the way of anti-Bolshevik propaganda" to the end that a form of government suitable to themselves and contributory to their interests, whatever structural form circumstances may require it to assume, may be established, whereby the exploitation process may be continued and, incidentally, a "bad example" to the international working class may be blotted out.

It is characteristic of all councils where matters of interest to capital are under review by its spokesmen, that while the universal subjection and exploitation of wage-labor is agreed upon, control of the fruits of the exploitation process leads to disagreement between the groups involved, as in the case of the Russian famine, between U. S. A., France and Great Britain. Thus, while the U. S. A. Senate is anxious that its interests should be advanced under the guise of relief organization under Hoover, an astute business man with "experience" and a reputation, Mr. L. George puts forward the excuse against surrendering the interests of British capital to American administration, that the governing factor must be the Soviets themselves, since they control the transport and all the official machinery of the country. At the same time, in France, the home of disappointed Russian creditors and the centre of counter-revolution, the government is declaredly against help of any kind toward relief, "unless the debts of the Czar's government be recognized," and the press is frankly outspoken in the hope that famine conditions will unseat the Soviets. Competitive conditions and the mutual distrust bred thereby give rise to some measure of co-operation, however, and we now have these watchful groups, with a jealous eye on one another, preparing to dispatch expeditions to Russia in the hope that they may find enough misery to enable them to stay there. We had the testimony of Col. Raymond Robins, chief of the American Red Cross in Russia in 1918 that, while in Russia he was officially chief of the American Red Cross he was at the same time a business adventurer with a roving commission directed toward the advancement of American economic interests; sometimes circumstances compelled co-operation with other national groups—British for instance—but the antagonism of American and British interests interfered with such co-operation. Given such a case, illustrating Red Cross operations while the war was still in progress, how deep is the sincerity of these business-like humanitarians now, fastening upon calamity in the hope of turning it to their own advantage, saving its victims for the exploitation they have in preparation?

As to the actual state of affairs in Russia today we need hardly refer to recent stories in the daily press of Russian conditions. Experience has taught the working class, or the observers among them, that where working class matters call for mention the

daily press is "partial and prejudiced" on the side of the master class. Indeed, there is no need to go to Russia for evidence of that, for press reports of every meeting of workers, strike, lockout, utterance or indictment proves it to those who will read and learn. Local news of such happenings and events among working people gives example always of the lying capacity of the press; how then may we rely upon news of the condition of affairs in Russia from such sources? Our experiences in Canada prompt a healthy scepticism.

Disregarding such obvious anti-Soviet propaganda, we have the word of Chicherin, Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, given in "The Manchester Guardian," reproduced from "The Daily Herald."

"The Famine Relief Commission of the Central Executive has recognized a state of famine in ten provinces, in which severe, continuous drought has either destroyed the harvest entirely or left a yield of only 10 or 15 per cent. of the average. In some localities, however the bad harvest affects certain crops only. The ten provinces have a population of about 18,000,000.

To maintain the rural population on only half the usual rations, excluding cattle, a minimum of 41,000,000 poods of food supplies (660,000 tons) is required from outside, while to feed the town population 300,000 tons is needed. For seeds in the district where the harvest is completely lost 250,000 tons are required before September 15. It cannot yet be determined, until data of the harvest elsewhere is collected, what part of these needs can be supplied by Russia herself. The stricken provinces have no old grain stocks left, and deliveries from other provinces can only be limited at present.

In spite of the great distress, there have nowhere occurred disorders. With the assistance of the Soviet authorities, people have sought to move from the hardest hit districts to others more prosperous, but this movement nowhere assumes a form menacing public safety and order. In its fight against the famine the Russian Government has the ardent support of citizens of all views."

In the midst of these conditions, "Rosta Wien" reports (from the Central Statistical Bureau) that "there will be an increase in the grain yield this year of fifty million pood (pood, 36 lbs.) in spite of the fact that whole districts are without grain." (Thus, if the daily press propaganda is analyzed, we see that if the Soviet government is to be held responsible for the failure of the crops in one region, it must be credited with success in another).

M. J. Olgin, in "The New Republic," August 17, 1921 says in an article entitled "Agarian Problems in Soviet Russia" "It is well to remember, however, that famine has not been unknown in Russia these last thirty years and that the endurance of the Russian masses is beyond Western comprehension. The Soviet organization, with its quick and decisive method of action, may turn out more capable of facing such a crisis than any other administration. It may be assumed with a degree of certainty that even the present famine will not disrupt the social fabric of new Russia." All of which is of small comfort to the invaders, whose hopes lie in famine destroying the Soviet government.

"The Nation" (New York) August 24, 1921, publishes the following:

"Russia, the land of infant mortality and ignorance is also the land of famines. This is due to the climatic peculiarities. Its huge continental mass is often swept by drying winds. Also the primitive methods of agriculture are to blame. The ground is worked only on the surface, with primitive tools, and thus retains the moisture in a very small measure. Rational irrigation in Russia is practically unknown so that large districts of Russia are covered with standing water and huge plains are left without irrigation. The working of the fields is also irrational. The three-field system, which is common, leaves a third of the ground fallow

each season. Finally everyone who has visited Russia knows how many thousands and tens of thousands of hectares of black earth lie unworked owing to lack of animals and through the will of the population. The former social and political system and also nature are to blame for this. Last of all the foolish policy of deforestation has contributed a great deal, as for example in causing the sinking in the level of the Volga. . . . This year's harvest will exceed that of last year by fifty million poods (835,000 tons) thanks to the extension of the acreage due to measure taken by the Soviet government."

It should be noted that this extra grain over last year's harvest comprises the estimated grain over all Russia, and that mention is made of some areas where there is a surplus as being "the least rich in grain from which bread can be made." It will be readily seen that despite famine conditions the chief task of the Soviets is reconstruction of transportation. Given transportation facilities relief could be carried from plentiful areas to those in distress.

The present need is for relief for the sufferers. The working class throughout the world will lend their aid willingly. Their financial aid will be given where possible and their jealous regard for the welfare of the Soviets must prompt them to watch carefully for "offensive" tactics under the cloak of humanitarian missions headed by representatives of the business elements of France, Great Britain and the U. S. A. In the meantime, contributions may be sent to Dr. J. W. Hartmann, Treasurer of "Friends of Soviet Russia" and editor of "Soviet Russia," 201 West Thirteenth St., New York.

RESPONSIBILITY.

The doctrine of Determinism would seem, at first glance, to be rather a hopeless one. For this reason there was written a pamphlet, "Does Determinism Destroy Responsibility?" The answer was "no," which, strictly speaking was not altogether comprehensive. It must be remembered that "responsibility" has at least two distinct meanings, the one being "liability to respond" and the other "accountability." According to the determinist all actions are necessitated and compelled, which eliminates responsibility.

But in the sense that man can "respond" to influences, as a ship or an automobile "answers" to the turn of the steering wheel, he is responsible, for he can be educated, advised, restrained, coerced, loved, medically treated or utterly destroyed. The more intelligent or rational a man is, the more responsible he becomes and the more accountable for his actions without "the fear o' Hell," which Burns characterises as "a hangman's whip to hand (hold) the wretch in order."

Man, as "lord of creation" interferes with nature's forces and uses them for his own purposes. When these forces are turned to serve the needs of life we recognise their value to us and our need for further understanding of their laws. Unfolding circumstances compel man toward investigation of natural forces and toward harnessing them for his own purposes. If his objective at any time may be gained without interrupting the natural operation of these forces he lets them alone; if not, he first investigates, then cautiously, and with increased understanding "uses" nature and directs its forces. His responsibility lies toward his fellow men and in this day and age it assumes a class character. Nature is bountiful and the race of men are able to gather the fruits. The problem before us now and the responsibility upon us is to awaken working class responsibility so that those who gather the fruits may partake of them to the exclusion of all idlers. "P."

Concerning Value

Subjection of Industry to Capital—Concepts of the Classical School—The Labor Theory and Supply And Demand.

BY "GEORDIE"

"In the precapitalist stages of society, commerce rules industry. The reverse is true of modern society. (This was written about the year 1865. G.) Of course, commerce will have more or less of a reaction on the societies between which it is carried on. It will subject production more and more to exchange value, by making enjoyments and subsistence more dependent on the sale than on the immediate use of the products. Thereby it dissolves all old conditions. It increases the circulation of money. It seizes no longer merely upon the surplus of production, but corrodes production itself more and more, making entire lines of production dependent upon it."

Capital, Vol. III, page 389.

This sphere within whose boundaries the sale and purchase of labor power goes on, is in fact a very Eden of the innate rights of man. There alone rule Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham. Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, say of labor-power, are constrained only by their own free will. They contract as free agents, and the agreement they come to is but the form in which they give legal expression to their common will. Equality, because each enters into relation with the other as with a simple owner of commodities and they exchange equivalent for equivalent. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. And Bentham, because each looks only to himself. The only force that brings them together and puts them in relation with each other is the selfishness, the gain and the private interests of each. Each looks to himself only and no one troubles himself about the rest, and just because they do so, do they all, in accordance with the pre-established harmony of things, or under the auspices of an all-shrewd providence, work together to their mutual advantage, for the common weal and in the interest of all."

Capital, Vol. I, page 195.

I have now shewn the independent development of the conditions which, I imagine, would account for the rise of the labor theory of value and the law of supply and demand. Not that such theories were formulated at the time in the form in which they afterwards appeared. The craftsmen and traders of the Middle Ages were not in the habit of rationalizing their conduct or explaining natural or social phenomena in terms of concrete science—that was to come later. The rise of the physical sciences is conditioned by the development of industry, and political economy by the social relationships so formed.

The Industrial Revolution, which took place in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century, completed the first phase of a process which had been going on for some two centuries—a process resulting in the subjection of industry to capital. Merchant's capital, at one time the predominant form of capital, in invading the sphere of industry became industrial capital, and mercantile capital, as such, had to take a subordinate place.

The predominance of industry and the capital employed in it over commerce and merchant's capital resulted in the triumph of those concepts and theories associated with industry, and in the subordination of those theories deriving from commerce.

The destructive criticism of the Mercantile System and its theories which was begun by the Physiocrats in France, was completed by the Classical school of Economists in England. Political economy became a more or less exact science and took on the complexion dictated by the interests of the now dominant manufacturing interests.

Here we may summarize the doctrines which formed the conceptual stock-in-trade of the Classical school. These were:

That the Supreme Being had created a perfect universe and established once for all a "natural and essential order" of things. This natural order included a complete system of natural laws, according to which the operations of nature took place. It was therefore the duty of mankind to ascertain precisely what these laws were and by acting in harmony with them ensure happiness and well-being for all. Particularly so as—logically enough, given the premises—the order of nature was conceived as being benevolent and progressive.

Incidentally, we may observe that the Supreme Being here mentioned is not the King of Kings of patriarchal times or the Suzerain of feudalism but goes by the name of the Great Artificer or Grand

Architect of the Universe in accordance with concepts engendered by the handicraft stage of industry. On this point see Veblen in "Instinct of Workmanship."

Secondly, that all men are born free and equal and are endowed by nature with certain rights, such as the right to Life, to Liberty and so forth. That, further, all inequalities are due to special privileges or restrictive legislation and that, these being removed, all men, by the working out of natural law and in accordance with the eternal principles of Truth and Justice, would, in seeking each his own interest, promote the interests of society as a whole. From this it results that the function of the State is conceived to be, after all restrictions have been removed, the purely negative one of seeing that no one interfered with any other's freedom or hindered him in the exercise of his rights. This is known as the doctrine of "laissez faire." This latter phrase is untranslatable but has been freely rendered as "let alone."

It has occurred to me that from this concept that men are free and equal comes also the claim that every man (or woman), simply because he (or she) is a man (or woman) has the right to the franchise. It would appear that "Democracy" must be classed along with the rest of the eighteenth century abstractions.

Thirdly, that labor was something irksome, if not exactly painful, in its nature, something to be avoided. (This is true enough, under capitalism.) It was therefore supposed that men in the pursuit of their own interests would naturally seek the greatest possible enjoyment (possession of wealth?) at the least possible expenditure of labor. This is the utilitarian theory. In its later forms, this theory assumes that men in their economic dealings consciously try to make a balance between "pain-cost" and "pleasure-gain." This process is known as the "hedonistic calculus." By the way, this last expression will bear some explanation. The word "hedonistic" is an adjective formed from the Greek word for pleasure, and the word "calculus" means "a little stone." It appears that the ancient Romans used pebbles for counting, much in the way the Chinese use a "swan-pan" or abacus, hence, our word "calculation."

Fourthly, there was the important doctrine that labor produced all wealth. From this were deduced certain further ideas, such as, that as labor was the sole producer of wealth it also created all (exchange) values, and that labor-time was the measure of value.

Further, every man had a right to the product of his labor—to the whole product of his labor. On this ground it was asserted that the only true basis for the right of property was labor. (This concept cannot be squared with the right of property in land, which could not have been produced by the owners and, for this reason many Liberals of a radical turn of mind, deny the right of property in land. For the same reason, the abolition of the right of inheritance has been advocated.)

Conversely, it was conceived that the property which a man had acquired ("honestly," of course) was, in some sense, the result of his labor and his income, normally and under freely competitive conditions, was a measure of his contribution to the social productive process.

It is no part of my present purpose to criticize any of these doctrines. All that I am now concerned with is to point out that, owing to the predominance of industry, the labor theory of value, which I shall now call the Law of Value, had come into its own, and to shew the conceptual surroundings in which it found itself.

Nevertheless, the trouble was only beginning. The concept was at variance with the facts. Ordinary observation in the market shewed that prices of commodities rose and fell, independently of value, in accordance with supply and demand. This meant that the law of supply and demand had to be ad-

mitted if only in a subordinate capacity. Such an admission did not, however, present any real difficulty to the classical school holding, as they did, the beliefs I have just set forth. It is true, they argued that the "natural order" would work out to a perfect conclusion if unimpeded. But the "natural" order is not the "necessary" order. Because of the imperfections of human nature, ignorance, moral obliquity and artificial restrictions, there is a considerable divergence between what ought to happen and what actually does happen. There is no law of nature the operation of which is exempt from modifications, due to the conditions under which it acts. Falling bodies, for instance, do not, under ordinary circumstances act exactly according to the law of gravitation. They may (or may not) arrive as per schedule in a vacuum, but that is another story. Much more, then, in the case of those laws governing the actions of men in society may we look for discrepancies. Very well then, that price which would be determined by the labor-cost, by the human effort involved in the production of any commodity, would be its value or "Natural" price. The natural price would be the normal or central price round which would fluctuate the actual or "Market" price. A quotation from Adam Smith will illustrate this point, and will also serve to indicate certain other difficulties which will next be taken up.

"When the price of any commodity is neither more nor less than what is sufficient to pay the rent of the land, the wages of the labor, and the profits of the stock employed in raising, preparing and bringing it to market, according to their natural rates, the commodity is then sold for what may be called its natural price. . . . The actual price at which any commodity is commonly sold is called its market price. It may be either above or below or exactly the same with its natural price."

Wealth of Nations. Book I, Chap. vii.

As we see from this quotation a number of other things had to be accounted for. These were, for instance, rent and interest and profit. There was also the discrepancy between the value of labor and the value of the product. And, as time went on, still more difficulties. I hope to get round to these in time.

BUSINESS TODAY.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Herald" has turned to asking questions, as witness the following:—

What's the Answer?

"It is frequently stated now that the rehabilitation of purchasing power is the thing most essential for the full recovery of business, and that this can be brought about only by the speeding up of production the world over. This seems to be almost axiomatic. Yet the solution is not so simple as it may at first appear. A question has been raised, for example, as to the feasibility of more intensive production when there are already great stocks of goods that can find no market for the simple reason that people are not able to buy them. With a crop of more than 3,000,000,000 bushels of corn last year and another crop nearly as large now maturing, with enough wool stored in warehouses throughout the world to clothe the population for the next two years without shearing another sheep, with a carry-over of cotton amounting to more than 9,000,000 bales, with hides almost a drug on the market, a large portion of the population of Europe is going hungry, poorly clad, and unshod. It seems that more is needed than a mere speeding up of the process of production. Something that looks suspiciously like another of those "vicious circles" that have plagued the world so sorely in recent times appears to have developed. There is overproduction in some lines because there is underconsumption; there is underconsumption because of lack of purchasing power; there is lack of purchasing power because of unemployment; and there is unemployment because there is overproduction. Thus the vicious circle is complete. In the language of the man of the street, what's the answer?"

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 19.—CANADA.

THE insurrection of 1837—1838 was a revolt against the feudalism that had been transported into Canada by the French in the early days of the white settlers.

The feudal lords had the prison on the ground floor. They could banish obnoxious persons and confiscate their property and crops. They had their feudal dues paid in kind.

The court of justice was in the feudal lord's house, and all the damnable feudal punishments were introduced from France. The only difference in this respect, between France and Canada was that while the Nobles lost all their lands through confiscation during the Revolution of 1789, the French feudal lords of Canada received around 10 million dollars for the taking away of their ancient rights.

We have seen the Roman Church was the representative of feudalism previous to the reformation, and to strengthen feudalism in Canada she was granted prior to 1763, 2,096,754 acres of land. The result of this is to be seen in the vast wealth owned and controlled by the Seminary of St. Sulpice of Montreal. The Seigneurs, like their feudal lords of Europe, squeezed their vassals to pay with money, which, failing to pay, lost the labor they had expended on their land. Conditions were so oppressive that a riot occurred in Montreal as early as 1707.

The king of France had bestowed charters to their court favourites and merchants around 1627.

King Charles II. of England gave to his favourites extensive baronial rights, while other knights and merchants were given a perpetual charter in 1670.

Charles II. granted the charter to the Hudson's Bay Co., endowing the company with an exclusive and perpetual monopoly "of all seas, creeks, lakes, straits, bays, rivers and sounds in whatsoever latitude they shall be within the entrance of the Hudson Straits, adjacent to those waters not now possessed by any of our subjects or the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State."

Besides this exclusive trade and commerce the Company was granted possession of lands, minerals, forests, fisheries, etc., with full power to make ordinances and regulations, revoking same at their pleasure. The Company was empowered to employ armed force, erect forts, etc., and no British subject was allowed to trade within the Company's territory.

The Indians and Company's workers were prohibited from growing anything, and Indians were imprisoned if they sold furs to the settlers and the furs bought by them were confiscated.

The Company's land reached as far as San Francisco. The Indians were forbidden to gather and sell cranberries to the settlers. Indians were refused provisions if they did not comply with the orders, and as they had lost the original way of hunting with bow and arrow they had to depend on the Company for gunpowder for their game.

Therefore we see that feudalism had been transported into Canada. The revolt against feudalism was led by Wm. Lyon McKenzie in Ontario, and by Papineau in Quebec. The proclamation issued by McKenzie, chairman pro-tem of the insurrectionary provincial government, after stating the depotism of feudalism in robbing the proceeds of the land, charged, "that they had bribed and corrupted ministers of the gospel with wealth raised by our industry."

Their demands were separation, a legislation chosen by themselves, free press, civil and religious liberty, free education and other freedoms the greatest of which was "freedom of trade," to be allowed to buy at the cheapest and sell at the dearest market.

This proclamation which is the very essence of capitalism, seeking freedom of trade, was published in the Toronto "Mirror" of 30th Dec. 1837. In Lower Canada, a proclamation was issued by Dr. Robert Nelson, president of the insurrectionary party, which contained the following platform:

- 1st.—Republican form of government.
- 2nd.—Indians no longer disqualified civilly.
- 3rd.—Abolition of feudal tenure of land.
- 4th.—Dissolution between Church and State.
- 5th.—Freedom of Press and other reforms.
- 6th.—All Crown lands, clergy reserves in the hands of British American Land Co., to be the property of the State of Lower Canada.

The insurrectionists' main plea was **freedom of trade** and capital to have a free hand in the development of natural resources, manufacturing, navigation, and transportation. They pointed to the United States and asked: "why Canada was so backward?" Answering their own question they said: "because of the surviving feudalistic conditions in Quebec and Ontario, placing the monopoly of trade in the hands of the church, seigneurs and others, and because of the feudalistic laws incompatible with the requirements of the age, the spirit of which was individual enterprise and full personal freedom of trade." The prohibition of importing articles unless from Britain was still in force, similar to the conditions of the States before the Revolution.

The usual superficial character of the insurrection was religious and sentimental, but in reality it was of a distinct economic nature.

The Scotch Presbyterians gave much support to McKenzie, being irritated at the refusal of the Church of England to recognize them as an established church. This anger was not based on the refusal of recognition, but because recognition meant an equal right to the allotment of clergy reserves or Glebes.

The clergy of the favoured denominations, professing to speak in the name of God said that the Church never permitted revolt against lawful authority. The Protestants finally obtained a share of one to every two Episcopalians.

When a bill was brought in to alienate the funds of those lands in 1850, although allowing stipends, the Archdeacon of Kingston and clergy said, "what infidels."

In September and October, 1852, a Mr. Brown moved that as the Protestant clergy had got by fraud or error 227,559 acres in Lower Canada, and 300,000 in Upper Canada, measures should be taken to recover the funds taken for that land; whereupon the Bishops of the Episcopalians of Quebec, Toronto and Montreal protested against this confiscation, successfully.

In 1854 an act was finally passed alienating the church from all vested rights in reserves, but leaving the clergy certain allowances and stipends during their natural life and encumbrances. From 1814 to 1854 the total paid to the clergy for final settlement in Ontario was \$3,843,977, as follows:—

- Episcopalians £309,482. After act £188,342.
- Presbyterian £90,891. After act £127,448.
- Roman Catholic £40,000. After act £20,932.
- Methodists £21,855. After act none.

The Roman Catholic Church was left unimpaired in Quebec Province. By a stroke of the pen the Seminary of Montreal was put into full legal rights.

In the 5th report of the British Government Lord Gosford, Charles Edward Grey, and George Gipps, Canadian Commissioners, reported in 1836 that all of them were agreed in the opinion that after the British conquest the Seminary of Montreal had no valid title or standing but was dependent wholly on the pleasure of the crown. But they recommended that the Seminary's title be confirmed.

This grant of the landed estate, which in Montreal is of enormous value reaching tens of millions of dollars, has made the Seminary one of the largest stock and bondholders in Canada. This explains the opposition not only to socialism but also to single tax from this quarter.

The stripping of Episcopalian clergy of their vested rights in ecclesiastical lands was a harder blow than the abolition of the entire 39 articles of faith. From the insurrection down, the history of Canada has been a development of the ethics of capitalism.

The members of the legislature, granted all kinds of land, money, etc., to concerns the members were financially interested in.

The granting of a railway bill giving the Dunsmuirs mines in Nanaimo, estimated by one member as worth 10 to 100,000,000 dollars, while one Charlton stated it was a huge swindle, is an example.

Between 1884—1885, out of 3,900 square miles of timber granted, members of Parliament obtained 1,150 square miles.

One of Ottawa's M.P.'s (Robillard) owned a half interest in a 79-mile timber limit license which he had been instrumental in getting. Robillard pocketed \$15,000 as his share when the grant was sold.

The total grant to railroads up to 1913 was:—

- Land, 56,052,055 acres.
- Cash Subventions, \$244,000,000.
- Guaranteed bonds, \$245,000,000.

An estimate of the land value made at a convention of manufacturers at Halifax was \$20 an acre.

Most of the M. P.'s were promoters of railways. The incorporation of fire and other insurances, banks, etc., was accomplished by M.P.'s as incorporators.

The wealth of Canada has become so concentrated that it is estimated 50 men control \$4,000,000,000, more than 1-3 of Canada's material wealth expressed in railways, banks, factories, mines, land, etc.

They do not own it, but control it because of owning over 50% of the stock.

From January 1909 to January 1913 56 companies absorbed 218 individual companies. We had the following concentration from 1891 to 1906.

	manufactories,	numbering
Boots,	5,398	138 in 1906
Carpets.	557	5 in 1906

This was the tendency of all kinds of manufactures.

Therefore, Canada has become industrialized and has entered the world's market as a competitor, and the dream of the golden west as far as the wage slave is concerned has vanished, and the social sores which affect the body politic of the old lands are becoming more prominent upon the body politic of this New Country.

For more history of Canada read "History of Canadian Wealth," by Myers.

P. T. LECKIE.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Walter Wilson \$1.; J. Schultheis, 50 cents; Bill Jones, \$5; R. C. Mutch, \$1; J. Craig (per S. R. Davy) \$2; Tom Smith \$1.

(Above C. M. Fund contributions from 11th to 29th August, inclusive, total \$10.50.

The Coming World War

The following is the final chapter of a short book by E. Varga on "The Present World Crisis in Capitalist Economy," and has been translated by W. H. Mainwaring for "The Plebs."

WHILE during the next few years the European proletariat will be engaged in its struggle with capital, the three great Imperialistic Powers—the U. S., England and Japan—will be engaged in a struggle amongst themselves, a struggle for world power and dominion. It is impossible to avoid this conflict under the laws of capitalist society. By the elimination of Russia and the impoverishment of Central Europe the world market has been reduced. These Powers have now weapons in hand to decide who is to be master.

The conflict has already begun. The most aggressive at the moment is the United States. During the war she rose to the position of being the greatest industrial power in the world.* Now the great bourgeoisie of America, with Harding at the helm, is engaged in the endeavour to reduce the political and maritime power of England.

Already the differences between England and Japan on the one side and of the U. S. on the other are becoming wider and more immediately pressing. The U. S. seeks to secure herself against England's monopoly in exploiting the oilfields of Mesopotamia. Strong speeches in the Senate have referred to the fact that England obtains cheap American petroleum and sells it at a much dearer rate to American ships in Asia. England is charged with attempting to create a monopoly outside of the U. S. There are continual references in the American press and periodicals to the possibility of war with England, and protestations were made against the creation of the League of Nations, which, through the absence of America and the exclusion of Germany and Russia, has become a mere instrument for the exercise of world power by England—the award of the Pacific island of Yap to Japan being an example. England is embittered by the competition of American industry which tends to force her out of the century old monopoly of the world markets, amongst others of the coal industry.†

The U. S. refusal to give favourable consideration to the question of the mutual cancellation of war debts amongst the allied nations has aroused considerable dissension in England. The stage is being prepared for open war. The U. S. naval construction programme has been so far increased that in a few years the English fleet will be outstripped by one half. The army is also to be enormously increased. The creation of new weapons of war, particularly the discovery of new deadly liquids and gases, is being fostered. The Panama Canal is to be fortified and defended with the most powerful artillery in the world.

General R. Lee Bullard, Commandant of the First Division of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, 1918, in an address to the Republican Club declared that America, since she was unprepared for war, was dependent during the war itself upon the British proletariat, and that British troops had to stand between American troops and the enemy until they became accustomed to the conditions. This state of things must not recur.

*According to Garry's address to the Iron and Steel Institute (The American Empire by Scott Nearing, p. 187) the U. S. proportion of the total world economy in 1920 consisted of:—

6 per cent. of the total population		7 per cent. of the earth's surface.	
25 per cent. of the Gold	52 per cent. of the Coal		
40 " " " Wheat	66 " " " Petroleum		
40 " " " Steel & Iron	60 " " " Copper		
40 " " " Lead	60 " " " Cotton		
40 " " " Silver	60 " " " Aluminium		
50 " " " Zinc	75 " " " Maize		

†The coal exports of the United States in thousands of tons were:—

	To France	To Italy	To Holland	To Sweden
In 1914.....	47	776	—	253
In 1919.....	532	1,633	722	—
In 1920.....	3,646	2,388	2,147	1,247

America must have an army prepared for war. It is the same kind of argument used in Germany before the war. Competition for the reduced markets and the enormous development of war industries tend to force on similar policies.

The coming war will, if the proletariat's victory does not intervene, completely destroy capitalism. As the last world war gave rise to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, and the impoverishment and partial breakdown of capitalism in Central Europe, so will the next war utterly destroy world capitalism.

War with America

A Clash Which is Near at Hand

A fanatical consumptive student at Sarajevo assassinated a scrofulous, mentally-tainted Austrian Archduke. And out of the incident came the war which, when it settled into its stride, was seen to be a struggle between England and Germany to decide the world's commercial supremacy. Some day in the near future a Japanese policeman will drop a brick on the pet corn of an American missionary, or a California merchant will mistake a Japanese laundryman for a member of the I.W.W. and plunk a bullet into his midriff. And when the smoke and dust have cleared, it will be found that England and the United States are deciding, in advanced civilized manner, the question of the world's commercial supremacy.

World Stage is Being Cleared for Next Last War

Today is the day of Imperialism. The capitalist system has reached its apex in the militant Imperialism of the Great Powers.

Out of the struggle for markets in which to dispose of surplus goods comes war. The imperative necessity of the English capitalists is to capture some of the markets which America dominates, and out of that conflict of interests war is inevitable.

There the other factors which are hastening the progress of events—

America held aloof from the Allies. It waged war distinct from them.

America followed the policy in the case of the peace settlement and the Allies followed it in the division of the spoils; a division which concerned itself with (a) territory, (b) communications, and (c) oil.

Territory means raw materials. America was left nothing.

America was given none of the German cables. After considerable snarling the Atlantic difficulty was solved. But communication across the Pacific is still denied America.

The trouble over Yap still goes on.

Yap is a small island of the Carolines and from it leads a cable to Guam and thence to Frisco. With Yap in Japanese hands at a time of war America, obviously, would be cut off from Asia. As a kind of set-off America obtained from China the right to establish a high-power wireless station at Shanghai. But some person or persons unknown whispered a few threatening words in the ears of the Chinese government and the concession was cancelled.

So much for territory and communication—

Now for oil.

Oil is the life-blood of modern capitalist production; it is the life-blood—or death-blood—of war.

Without oil, the carriers of wholesale death are paralysed.

Without oil, the aeroplane, the tank, the motor are as harmless as the toy soldiers a benevolent capitalist system manufactures to turn the first thought of the babes in the right direction.

The domestic demand of the United States now exceeds the supply. And the outside areas, except Mexico are monopolised by England—England saw to that at the Peace Conference when it gave itself mandates over all territory suspected of carrying oil.

On May 23 in the House of Commons Commander Monsell reported that the whole of the British Navy would shortly consist of oil-burning vessels.

That means that England has at last "struck oil" in quantities.

The cables haven't said where, but the May issue of the "Empire Mail"—a paper in which the moves of the shrewdest capitalists in the world are shown—said it in detail. The new finds are in north and northwest Canada.

The United States is fuming with a petulance that hides something like savageness because of this new turn. On April 30 (recorded in the Australian press on May 2) the U. S. government sent a note to Holland in which it shrieked (in diplomatic language, of course) because the Dutch company was excluding American capital from oil ventures, while allowing foreign capital other than American to participate. The "foreign" capital was English!

There are a number of factors other than those mentioned. They will form the subject of future exposures of the tragedy which is now being prepared; with one side or other as the hero, with one side or the other as the villain, and with the working class (if history is repeated) as the poor but honest village idiot.

It will be asked: Where does Japan enter the picture?

Japan enters the picture in the first few feet of film. And it stays in the picture. At the present time it is dominating the picture.

In London a bunch of capitalist politicians from the various dependencies, dominated by the two leading capitalist politicians of England—Lloyd George and Churchill—are wrangling over the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. At least the wrangling now appears to have concluded. Hughes having "controlled," "swayed," etc, etc, (according to the cables; the real position is that Lloyd George—ininitely the cleverer man—is using Hughes and working through him) the conference in favor of renewal.

Hughes knows that war between England and Japan on the one hand and America on the other is inevitable.

Even before he left for London he blurted out the truth when he said:—

"Some of these gentlemen who say we would not fight with Asiatics against America are the very men who, when the war broke out, would not fight at all."

For economic reasons England made and must keep the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The coming conflict will probably open between Japan and America.

However, that it will open is certain. While the diplomats are kissing one another on the brow, crude persons are blurring out the truth—

There was Rear-Admiral Huz, for instance. Huz is commandant of the New York Navy Yard, and, in the course of a speech at Cincinnati (cabled to the Australian dailies on February 23), he said:

"If the United States stops building battleships it will be because some other nation has no money to build and wants to quit. I know some of you will catch your breath when I say we must have a navy large enough to fight England. We can construct different ships against Japan from those we construct against England."

As we fit the last slip into the typewriter, we hear the triumphant that-smashes-your-argument-remark: War between the English-speaking races is impossible and unthinkable, for "blood is thicker than water!" We merely smile a Marxist smile and humbly point out—

(a) that English-speaking America has in the past taken up arms against England;

(b) that the bloodiest war of the last century was between persons with ties closer even than language—the American Civil War; and

(c) that no blood is so thick that Capitalism will not shed it in lakes and wade through it neck deep; that no relationship is so near that Capitalism will not sunder it on the instant when economic necessity exerts pressure.

Lord Grey of Falloden knows. He said: "To say that a thing is unthinkable, says nothing. Those who know, know that this (war between England and America) could happen."

In only two countries in the world are people not war-weary—in America and Japan. And so the clash will almost certainly open between them.

What of Australia? England wants Australia's held in food and other supplies, and in men if pos-

(Continued on page 8.)

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
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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-increasing 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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WAR WITH AMERICA

(Continued from page 7.)

sible. And the move is to make Australia a party to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty.

The duty of every worker is to expose the nature of the Imperialist plot, watch for and point out every new development, and insist that the working class of Australia shall not be battered and smashed into insanity, physical wreck, or death, because of the sordid commercial schemes of English, American, or Japanese Imperialism.

—"Common Cause" Sydney, N.S.W.

The S. P. of C. and the Third International

Editor "Western Clarion."

Dear Comrade:

As to affiliation with the Third International, I have no fault to find with its ideas. But I cannot see where the S. P. of C. can gain anything, but rather that we might lose ground.

We must admit that we have had to expel some renegades from the Party, and as the S. P. of C. has no control over the actions of such renegades they would easily gain admission to a good many freak organizations such as the Second International, Labor Parties, Left Wingers, etc., but as the S. P. of C. has a clear record and has always stood for the complete emancipation of the working class, and has refused at all times any half-way measures, and at no time has entertained any idea of compromising with any organization not strictly Marxian, in my opinion, as long as the S. P. of C. continues along such clear and clean non-compromising lines, the workers of Russia or of any other country have nothing to fear as to the S. P. of C., but on the contrary they can and will place more confidence in the S. P. of C. because, if we do not affiliate with the Third International, the reasons are that we are not liable to affiliate with traitors to the cause who may affiliate with the Third International, unknown to the comrades.

The S. P. of C. cannot compromise with the renegades who have been expelled from its ranks and who would have joined other parties above referred to, and such parties with such members could now in mass accept the Third International and by so doing get into our ranks again and as we are approaching a critical period we might be hampered and betrayed by those who heretofore have proven traitors to our cause. In the event that enough of such traitors could get into the ranks under this affiliation, propaganda and propagandists could be hampered a great deal by the influence of their vote and otherwise.

So long as the S. P. of C. follows present methods the workers of the world need not fear any move on its part, but on the contrary would be compelled to place their utmost confidence in the S. P. of C., owing to the caution taken, even to not affiliating with the Third International owing to the dangers above stated.

And as the S. P. of C. is doing good propaganda work and cannot better their propaganda any by affiliating with the Third International, I see no reasons for affiliation, but can see a good many reasons for not affiliating.

H. A. Wiertz,
Youngstown, Alberta.

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A glance at these figures will show that our financial pulse is nearer normal than during the past few issues. The insistent demand for funds is, of course, annoying and we don't like to keep prodding Clarion readers into sub-hunting activities. But that is the only way. The interest of Clarion readers must spread itself to a gathering in of new readers. Every new sub helps the Clarion—we modestly refrain from mentioning the effect upon the new reader.