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Russia and the Powers

IN looking over the world events as they stand to date one can properly say that the first act in the drama of putting down the Bolsheviki is ended. It has ended with disastrous failure for the counter-revolutionary forces. Kolchak has quit, Denikine has been defeated and Yudenitch's forces have been exhausted, while the red army has driven its enemies before it on all fronts. In Russia, itself, the people have answered the call to keep the armies of the counter-revolutionists back, and given their support to the Soviet in its endeavor to organize industry and commerce. This has had the result that the Bolsheviki are more firmly in control of Russian affairs than they ever were.

The disastrous defeat of the armies hostile to the Bolsheviki has created a feeling of deep disappointment among the governments of Western Europe and America. The latter, as we know, had gone to a great deal of expense to help the counter-revolutionists. Indeed, for the last two years they have been expending much of their energy and resources in helping on the drive against the hated Bolsheviki. This scene has really occupied the center of the stage of world events for the last two years. The outcome of this conflict has overshadowed the issue at stake in the Great War. It might seem as if the Allies hastened to end the war so that they could give more attention to the Russians. To the Entente the victory of the Bolshevists was a greater terror than Prussian militarism; and the danger in the success of a working man's republic was greater than the existence of a capitalistic Germany, as a competitor in the scramble for world markets and spheres of influence.

It is thus with a great deal of chagrin that the capitalist nations see the curtain fall, for they had hoped by means of armies operating from the north and the east, and the south and the west, to build up a wall around Russia shutting it off from all communication with the outside, and locking up the wild-eyed, red-haired Bolshevist in the bleak plains of interior Russia, like a fox in a cage. But this deeply laid counter-revolutionistic scheme failed partly on account of the vigorous energy with which the Russians rose to defend the Revolution, and partly by the resistance given to the scheme by the war-weary proletariat of the capitalist nations concerned. This proletariat had learned from their experience in the war that the trench is not a place where the private meets honor and glory, but an inviting grave, and that capitalistic wars are carried on, not to solve the great problems of poverty and wealth, but to enrich the armament manufacturers and the profiteers, and to give more power and more influence to those capitalistic groups which carry off the victory. Thus, this proletariat was disposed to recognize a certain community of interests with the Russian working class, and, as enlightenment about Russian affairs grew, intsead of passively abetting the imperialist schemes of its governments, it put down its foot and demanded the recall of the armies sent against Russia. So as things stand now the capitalist powers are not only chagrined over the victory of the Bolsheviki but they are deeply aggrieved at the "Bolshevistic" proclivities of their own proletariat.

But as the end of the first act never ends a play, so the capitalist powers have not given up in despair their attempt to quell the Russian Revolution. What definite steps will be taken to this end is not known yet. It will most likely be thrashed out at the first congress of the League of Capitalists which is soon to meet. What the august and sedate keepers of the destiny of nations will decide as a means to settle this problem seems to be in the nature of keeping on building a fence around the Russians so as to effect, if nothing else, the prevention of the spread of Bolshevism, just as if the principles of Bolshevism and the spirit, which pervades and animates the Bolshevists, were a heavy gas that trailed along the ground and whose spread could be checked by the fire of machine guns.

This tactic, though it may seem puerile, is, under the circumstances the most favorable for the Powers to adopt. Their intention seems to be to erect a long line of subservient states from Finland through Dantzig to Odessa. The first section of this fence was built a few weeks ago when the Supreme Council gave Galicia to Poland for twenty years. The support of Roumania to this scheme is hoped for, if by no other means, than by giving her a title to Bessarabia. But the connivance of the Finnish Government seems to be a trifle uncertain, as this government has of late sounded a conciliatory note towards all Radicals. At all events, the Powers intend to mature a plan whereby the Finnish, Polish and Roumanian soldiers will stand as the guardians of western civilization, as it is called.

As for the eastern front it was expected that Japan would guard this gateway to the civilized world. But a recent anti-intervention feeling seems to have spread in Japan of late, so that the Japanese Government promises nothing definite. Besides, the Koreans have risen in rebellion so that Japan will probably have enough on her hands to keep her own subjects quiet.

In fact, the hands of the governments of all the capitalistic powers are tied by this very state of affairs. There is not one government in any of the countries, in which capitalistic industry has developed to the extent of creating an international psychology among the poletariat, that could send an army against Russia, no matter how much it would like to. That is the deplorable situation in which capitalist governments find themselves. It is for this reason they have to make use of soldiers from industrially backward countries, because the people of these countries are fettered by the nationalistic ideal, by virtue of which they link their personal fortunes with that of their national government, and narrow their sympathies to the confines of their own national state. This is, in truth, the only kind of army the capitalist governments can use, because it is made up of the only kind of men they can trust.

With such a feeble line of defense, though it is strengthened by a few battleships in some of the principal ports, it is hardly conceivable that the economic blockade against Russia can be maintained. For in spite of the power certain large financial interests which are firmly opposed to lifting the blockade may wield on credit markets, industrial concerns and transportation systems, this blockade has to be backed up by a considerable strength of armed force, which these interested parties cannot supply. On the other hand every one of the countries that are now denying Russia access to the markets of the world, have huge war debts which can only be liquidated according to their own exports by having exports exceed imports. At the present moment Russia offers greater opportunities for this trade than any other country on the Euro-Asian continent. For, above all things, it can pay for what it purchases, and does not need to go begging for credits. As one writer has it, "It has £25,000,000 in gold that it will release for foreign trade." It has tons of wheat for export, besides hides, hemp, timber and flax. It is just on such a market that the war-debt-loaded peoples of the Victorious Allies have to sell their products. The possibility which this trade offers is a tempting bait no trader can resist; it is an opportunity for developing industry no government dare let slip. In other words, those governments which so haughtily erected the economic barrier against Russia, in order to put down the Bolsheviki, must now remove it so as not to be put down themselves.

But with the removal of the economic blockade the Big Five will have to recognise the Soviet government and make terms with it—just the thing which it galls them to do and which they would never have done had their military plans succeeded. However, because the capitalist governments seek peace with the Soviets does not mean that they love the Bolsheviki any the more or that they will stop working for their overthrow any the less. It simply means that they are compelled to change their methods of combat. They will use methods wherein the co-operation of the proletariat is not so open and conspicuous as it was in the military adventures. The fight will be concealed and the action more subtle.

This situation affords the setting at the beginning of the second act. The first act closed with an overwhelming victory for the working-class. The capitalists were decidedly defeated, though they were not annihilated. But this victory has shown how absolutely powerless capitalists are when they have to stand on their own strength alone, and on the other hand, how mighty the working-class are when they combine their strength. Indeed this is the first real great victory of the international proletariat.

C. M. C.

War Versus Revolution

Eight hundred and fifty-one thousand one hundred and seventeen men of the British Empire were killed in the late capitalist war, 2,067,442 were wounded; 8,000,000 fought. Yet when we speak of overthrowing the capitalist system people say they fear a "bloody revolution."

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The Problem of Finance

MUCH is heard, these days, about the impending collapse of Capitalism due to the peculiar money situation. That the present system can never readjust itself, and resume commercial transactions on a pre-war basis, is a theory generally acepted by dabblers in the intricacies of finance. The unprecedented fluctuations in exchange, the inflation of the currency, and the strange phenomenon of gold at a premium in so-called "gold standard" countries are factors that seem to warrant a little prophesying on the things about to happen. All such forecasts, however, are essentialy speculative and contingent on factors not plainly revealed to the investigator.

That the industrial and commercial mechanism is badly strained, and showing signs of complete collapse, every student of society will readily admit. Our knowledge of the nature and tendencies of Capitalist production lead us to the conclusion that this system cannot indefinitely prolong its existence. It must eventually give way to a social form devoid of the contradictions inseparable from class ownership of the means of life. But, granting the inevitability of this transformation, still, a clear analysis of the subject would scarcely warrant the assumption that the eccentricities of the financial institution would, in themselves, make imperative a sudden change.

The basic cause of all the ills that afflict humanity today is found in the present social relationship—a relationship of Capitalists and wage slaves. A mere handful have possession of the means of wealth production, while the great majority must dispose of their labor-power to this wealth controlling few. The price they receive for the commodity they sell is barely sufficient to reproduce it in a saleable condition. The portion of the mass of wealth produced which the workers are able to buy back is continually decreasing. The remainder, which represents surplus values divided among the different sections of the ruling class according to their legal claims, must seek a market where it can be changed into money, which again enters circulation as capital, for the purpose of expanding itself through the addition of more surplus value. The greater the productivity of the worker, under these conditions, the less opportunity there is for the market to absorb this supply of commodities. A cessation of production, in order to relieve the congestion, becomes necessary periodically. But this does not remedy the situation. A shutting down of industry spells unemployment on a large scale, soup kitchens, and finally war for the possession of markets. But the end is not yet. Every move to ameliorate conditions acts as a means to hasten the downfall of class society.

But, then, this anarchy and confusion manifests itself in other ways as well as through the medium of finance. Every instituion that functioned at the beginning of capitalism becomes affected by the change in the social foundation and starts to decay. A comparison between the legislative, military, legal, artistic, religious, and domestic institutions as they were at the inception of the present order, and as they are today, will reveal the truth of this assertion. All of them reflect the changing methods of producing and exchanging the social wealth. It would be obviously unsound to attribute the collapse of the structure to one isolated factor without paying due consideration to the cause behind it, and the others associated with it. Even the degree of industrial development of nations cannot be taken as a rigid, hard and fast rule that determines the order in which they are transformed from class to social ownership.

The recent case of Russia can be submitted in support of this contention. History is replete with other examples of comparatively backward peoples invading and conquering much more highly developed sections. The Roman Empire fell before the barbarian hordes of Attila and Alaric. The Athenians gave way to the Persians, regardless of the fact that the victors, in each case, were far behind the vanquished in industrial development. Many circumstances must be considered, besides the purely industrial, before arriving at a scientific conclusion.

It is quite within the range of possibilty, however, that all institutions will not cave in at once. One may, indeed, set the pace, and that one may be the financial. Prior to the French Revolution, the impending downfall of the then ruling-class was most clearly portrayed in the financial affairs of the kingdom. Increasing expenditures in the face of contracting revenues forecasted disaster. It was one of the signs of the times that could not be ignored. The working of Capitalism manifests itself most clearly in a financial way. Buying and selling is the life of modern society. Most of the contradictions and incongruities of today make themselves known through the channels of circulation. But, to say that nothing can be done by the business interests to stave off, for some considerable time, the period of their dissolution is taking much for granted. We must not overlook the fact that only a few centuries ago, in England, there was a slave society where industrial capital was unknown, and finances a negligible quantity. Slavery, in still another form, prevailed in Roman and Greek society without the financial institution being developed to any extent. So, today, the limiting of capitalism to another three, five, or ten year term by simply viewing one of its effects is too much like betting on the ponies. You may make a good guess and, then, again, you may not. It is not the method of scientists.

The present condition of world affairs is, no doubt, a critical one. Before the war the United States occupied the position of being the greatest debtor nation in the world. Her vast natural resources could be tapped only through the instrumentality of borrowed capital. Those loans were not hard to obtain. A great surplus of money in Europe was seeking investment. The rule has ever been for the country outstripped in the race for industrial and commercial supremacy to invest in the one that has attained the coveted position. From Venice to Holland, thence to England, and later to the United States, has been the route over which surplus capital has travelled. In America, during the past century, the opportunities were better than elsewhere for profitable investment, so European Capitalists were willing to take a chance. The interest on the sums borrowed was paid by the export of products, so that the American exports, for many years, were greatly in excess of the imports. But the position is different today. War conditions reversed the balance of trade, and now Europe owes many millions to American capitalists. Until such times as exports and imports readjust their positions we can expect a continuance of low and fluctuating exchanges.

A section of the American business class considered the favorable position of the American dollar to be a great triumph over their fellow exploiters of England. But they reckoned too hastily. Regardless of its depreciated currency, and low exchange, London is still the money capital of the world and bids fair to remain so for some time to come. The recent propaganda by American interests to stimulate imports from Britain show that some of them are beginning to realize the situation. Canada and the West Indies, formerly the best customers the United States had, are now buying where their money is not subject to a vicious discount. The production of manufactured goods in America will soon be seriously curtailed if exchange continues to hang around less than four dollars to the pound sterling, which is more than likely to happen.

Of course, this condition of fluctuating exchanges is not an altogether novel phenomenon. Much excitement prevails in the ranks of the American bourgeoisie because of the trade obstacles erected by the premium on gold against what they ship to European countries. But this thirty per cent. fall in sterling exchange is less than half the fall between gold using Europe, and silver using Asia during the past forty years. This fall had a very detrimental effect on the export of British goods to China and India, and a decided influence on the transfer of Lancashire cotton mills and jute factories to the Orient.

Recent gold quotations from Britain giving 111s. 10d. per oz. fine as against a mint par of 84s. 11 5-11d. show that the gold standard is a thing of the past. It is not likely that it will ever again conform to Peel's "Act of '44," which enacted that no amount of notes above £14,000,000 shall be issued except against gold coin, or gold or silver bullion. This stipulated amount was issued against securities set apart for this purpose. If this rule was reapplied today it would mean immediate ruin to the whole banking and business system of Britain. The increase of paper currency has been astounding in the past four years.

But in this respect, Britain is not alone. In the United States, the money in circulation has increased over one billion dollars between January 1st, 1918, and January 1st, 1920, and this has not been warranted by increasing production. Gold coin in circulation now equals $846,392,000 as against $972,561,000 in '18. Gold certificates $423,804,000 against $1,096,860,000, Federal reserve notes $2,989,664,000 against $1,227,243,000. Federal reserve bank notes $209,314,000 against $12,535,000. As here seen, the change has resulted in a great reduction in the amount of gold in circulation, while paper money has continually increased. This substitution of paper for gold cannot help having a tremendous effect on the prices of goods. Just where this interesting condition is going to lead us is a matter of conjecture. Prophecy was never our long suit, and it is rather late to attempt it now.

From the Socialist standpoint, the education of the world's workers to a knowledge of their class position under Capitalism, so that when occasion permits they will know how to act, is the safest method of gauging how long the present order of society is still to remain. We see no necessity in consulting ouija boards, clairvoyants, or mesmerists, to forecast events.

Our aim is to make Socialists, and when a sufficient number of these exist, the complicated affairs of a rotten social system will only be of interest to students concerned with unravelling the mysteries of the past.

J. A. McD.

Government

GOVERNMENTS are unstable these days. People are perishing for lack of accurate information on the subject, for this is not taught in the schools, the ordinary papers or the pulpit; therefore it is here supplied. The following statements are not debateable theories, but **scientific facts.**

There are two general plans of government (although there are infinite varieties of them), says Morgan in his famous book "Ancient Society." The older kind of government is founded upon purely personal relations and may be called a society with the gens of clan as the unit of this organization, passing into the union of gentes—the phratry, the union of phratries—the tribe, and finally into the confederacy of tribes—the people or nation. This is the government of Primitive Communism. The second, and much the more modern kind of government, is founded upon **Territory** and upon **Property** and may be distinguished as a **State**.

When man started on his upward career and had got beyond the savage condition, he realized that co-operation was a necessity to him because together with others he could more successfully face his enemies, hunt and fish than when he stood alone. Morgan proves that the mode of organization of the Red Indian settlements was the common type of the social system of all our ancestors. Now the Red Man, as Franklin pointed out, lived under a system of common property, such a thing as Private Property being unknown among them. They co-operated and they had a **Central Directing Authority** consisting of the "Sachems." And, note this—the work of this Authority was to direct the co-operative efforts of the communities, and, in so doing, it shared actively in the productive work of the communities. It was a beneficent and useful body for, without its work, the work if the communities would not have been done. A study of the chapter on the Iroquois Confederacy in Morgan's book will show how masterly elaborate was their government, and how intelligent were those Indians who conceived, carried out and lived under it—in this repsect, a great contrast to the absolute lack of government noted by Darwin, in 1834, among those lowest of savages and communists, the Fuegians.

Now let the reader mark by what historic process the Communal Central Directing Authority changed

from a beneficent, useful institution, to one—the "State"—productive of terror, evil, hatred and agony. When mankind developed beyond the point reached by the Indian, and had discovered the art of smelting iron ore, then the democratic equality of former communal society had received a severe blow, for a difference in status—along the line of SEX—was created, the males being able, the females unable, to wield the new Tool of Production. Based as it was, on physical qualities, this difference of status, at first, could not have been very deep. Nevertheless, it was the beginning of that division of society into CLASSES—one able, the other unable, to feed itself—into the Independent and the Dependent, into Masters and Slaves, Ruler and Ruled.

But it was when that mightier revolution — the discovery of the Domestication of Animals, the Adoption of Agriculture and, thereby, the Advent of Slavery—had torn society into **Antagonistic Economic Classes** that we find a simultaneous revolution occur in the nature of the Central Directing Authority, for, instead of this body continuing to aid its fellow communists in carrying on the work of society, it now mainly devotes its efforts to holding down the dependent, the slave, the ruled, until, lo and behold! it finally blossoms into the modern "State," the Capitalist State, the Capitalist Government—backed up by its army, judges and police—as an instrument largely, if not solely, of exploitation, of oppression and repression of its subjects. To sum up—under Primitive Communism, the executive council was an organization for managing the affairs of the whole group. But with the advent of Slavery, this council was replaced by the Political State, merely representing the interests of a minority—the Ruling Class—and thus becoming an instrument of craft and tyranny.

It is important, therefore, to note that the word "State" is a term of evil signification and will always be so, as long as it is what it is—the executive committee of the Ruling Minority whose interests are opposed to the general welfare.

However, unlike the Anarchists, we Socialists believe in a central directing authority. As Karl Marx points out, a solitary fiddler in his own room may play as he pleases. But, with a whole orchestra, a conductor to ensure harmony and unity of results, is necessary, and such a man is no more superfluous nor an oppressor than is a freely and democratically elected picnic committee. Our modern system of society is like an orchestra in that it is so interdependent that a conductor—a Central Directing Authority—is required for the processes of production and distribution; a body of Industrial Experts whose duty it will be to bring to all, themselves included, health, wealth and happiness.

Under an absolute monarchy, the State stands for the interests of one man alone, as illustrated by the cynical remark of Louis XIV.—"The state? I am the state!" Under a system where the big monied men are supreme, the state only represents their interests as opposed to those of the masses of the people. Only where the whole of the people are supreme—under SOCIALISM—will the political state **die out** and once more, but upon an immeasurably higher plane, will we have the free, democratic, beneficent Council of Primitive Communism, but with the latter's powers for good idnefinitely multiplied by the tremendous resources of this, the Age of Machinery and of the Domination of Nature's Forces.

Today, "politics" stink, and to call a person a politician, is a grave insult; for the Private Property State has many unspeakable crimes to answer for, and so long as the present economic conditions exist which create the State, these evils will continue to be produced.

Slavedom, Serfdom, Wagedom—each such stage of society through which the race has passed and is now passing, has had its particular kind of State Oppressor to fight against. Yea! even the Nobility and the Capitalist Class themselves have had to fight their way upwards to their freedom, just as today the Working Class and their allies from other classes are fighting "the last fight that unites the Human Race" as the chorus of the Internationale puts it.

With the downfall of the Capitalist State will disappear the last of all state despotisms. Then will arise that free Society in which the government of the liar, the scoundrel, the grafter, the schemer, the panderer and the oppressor, will give way to the Central Directing Authority of Industrial Experts drawn from amongst the ranks, and representing the interests, of their equally free, educated, happy and honest fellows—the **Socialist Democracy!**

"PROGRESS."

A Study in Class-Consciousness

PSYCHOLOGY is the science that deals with the phenomena of consciousness, or, in other words, with the workings of the mind. There are different branches of the science—animal psychology dealing with animal consciousness or the workings of the animal mind; child psychology dealing with the consciousness of children or the workings of the child mind; our humorists speak of female psychology and strive in vain to explain the workings of the female mind; and, in analogy, we have proletarian class-psychology that deals with the workings of the proletarian mind, explaining protelarian class-consciousness.

The masters fear this proletarian class-consciousness, for it is a revolutionary force; and, like ostriches burying their heads in the sands, they seek to do away with it by ignoring it. Their official vendors of delusions tell us that worker and capitalist are the same species, identical in mind and body. For my own part I can see no strong similarity in the two animals, the one that works and the one that shirks. There is a sufficient difference in their appearance and mode of living to justify the expectation of a difference in their mode of thinking. Moreover, psychology teaches that environment and manner of living control the workings of the mind completely. Evidence of the truth of this is abundant. A person accustomed to an environment of cleanliness and order, if suddenly set to work in an environmet of dirt and disorder, is quite at a loss what to do; his nervous forces fail ti respond to the stimulus of an environment to which he is unaccustomed.

Consider the use of environment in military training; how changed is the whole mode of thinking of a man after a few years organized slaughter. With changes in their manner of making a living whole races have changed their essential characteristics. The present inhabitants of Europe were formerly the peaceful dwellers of the plains of Asia; but the drying up of these plains forced them to journey westward; and in doing so they changed from peaceful tribes to a most warlike race, terrorizing all Europe as they went. A similar degree of change has taken place in the Indians of North America, but with a directly opposite result.

Having established this law, that one's way of thinking is dependent upon his environment and manner of making a living, let us apply it to the two classes in modern society. What is there common in their physical environment and manner of making a living? Nothing! The environment of one is comfort, ease, plenty, and, to their own degraded tastes, beauty; the environment of the other is discomfort, hardship, want and ugliness. The one gains his living by shirking, the other by working; the one through having property, the other through being propertyless; the one having wealth to exchange for whatever his desire may suggest, the other having but the energy in his body to exchange for enough course food, shoddy clothing and inadequate shelter to keep that energy in his body. Should we expect much similarity in the workings of their minds? Should not the most dominant idea in the mind of the worker be that of the class-basis of society; and the spirit of revolt be everlastingly aflame in his breast; and the master-class his sworn enemy whose propaganda he would scorn, getting his news from papers written from his own class viewpoint, listening only to speakers with his own revolutionary ideals? This surely is what one might expect by the application of the law of environment to the mind of the wage-slave. But we all know only too well that the mind of the typical wage-slave is the direct opposite of this. The point requiring explanation when setting forth psychologic law is not how the few class-conscious come to be, but rather how the great mass of the proletariat fail to be class-conscious.

Certainly, we can find nothing in the physical environment or the manner of getting a living of the proletariat to explain why the great proletarian mass is not class-conscious. There is but one ground left to explain it on, and that is the mental as opposed to the physical environment, that hazy agglomeration of words and ideology that surrounds the mind of the worker and acts as a buffer between his mind and the realities outside it. What is its nature, its source? From where do the workers get their ideas? From master-class press and master-class pulpit alone. "Whoever pays the piper calls the tune." Through these organs do the workers get their ideas of master-class morality, or such morality as helps the master-class in power; of master-class loyalty, or loyalty to the master-class; of master-class efficiency, or efficiency for the benefit of the master-class; of master-class philosophy or an explanation of the universe that makes the present master-class and its manner of running the world the centre, the pivot of the whole universe, the very perfect thing that all time has labored to bring forth and that, having brought forth, labors to maintain for ever, denying its whole support to any other social system that aspires to usurp power. It is in this master-class propaganda that we find the key to the whole problem.

Words are of immense importance and power. In the evolution of mind the use of words is necessary before the mind can generalize percepts into concepts, or formulate ideas. For example, an animal or very young child can perceive red, yellow and green objects, and, due to the different optical sensations derived from them, differentiate between yellow, red and green. But without having words or names for these colors, he cannot form the abstract or general concept of "color." The reason for this is that so long as he perceives the color and has no name or word for it, the color can be known to him only as a certain sensation; it is impossible to think of qualitatively different sensations as one or the same; consequently, until he has names for these colors by which he knows them apart from the sensations produced by the sight of them, he cannot generalize them into the one concept, color in the abstract.

In this way, in fact, it can be shown that our whole world of ideas or concepts, is based upon words. Without words mind could never develop beyond the stage of perception, sensations, or feelings. The whole difference between us of today who can calculate the motions of the stars, and the primitive savage who can't count as high as four, is simply a difference in our equipment of words and symbols. Whoever controls the workers' world of worlds controls all there is to the workers' mind that is a development beyond our savage who can't count to four. Hence the ease with which the master-class is able to restrict the development of class-consciousness. All it need do is to provide the worker with a satisfactorily thick mist of the bourgeoise world of words, of bourgeoise ideology, and check (with a healthy supply of order-in-council)—any influx of ideas from the class-conscious workers.

The task for us, the class-conscious workers, is to replace the whole mental being of our fellow-slaves with a knowledge of realities, a well-nigh impossible work were it not for the gratuitous propaganda of the capitalist class in proving our theories as fast as we state them.

F. W. THOMPSON.

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EDITORIAL

THE ISSUE.

THE Allied Governments have failed in their campaigns against the Soviet on all fronts, the squibs of those scattered brigands, Messrs. Kolchack, Denekin and Yudenitch having proven ineffectual in anything but noise.

If we were so innocent as to look for even a modicum of truth in the daily press, no doubt we should have followed those unhappy bandits in their disordered retreat to the furthermost corners of Europe. If the Soviet forces ever actually capture those gentlemen, no doubt we shall read of their trial in a well-appointed Russian Court of Justice on charges of conspiracy, and of endeavoring to impose upon Russia foreign forms of government.

But while the British Government has failed miserably so far in its efforts against Russia, its antagonism to labor is manifested well enough within its own boundaries. Industrial strife and political turmoil accompany the imperialistic worries involved through "conquest" over the General Powers. This in a measure accounts for the uncertain position of the coalition mixture of opportunists, commercialists and imperialists of which it is comprised. All parliamentary parties in Britain, including labor, are divided between jingo and anti-jingo elements. The Labor Party is loud in its dislike of Capitalism, and the degree of its critical effectiveness may be measured in its volume of sound.

And while it is spending its energy in producing evidence of its sagacity and capacity for office, Mr. Churchill, that erstwhile sprightly and irresponsible political clown has experienced a moment of discernment. The Denekin paymaster announces that the basis of industrial unrest lies in the property system itself, in individual ownership.

The actual point in dispute, he says, is really whether there shall continue private ownership, or be substituted for it as fast and as far as possible communistic ownership of all means of wealth production, transportation and exchange. "The issue," he says, "is a very plain and a very great one."

The answer of the Labor Party is not yet heard, but after all, the Russian has proven Mr. Churchill's most effective schoolmaster.

WORK.

WORK is a subject as uninteresting as it is appetizing. Man, as Marx has it, "sets in motion arms and legs, head and hands," to appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants, in which are concerned chiefly the activity of man, the subject of his operations and the tools with which he operates. While the soil is the basis of his operations, it has come to be that those tools essential to present day production are a factor of importance in the process equal not only to the soil, but equal also to man himself.

To read man's history we must examine the tools with which he works. As Franklin says, "Relics of by-gone instruments of labor possess the same importance for the investigation of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals."

Ostensibly, in the labor process, man engages only in the production of articles of use to himself and needful to the maintenance of society. In the product lies the story of the nature of his effort upon nature's material.

Today, man is engaged so much in production that is directly contributory to the final appearance of his useful labor in other completed forms, that his efforts are characterless and he is but a cog in the universal machine, and those products belong not to himself but to the owners of the tools with which he must operate to produce them.

In reality the object of his activity is the production of profit for his master. His work is ultimately but the consumption of his energy, exhausted under the will of his master whose energy in turn is consumed in adding his columns, the totals of which determine, in his eye, the degree of efficiency of the world's workers in producing not food, clothing and shelter, but profit for the capitalist whose slaves they are.

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Our circulation this issue is 6,000, and if present evidence means anything we shall have another thousand in a month.

* * *

This issue contains the first of two installments of a pamphlet by Professor Thorstein Veblen: "Sabotage." We intend to reproduce this as a pamphlet to sell at five cents, and hope to be able to reproduce a pamphlet in the same way each month, which we shall be able to do if financial encouragement warrants. The exchange rate operates to our disadvantage so far as obtaining literature supplies from the United States is concerned. We shall have to apply ourselves to the production of as many pamphlets as we can turn out. The following note from Kerr and Co. should be taken note of by literature secretaries:—

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO OUR FOREIGN STOCKHOLDERS AND CUSTOMERS.

It will hereafter be impossible for us to fill foreign orders for the following English books reprinted by us:—

The Evolution of Property (Paul Lafargue).
Revolution and Counter-Revolution (Karl Marx).
Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome (Morris & Bax).
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Frederick Engels)
Value, Price and Prifit (Karl Marx).

Orders for these books from countries other than the United States should be addressed to the owners of the British copyrights, Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, Museum Street, London, W. C. (1) England.

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* * *

We have had orders from many comrades recently for books by various authors. Comrades are requested to note that we have no literature in stock other than may be found advertized in our Price List of Literature. We shall be glad to book orders for such other books as may be required, but if the book required does not appear in the list, comrades will know they must wait.

* * *

A new edition of "Red Europe" is on the press, printed on better paper than last edition which is entirely sold out, and having typographical errors eliminated. The new edition contains an appendix, written by Comrade W. Bennett, the nature of which is an admirable statement of the achievements of the Bolsheviki, and with press quotations which bring the news matter of the book itself up to date.

* * *

Comrade Bartholomew commences in this issue a series of ten articles on Socialism. At the time the "Clarion" was suppressed, the series then running was interrupted. We have induced Comrade Bartholomew to re-write the whole.

* * *

As we announced last issue, Local (Vancouver) No. 1 offers a premium of one choice of three books to the individual securing the highest amount of paid subscriptions. This is effective each issue. Comrade Bennett heads the list this issue, and calls for "Ten Days." He threatens to earn "Six Red Months" next issue.

* * *

In these days when we are talking and writing about the excellence of the Labor College as an institution, Toronto (of all places) has simlpy gone ahead and established one at 28 Wellington Street East, Toronto. The curriculum includes Economics, Industrial History, Political, General and Current History, History, Structure, Aims and Problems of Labor Organization, and Public Speaking. Various additional subjects are to be included as time goes on. Fees are: For one class for the term (Jan. 5th to April 30th), $1.50; for each additional class, 50c. Honorary Secretary, Florence Custance, Ontario Labor College, address as stated.

We reproduce an article in this issue from the "Grain Growers' Guide." The freedom of the age we live in is therein well defined.

* * *

A series of lectures on Economics is being delivered at the Brotherhood House, Vancouver. Some three or four of the fourteen lectures have been given. Professors Angus and Boggs (Univ., B. C., Polit. Econ.) are the lecturers. These lectures have been well attended up to date, and we understand some interesting discussion has taken place. The interest taken in this science by those "not in academic bowers" is no longer a matter of astonishment, and sometimes it is found to be a more real and genuine interest than that manifested within the walls of learned institutions. While we may sometimes err in that we become advocates rather than investigators (to borrow an apt phrase from Jack Harrington), our academic friends should themselves be sure of their quotations and should consider hastily arrived at interpretations. Otherwise, healthy prejudices are fostered as much as (under such circumstances) they deserve to be.

Incentive

EVER since Socialists first commenced to criticise and analyse the capitalist system, and to predict a future state of society in which competition and exploitation in industry would be abolished, where all shall work, and each receive in return the equivalent of the full product of his toil, it has been the custom with defenders of capitalism, professors, priests, politicians and others, to declare that such a condition of society is impossible. They tell us that in such a system there would be no incentive. That competition between the workers for jobs is necessary to make each of us "do our bit." That if it was not for the free competition in industry that permits those with the greatest ability to rise to the top,—in other words, if it was not for the possibility that a few will have the opportunity to swindle others out of the fruits of their labor and in time become parasites, those few supposed intellectuals would refuse to contribute their abiltiy to the management of industry, thereby leaving the great mass of the people in the position of a ship without a rudder. And consequently there would be nothing for us all to do but sit down and starve to death. We are used to this kind of talk from capitalists and their apologsits, and even from ignorant wage slaves, but it is only recently that some self-styled Socialists have commenced to advance the same argument.

Among other defenders of this theory there is one in particular who is worthy of notice, inasmuch as he is a writer of some note, and also claims to be a Socialist, none other than Mr. Frank Harris, editor of "Pearson's Magazine."

Mr. Harris bases his claim to the title of Socialist, not on his knowledge of Socialism, but on the length of time since he first made the claim. And by the number of notable Socialists, who have, from time to time, in times past had the honor to speak with him on the same platform. All this, and much more we have gathered from a perusal of "Pearson's" in the last year or two.

In a recent issue of the magazine, a correspondent writes to inquire if Mr. Harris is "directly opposed to the first principle of Socialism." He says, "As I understand it, and as Mr. Westfall correctly states it, if the worker would not receive the full social value of his labor in the industrial world as I understand the true Socialist contends, then I would discard the whole scheme as only a make shift to take the place of or change materially the present industrial scheme."

Mr. Harris replies by accusing the correspondent of failure to face the "problem," which is, "who is to determine the full social value of the labor of the workman "

Now it is well known to Socialists that the value of the commodity, labor, (more correctly labor-power), is determined, like all other commodities by the amount of socially necessary labor-time required to reproduce it. And that the worker at the present time when he has a job, receives in wages on the average, the value of his commodity labor-power, wages being the monetary expression of value. This fact, however, seems to escape both Mr. Harris and his correspondent.

Let us assume then that Mr. Harris means who is

to determine the value of the product of each individual worker in a co-operative commonwealth, where labor-power is no longer a commodity? Ah! who, indeed? Might we not as well try to determine the value of commodities under capitalist production by ascertaining the exact amount of physical and mental energy contributed by each individual worker?

A little further on Mr. Harris tells us that "The truth is, the inventors and captains of productive industry bring a special talent to their work and special exertion, and if you do not pay for it with special and extraordinary profits you will not get it and this, according to science, is the chief source of progress. What but the hope of extraordinary profits nerved the Wrights to their years of experiment and perpetual danger?"

The above quotation gives us an idea of the type of Socialism advocated by Mr. Harris, so we know just about where to commence. When the bourgeois intellectuals, and especially the university professors of Russia tried to sabotage the Soviet Government by refusing to lower their dignity to the extent of educating the working class, we have it on the authority of some of those professors themselves that the Bolsheviki did not hesitate to put them navvying. An atrocity of course- but nevertheless, a solution of the "problem." When men refuse to do the work they can do best, it is a good idea to give them a taste of the work they like to do least. Perhaps Mr. Harris would rather manipulate a pick and shovel on such terms as a proletarian dictatorship might see fit to impose than to illuminate the pages of "Pearson's Magazine" with his bright and witty literary criticism without "hope of extraordinary profits."

Let us take another instance. Two or three years ago it was reported that the salary of Charlie Chaplin was six hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. (I understand he has had a raise or two since, to offset the rise in the cost of living). This sum represents the "extraordinary profits" that Charlie receives in return for the "special talent and exertion" he brings to his work, said work being that of making an artificial fool of himself, to amuse others. But suppose Charlie lived in a system of society in which profits were abolished, would he still continue to act in his present occupation for the highest standard of living society could produce, or would he prefer to sweep streets on the same terms?

It is not a question of equalizing talent; everyone knows that is impossible. There are few amongs us who could make such successful fools of themselves as Charlie Chaplin, although we all have considerable talent in that respect. There are not many of us who could edit a magazine as well as Mr. Harris. But there is other work just as useful to society that many of us can do better than either Mr. Harris or Charlie Chaplin.

It is idle to speculate on the future, we know, but I can see no reason why a rat catcher who gives good satisfaction should not receive the best living the world can produce. And we would like to have Mr. Harris or anyone else tell us just what the greatest genius or captain of industry could do with more in a society where exploitation no longer existed?

While it is true that at the present time there are quite a few humans of the hog type who seem to have no other ambition in life than that of accumulating wealth, nevertheless, avarice is not the dominant passion in human society. But the capitalist system of competition and exploitation in industry is particularly adapted to bring out and develop to the utmost the last spark of avarice that lurks in the human character. It is the fact that this impulse is so weak in the great majority of people that makes it so easy for the few to accomplish their purpose.

We would like to have Mr. Harris tell us if it is the "hope of extraordinary profits" that nerves the miners, the structural steel workers, and the workers in other industries to labor under conditions of "perpetual danger" every day of their lives?

Was it the "hope of extraordinary profits" that nerved Giordano Bruno to defend the Copernican system of astronomy, to endure seven years of persecution, and eventually die at the stake rather than recant? Was it the "hope of extraordinary profits" that nerved Karl Manx to write Capital?

In conclusion I might say that it was the extraordinary views held by Mr. Harris with regard to Socialism that nerved the writer to rack his brains and test his proletarian education to the limit to produce this article. Not the "hope of extraordinary profits."

F. J. McNEY.

BOOK REVIEW.

(A Group of Essays by Famous Writers—B. W. Huebsch, New York—141 pp.)

THIS book contains excerpts from the writings of Buckle, Emerson, Thoreau, Spencer, Tolstoy, and Wilde; and with some passages omitted, the pamphlet by Kropotkin on "The State: Its Historic Role."

As these men represent comfort, leisure, and culture in the highest degree, no one can object to their views on account of working class bias. It cannot be said of them, that their minds were poisoned by foreign or un-British or un-American agitators. No more representative men could be named in science and literature, and with the exception of Wilde, not one of these men has ever had his honesty of purpose questioned in bourgeois circles; their concepts of the State are therefore of particular interest in these days of rabid democracy.

The Editor, Waldo R. Browne, has taken liberties with the original text of Kropotkin's pamphlet on the grounds that the translation from the French was "poorly done"; of course having the benefit of a second translation, we can be assured that Kropotkin's ideas are fairly reproduced.

Kropotkin as a thinker, as one who has accomplished something in the realm of science commands attention; he is always readable and rarely orthodox. He alone of the seven writers, deals with his subject in a scientific manner. He maintains that a proper understanding of the State can be gained only through studying its historical development; notwithstanding which, he arrives at the purely anarchist concept that "ideas" constitute the basic force in social movements. The free cities of Medieval Europe surrendered to the State—"because the ideas of men had changed. The teaching of canonical and Roman law had perverted them." He looks back with regret at the Individualism which he professes to see in these free cities, and he sees no hope for Society until Individualism again asserts itself in the mind of man.

Curiously enough, all seven authors have the same opinion. This individual Freedom is as vague and complex, and quite as canonical as the Roman "ideas" which perverted the free cities.

Kropotkin finds that the peasants are prompted to combine "in pursuit of their lawful occasions" as the Prayer Book has it, but the State will not permit combination. In fact all anarchists discover the same principle in the State. Pure, canonical freedom is suppressed by the State, and that freedom consists of the right to combine. Truly, individualism must assert itself.

The State as Kropotkin sees it is a creature which has entered the individualistic Garden of Eden, bringing sorrow and sweat and sin. It is as real to him as the Adamite snake is to the orthodox Christian. It does not "belong." History goes on repeating the same story. The primitive tribe becomes the Free City, the Free City becomes the State, then wealth ends its evil ways. So it was in Egypt, in Assyria, in Persia, in Palestine and again "a new civilisation sprang up in Greece, always beginning by the tribe, it slowly reached the village commune, then the period of republican cities. In these cities civilisation reached its highest limits. But the East brought to them its poisoned breath, its traditions of despotism. Wars of conquest created Alexander's empire of Macedonia. The State enthroned itself, killed all civilisation, and then—death."

The original pamphlet says "the State enthroned itself, **the bloodsucker grew,** killed all civilisation and then came—death." We read, too, that all the great achievements of man end with the Free Cities: from Emerson, Tolstoy or Thoreau we could accept such nonsense as a matter of course, but they come from the pen of the author of "Mutual Aid" and carry with them the conviction that science does not always guide her sons. Let us not forget amidst the grandeur of Greece and the glory of Rome not a glass window let in the light of day or a chimney let out the smoke of fires and every walled city contained besides poets and artists, slaves and masters. The history of man is not a series of paradises destroyed by the State but an unbroken progress, not in a moral but in a mechanical sense.

Buckle is a pioneer in sociology, although he is purely an historian. He saw at least as early as Marx that historical progress was not the result of great men, but resulted from causes beyond the power of man to exchange. Climate and situation affect mankind greatly. In this book a portion of his "History of Civilisation in England" is reproduced. It deals with the influence exercised by government. He frankly tells us that lawmakers have little to do with progress, and that little retards rather than helps. Ideas and knowledge of certain character circulate and become general, then lawmakers give expression to public opinion by enacting the legislation desired.

He was but 41 years old when he died, and in that time had absorbed a truly astonishing amount of historical lore, besides having mastered most European languages and written a "History" in three volumes. When we chance to meet a government official with any pretentions to learning we as surely encounter Buckle. Generally we are advised to read Buckle.

Generally our government official's acquaintance with Buckle extends over just such books as the one under review. (Gems of History Series in ten vols. $1.00 down and $1.00 a month till you are sick of them.) Huxley said Buckle was a topheavy man and Spencer said he had taken in more than he could organise and staggered under the mass of it. This gives us the key to his failures, leaving no room to appreciate his tremendous labors and original and daring conception. However, none more respected or influential historian exists for Flunkeydom. Buckle then sees in the State, not a bloodsucker, but a fussy and foolish old lady, always interfering with healthy men and women and by that interference perverting and befouling humankind. "It is no exaggeration to say the history of the commercial legislation of Europe presents every possible contrivance for hampering the energies of commerce." Again (and here is the complete objection of all sentimentalists) "but the accusation which the historian is bound to bring against every government which has hitherto existed is that it has overstepped its proper functions and at each step has done incalculable harm. The love of exercising power has been found to be so universal that no class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it. To maintain order, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak and to adopt certain precautions respecting the public health, are the only services which any government can render to the interests of civilisation."

(To be continued.)

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The Science of Socialism

(By H. M. Bartholomew.)

FOREWORD.

The readers of the "Clarion" will remember that the present writer wrote a series of articles on Socialist Philosophy in 1915, and that he did not complete that series. Another attempt is now made to present a summary (moreover a somewhat imperfect one) of the fundamental and basic principles of the Socialist movement.

The writer does not claim to be an authority on Socialist philosophy, but he believes that an attempt should be made to present to the thinking public of Canada a clear and reasoned statement of the Socialist position, and the series of articles of which this is the first, is a modest and very imperfect attempt to fill this pressing need.

ARTICLE No. I.

THE SOCIAL EVIL & SOCIAL REFORMS.

It is fashionable these days to talk about the social problems. Everywhere there is a spirit of unrest abroad. People are not contented with their position and with their conditions. Strikes and rumors of strikes spread through the world with the rapidity of a prairie fire. Riots, and unlawful assemblies; grumblings and growlings are the order of the day. Well might a prominent statesman say at the conclusion of the Great War that "there is a new feeling stirring in the hearts of men."

Why all this discontent and noise and confusion worse confounded? Why, when so many lives have been sacrificed in a world conflict to make the world safe for democracy, do we find, in every country, discontent with conditions as they are?

The answer is not far to seek. Conditions are such that they call for discontent, and engender a spirit of revolt. The conditions under which the mass of the people live and have their being in every country are a disgrace to ethics, and revolting to the best that is in men.

It matters little whether we look to countries which enjoy the blessings of a monarchy such as England or whether we look to countries which are basking in the sunshine of a Republic like France—we find—do we not?—that the vast majority of the people are engaged in a wild and cruel scramble for a crust of bread. Highly protected countries like the United States as well as Free Trade lands like England all have this cancer of social discontent, all alike possess a population struggling to make both ends meet. Poverty, unemployment, bad housing condition, long hours of labor, women forced to sell their bodies for a crust of bread—these conditions obtain in every country irrespective of the form of government and the fiscal systems which prevail in these countries.

There is small need for me to labor the point and no necessity for me to give long and complicated statistics in order to show how prevalent is this destitution. The reports in the subsidised press and the observations of ordinary men in any industrial centre will suffice to prove that **the great mass of the people live and have their being in conditions which find no sanction in ethics and which constitute an outrage upon freedom and justice.**

The politicians admit that all is not well in the body politic, and are exceeding busy formulating new platforms in order to—well, make the world safe for democracy! The leaders of the old political parties are falling over themselves in their anxiety to solve the "social evil," and they tell us that if we will but be faithful to them all will be well.

The great flaw in their argument is, of course, that these politicians and their forebears, have been saying exactly the same thing to the electors of Canada since Confederation and conditions have been rapidly getting worse!

By what means do these political wiseacres intend to solve the social problems which confront us today? Examine with care the programme of all these political parties and you will find that they all have one fundamental principle in common. Moreover, the platform of the old political parties possesses this fundamental and basic principle as much as the Farmers' and Labor Parties. Their past legislation and their intended legislation is based upon this omnipotent principle. And the whole of their legislation dealing with the so-called social problems fails and falls to the ground, because the basic principle from which all these acts have their being, is based upon a false conception of what constitutes and causes the social problem.

The statesman of the world, almost without exception, look upon the social problem as a series of small problems. He thinks of the miserable wages which fall to the lot of the majority of the workers—and he rushes to the Legislature and passes a Minimum Wage Act. Or he visits the homes of the wage-earners (at election times) and is horrified by the deplorable conditions which obtain. Such smells, and human rat-holes, fill him with holy indignation, and off he goes to the Seats of the Mighty, talks long and loud about infant mortality and passes—a Housing Act. Or maybe, during a period of depression in trade, the ranks of the unemployed swell to gigantic proportions, riots take place—and Lord Bloated seeks for legislation which will enable the unemployed to dig holes and fill them up again.

That is a fair picture of the "methods" which constitute the "stock-in-trade' 'of the average politician when confronted by the terrible and increasing poverty which greets him at every turn. The only solution of the Social Problem of which he can think is in terms of—more wages, shorter hours of labor, housing acts, soup tickets and coal coupons, He has neither system or logic. He knows not what he does.

When a portion of the populace become especially discontented with their conditions, what do the statesmen of all political parties do?. Without exception they arrest the leaders of the movement of revolt, order out the military forces of the country, pass hurried legislation which will enforce Arbitration Boards, or increase wages or better housing conditions.

They are **Social Reformers**, so they tell us. And I submit that they have called themselves by the right name. They are **Reformers**. The futility of their legislation proclaims the final futility of reforms.

Examine, with care, the social reforms of these political wiseacres, and the result of such an examination will reveal a total lack of system and of idealism. To the reformer practical politics means chance legislation, the application of a gambler's chance to the domain of statecraft. Not for him a co-ordinated body of political and economic thought, not for him an ideal as to what he intends the social life of the nation to be. Abstract reasoning; the cold, lucid deduction of the scientist; the careful application of the laws of cause and effect—these essentials to good statecraft find no place in the politics of the reformer. He is, above all things, a gambler and an opportunist—and the results are writ large in human tragedy.

Such an one shrinks from abstract disquisition of any kind as he shrinks from the plague. It is useless to tell him that abstract inquiry lies at the bottom of nearly all the practical work done in the world; useless to point out that but for the abstract inquiries of the old geometers into the properties of conic sections, the science of navigation could never have attained its present stage of development. It is quite beside the mark to tell him that if it were not for the abstract theories of atoms and volumes, half of our present chemistry would still be undiscovered. No! he is quite content to continue his chance politics, oblivious to the fact that progress can be made in any sphere of human activity only by the possession of a co-ordinated body of abstract reasoning and thought.

I submit, and it is the purpose of this series of articles to prove, that the only sane and logical and effective means by which the social problem can be solved is by the careful application of the methods which are pursued by the scientist in the laboratory. The scientist, in his laboratory, leans over his test tubes, his crucible and his microscope. To him there is but one sane method of procedure—the working from **cause to effect.**

Apply this method to social problems and we shall realise how futile are the efforts of the social reformer. The law of causation does not apply, so far as he is concerned with social problems, he has no conception whether bad housing conditions and low wages are a cause or an effect—all he knows is that when the cry of the workers for justice becomes too insistent he must pass hasty legislation called Housing Acts and Minimum Wage Acts.

Practical statecraft does not constitute blind working upon any and every symptom of disease in the body politic. The doctor who comes to you when you are sick, sees some pimples on your cheek, pulls his lance from his bag and proceeds to cut out each and every pimple, is a quack. He knows not his business. He is a doctor who looks for the basic cause of those pimples, who strives to diagnose the complaint by the law of causation, and who prescribes treatment which will deal with the basic, underlying causes.

Thus it is with social problems. The social reformer is a quack. He is very busy lancing the pimples, but he leaves the basic, underlying cause untouched. Progress can only be registered when we realize the necessity for a co-ordinated body of thought which works through the laws of causation; when we realise that bad housing, low wages, long working hours and the like, are not distinct, individual diseases, but are **the many symptoms of a common disease.**

It is useless to pass Minimum Wage Acts when we leave untouched the operating causes of low wages. It is criminal folly to enact legislation to "reduce the high cost of living" when the existing social order fosters high prices. But that is what the social reformer is doing in every country. He is lancing the pimples when the blood is impure, he is busy **mopping up the floor whilst the tap is turned on.**

Society at the moment resembles a town which has been the scene of a terrible earthquake. Human lives lie in all directions in a tangled mass of wreckage, which has been bent, twisted, and broken by the tyranny of economic conditions. The social reformer is busy putting putty into the crazy windows, trying to plaster up the tottering walls, placing a new coat of paint upon a falling house. How the gods must laugh!

The **necessity of the hour is men and women who have the courage to move out and beyond the petty futilities of patchwork, who will leave behind them the imbecility of the political quack, who possess a clear vision of what they intend the life of mankind to become—who will build afresh the foundations of society, and advance mankind towards the New Jerusalem.**

And in the following articles I shall endeavor to show how best this can be done.

Next article:—**Production of Wealth—Value.**

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM.

1. The Social Evil and Social Reform.
2. Production of Wealth—Value.
3. Production of Wealth—Capital.
4. Production of Wealth—Surplus Value.
5. Rent, Interest and Profit.
6. The Nemesis of Nations.
7. The Trend of Social Evolution.
8. The Soul of Man and Socialism.
9. Social Control.
10. Towards the Goal.

The Importance of Definition

TO a Socialist, words and phrases are useful only insofar as they possess a definite meaning according to the facts. They are a means of conveying thought, whereas to the defenders and apologists of capitalism, they serve to conceal thought and to distort the facts. Being the only subject-class in existence today, the proletariat are the first class since the beginning of class society whose philosophy and method of explaining the facts of natural and human history rest on a scientific basis. That is, the proletariat have no incentive to explain the facts other than they are, for their object is not as that of other classes in the past, to impose their rule on and live off the labor of another class or classes, but on the contrary, being the last subject class, their emancipation means the end of exploitation or privilege.

Socialists, therefore, have nothing to hide, but wish to analyze and make clear every phase or point that throws light on the history of natural or social development.

In the United States, a highly developed capitalist

country, a common assertion from press, pulpit and platform, is that no classes exist in that country, that every man is born "free and equal." The British workingman is told that he is a "free-born Briton." If that is the case, why does the Socialist call the modern wage worker a "wage-slave?" It is true that he is not sold on the auction block to the highest bidder, but he possesses every other attribute of a slave, and if not the property of one man, he is, for at least eight hours a day, the property of the capitalist class.

The modern wage-slave sells his labor-power, or life-energy to that capitalist who will give him the most for it, and that is generally no more than is required to maintain him and his family. He can only live by selling his labor-power, for the machinery of production is possessed by a small minority who dictate when he shall work, what he shall produce, and who dispose of his product as they see fit. The form of his slavery is somewhat different from chattel or feudal slavery, but it contains no less a degree of degradation and misery.

When the Socialist points out the way to end this slavery, the charge of "idealist" is thrown at him, with the implication that he is a dreamer of beautiful dreams, a visionary whose page is directed toward some far-off Utopia, and who does not take into account the practical matters of this practical world. Then in the same breath, we are called gross, selfish materialists, intent only on the satisfaction of carnal desires. In the first case, the charge does not fit the Marxian Socialist, and in the second, the word is incorrectly used from the standpoint of scientific terminology.

An idealist is one who believes in the power of ideas or reason independent of material conditions, and may properly be called impractical because he takes no consideration of economic and natural necessity. According to him, reason determines how men shall live, and men need only to desire a different system of society in order to obtain it.

Materialism is directly the opposite of idealism. Marxian Socialists, who are necessarily materialsts, uphold the theory that men reason and act according to the way in which they live, according to the method of production and distribution that prevails at a given time, which is itself to an extent determined by differences in climate or by the amount or kind of natural wealth existing in a particular country. As methods change, the group who control the new and better methods of production come into power, because they are at that point the best equipped class to serve the needs of society.

Perhaps no word is more in need of the light of definition than the word "Socialist." A dozen different individuals, possessing different methods of viewing life and seeking different forms of society, through altogether different means, cannot all be Socialists. Yet anybody who has a kick to make at the present order of things, and who holds a pet scheme for running society, is called a Socialist. For purpose of distinction, the terms Christian Socialist, Utopian Socialist, Reform Socialist, Parliamentary Socialist, Marxian Socialist, etc., have come into use, yet the only possible point of similarity between any of these is the desire for a **different** form of society.

The schools of thought, the goals sought, and the methods of attaining that goal, are entirely dissimilar.

A reading of the Communist Manifesto is recommended for a detailed idea as to their differences. Suffice it here to say, that the Marxian Socialist is the only one who can properly be called a Socialist, for his method of analyzing history is the only sound method, and his goal, the co-operative commonwealth, is firmly in accord with the natural evolution of economic and social forces.

A. C.

The Root of the Censorship

(The Grain Growers' Guide.)

LETTERS are coming every day to The Guide, expressing indignation in regard to the invasion of private houses, colleges and libraries and the seizures of books, pamphlets and papers disapproved of, and condemned by, somebody at Ottawa, and also in regard to the sentencing of individuals to long terms of imprisonment for having such books, pamphlets or papers in their possession. Some of these raids and sentencings took place only a few weeks ago.

In the editorial under the headline, Violations of Freedom, in The Guide of last week, the demand was made for an explanation from Ottawa of these things. It now appears that they were done under a provision inserted in the Criminal Code of Canada in July last. It appears further that the effect of that addition to the Dominion statute books is to continue in the hands of the authorities at Ottawa powers which they had temporarily and for emergency purposes under certain war time orders-in-council.

Those orders-in-council, as has been announced by proclamation by the Dominion Government, expired at midnight on January 31, 1919. But they live apparently in the additions made in July last to the Criminal Code. Here are these additions:

97b (1) Any person who prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells or offers for sale or distribution any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter writing, print, publication or document of any kind in which is taught advocated, advised or defended, or who shall in any manner teach, advocate, or advise, or defend the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, terrorism or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury as a means ,of accomplishing any governmental, industrial or economic change, or otherwise, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for not less than one year, and not more than twenty years.

(2) Any person who circulates, or attempts to circulate or distribute any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print publication or document of any kind, as described in this section by mailing the same or causing the same to be mailed or posted in any post office, letter box, or other mail receptacle in Canada, shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than one year and not more than twenty years.

(3) Any person who imports into Canada from any other country, or attempts to import by or through any means whatsoever, any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication or document of any kind as described in this section shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than one year and not more than twenty years.

The foregoing clauses were introduced in the House at Ottawa on June 27 last, by Mr. Meighen, who was then acting Minister of Justice. On July 1, Mr. Nickle, then member for Kingston, Ont., who has since resigned from Parliament, protested that there must be criminal intent before there can be a crime, and urged that the proposed additions to the Criminal Code be altered so as to make it possible for a person accused under certain of the specifications, such as in regard to circulation of, or sending for, such printed matter, to clear himself by showing that he had no knowledge of the character of the books, pamphlets, papers or other publications or documents in question. To this Mr. Meighen, speaking for the Government, would not agree. "I fear," he said, "that if the suggestion is accepted, it is going to defeat the law." And so the provisions, as proposed, were added without change to the Criminal Code.

The authorities at Ottawa, it would appear, thus continue to have the power they created by orders-in-council during the war, of banning books, pamphlets, papers and other publications which are judged "seditious," and of making domiciliary raids in search of such printed matter. The only preliminary procedure necessary apparently, is to convince a magistrate that there is ground for belief that there is such printed matter on the premises in question.

The Farmers' Forum

The Farmers' Understanding

GREAT consternation permeated the agrarian population of Alberta in the preparation of their annual gathering. The 18th January saw the centre of attraction pulsating with the representatives of the forces that are to waylay the atrocious monster, and save mankind from destruction. The opening day arrived when the saviours, 1,380 strong, congregated for deliberations. The outstanding feature of the W. F. A. Convention was the desire of the few stage-artists among the delegates to make themselves conspicuous in the oratorical arena.

Although 203 resolutions were before the Convention, not one could be said to have had any bearing on the basic cause of the power in the hands of those that at present enslave the human race. Not one whisper about the abolition of capitalism. Credit may be given for the standing vote for free speech and the freedom of the Press. Credit may also be given for the return of Wood as President, but for the class-consciousness of the great aggregate present credit cannot be given, as there is none due.

A real class-conscious element to make itself felt is still absent among farmers. The screen still hangs that obscures the transformation scene which provides a clear vision of the new world sought for among other workers. The farmer's stage is bedecked with sweet scented roses, the essence of which smells sweet to the nostrils of the slow moving, step-at-a-time group that point the farmers to the hose that will extinguish the fire after the house is burned.

Premier Stewart, of Alberta, made the startling admission at the Convention that our house was on fire and would end in ruin at a not far distant date. He warned us that Chinese and Japanese labor-power could be produced cheaper than Canadian labor-power, and said that the cheapest commodity always conquered the world's market. But long before Stewart's day Karl Marx warned us that capitalism would end in an international calamity. And in 1848 he made the pronouncement that the workers should unite the world over and burst the chains that bind them as slaves to a master. But Marx did not specify any single race or group of workers. By his reasoning, when capitalism matured, it would produce two distinct classes, the capitalist-class and the working-class. Present day society demonstrates the soundness of this reasonng, and the farmer must unite with all other workers, in order to squarely meet his problem.

The industrial wage-workers are rapidlly entrenching themselves, and among them, the Socialists are forging the weapons that are strongest in the fight for the emancipation from enslavement of the workers as a whole. Economic classes are being held wherever possible; colleges are being instituted and some are now in use in large centres. These wage-slaves are teaching themselves History, Economics and the Sciences generally. A scientific educational program is the strongest weapon that can be in the hands of the workers for their own use.

Now, Mr. Farmer, you are being stuffed with sentimental dope and political and economic piffle by men who do not understand anything of the measure of those values you produce. You may be astonished at being told that before you can accomplish anything on your own behalf, you must follow along the same or similar lines for your own education as the wage-workers have followed in theirs. With all your organized ability to produce wealth in the form of farm produce, you are still lacking in a knowledge of the fundamentals of present-day society. Take a lesson from the wage-slave's educational program and study your position in society through his method.

GEO. PATON.

On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage.

"SABOTAGE" is a derivative of "sabot," which is French for a wooden shoe. It means going slow, with a dragging, clumsy movement, such as that manner of footgear may be expected to bring on. So it has come to describe any maneuvers of slowing-down, inefficiency, bungling, obstruction. In American usage the word is very often taken to mean forcible obstruction, destructive tactics, industrial frightfulness, incendiarism and high explosives, although that is plainly not its first meaning nor its common meaning. Nor is that its ordinary meaning as the word is used among those who have advocated a recourse to sabotage as a means of enforcing an argument about wages or the condition of work. The ordinary meaning of the word is better defined by an expression which has latterly come into use among the I. W. W., "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency"—although that phrase does not cover all that is rightly to be included under this technical term.

The sinister meaning which is often attached to the word in American usage, as denoting violence and disorder, appears to be due to the fact that the American usage has been shaped chiefly by persons and newspapers who have aimed to discredit the use of sabotage by organized workmen, and who have therefore laid stress on its less amiable manifestations. This is unfortunate. It lessens the usefulness of the word by making it a means of denunciation rather than of understanding. No doubt violent obstruction has had its share in the strategy of sabotage as carried on by disaffected workmen, as well as in the similar tactics of rival business concerns. It comes into the case as one method of sabotage, though by no means the most usual or the most effective; but it is so spectacular and shocking a method that it has drawn undue attention to itself. Yet such deliberate violence is, no doubt, a relatively minor fact in the case, as compared with that deliberate malingering, confusion, and misdirection of work that makes up the bulk of what the expert practitioners would recognize as legitimate sabotage.

The word first came into use among the organized French workmen, the members of certain **syndicats**, to describe their tactics of passive resistance, and it has continued to be associated with the strategy of these French workmen, who are known as syndicalists, and with their like-minded running-mates in other countries. But the tactics of these syndicalists, and their use of sabotage, do not differ, except in detail, from the tactics of other workmen elsewhere, or from the similar tactics of friction, obstruction, and delay habitually employed, from time to time, by both employees and employers to enforce an argument about wages and prices. Therefore, in the course of a quarter-century past, the word has quite unavoidably taken on a general meaning in common speech, and has been extended to cover all such peaceable or surreptitious maneuvers of delay, obstruction, friction, and defeat, whether employed by the workmen to enforce their claims, or by the employers to defeat their employees, or by competitive business concerns to get the better of their business rivals or to secure their own advantage.

Such maneuvers of restriction, delay, and hindrance have a large share in the ordinary conduct of business; but it is only lately that this ordinary line of business strategy has come to be recognized as being substantially of the same nature as the ordinary tactics of the syndicalists. So that it has not been usual until the last few years to speak of maneuvers of this kind as sabotage when they are employed by employers and other business concerns. But all this strategy of delay, restriction, hindrance, and defeat is manifestly of the same character, and should conveniently be called by the same name, whether it is carried on by business men or by workmen; so that it is no longer unusual now to find workmen speaking of "capitalistic sabotage" as freely as the employers and the newspapers speak of syndicalist sabotage. As the word is now used, and as it is properly used, it describes a certain system of industrial strategy or management, whether it is employed by one or another. What it describes is a resort to peaceable or surreptitious restriction, delay, withdrawal, or obstruction.

Sabotage commonly works within the law, although it may often be within the letter rather than the spirit of the law. It is used to secure some special advantage or preference, usually of a businesslike sort. It commonly has to do with something in the nature of a vested right, which one or another of the parties in the case aims to secure or defend, or to defeat or diminish; some preferential right or special advantage in respect of income or privilege, something in the way of a vested interest. Workmen have resorted to such measures to secure improved conditions of work, or increased wages, or shorter hours, or to maintain their habitual standards, to all of which they have claimed to have some sort of a vested right. Any strike is of the nature of sabotage, of course. Indeed, a strike is a typical species of sabotage. That strikes have not been spoken of as sabotage is due to the accidental fact that strikes were in use before this word came into use. So also, of course, a lockout is another typical species of sabotage. That the lockout is employed by the employers against the employees does not change the fact that it is a means of defending a vested right by delay, withdrawal, defeat, and obstruction of the work to be done. Lockouts have not usually been spoken of as sabotage, for the same reason that holds true in the case of strikes. All the while it has been recognized that strikes and lockouts are of identically the same character.

All this does not imply that there is anything discreditable or immoral about this habitual use of strikes and lockouts. They are part of the ordinary conduct of industry under the existing system, and necessarily so. So long as the system remains unchanged these measures are a necessary and legitimate part of it. By virtue of his ownership the owner-employer has a vested right to do as he will with his own property, to deal or not to deal with any person that offers, to withhold or withdraw any part or all of his industrial equipment and natural resources from active use for the time being, to run on half time or to shut down his plant and to lock out all those persons for whom he has no present use on his own premises. There is no question that the lockout is altogether a legitimate maneuver. It may even be meritorious, and it is frequently considered to be meritorious when its use helps to maintain sound conditions in business—that is to say, profitable conditions, as frequently happens. Such is the view of the substantial citizens. So also is the strike legitimate, so long as it keeps within the law; and it may at times even be meritorious, at least in the eyes of the strikers. It is to be admitted quite broadly that both of these typical species of sabotage are altogether fair and honest in principle, although it does not therefore follow that every strike or every lockout is necessarily fair and honest in its working-out. That is in some degree a question of special circumstances.

Sabotage, accordingly, is not to be condemned out of hand, simply as such. There are many measures of policy and management both in private business and in public administration which are unmistakably of the nature of sabotage and which are not only considered to be excusable, but are deliberately sanctioned by statute and common law and by the public conscience. Many such measures are quite of the essence of the case under the established system of law and order, price and business, and are faithfully believed to be indispensable to the common good. It should not be difficult to show that the common welfare in any community which is organized on the price system cannot be maintained without a salutary use of sabotage—that is to say, such habitual recourse to delay and obstruction of industry and such restriction of output as will maintain prices at a reasonably profitable level and so guard against business depression. Indeed, it is precisely considerations of this nature that are now engaging the best attention of officials and business men in their endeavors to tide over a threatening depression in American business and a consequent season of hardship for all those persons whose main dependence is free income from investments.

(To be continued.)

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 give to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of progts, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

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

Literature Price List

(Watch this List for Changes.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Wholesale rates on application.

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

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

Red Heart of Russia. (Bessie Beattie). Per copy, $2.00.

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

Six Red Months in Russia. (Louise Bryant). Per copy, $2.00.

(All above post free).

Ancient Society. (Morgan). Per copy (postage 14c extra), $1.50.

Supplies to Locals.

Dues Cards, per 100, $1.00.
Letterheads, per 100, 60c.
Platforms, per 100, 50c.
Constitutions, per 100, $1.50.
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