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THE BOLSHEVIST "DECLARATION OF RIGHTS"

(From the September issue of "Current History")

Draft of Socialist Constitution.

THE Lenin Government at Moscow, known to its adherents as the Council of People's Commissaries, prepared in the Summer of 1918 a "Declaration of Rights" and a preliminary draft of a Constitution, both of which were to be presented by a special commission for adoption by the fifth Pan Russian Congress of Soviets. The document was printed in the official Bolshevist organ, Pravda, and its more important parts were republished in German by the *Vomische Zeitung* of Berlin, from which the English translation given below was made. In reproducing it here "Current History Magazine" leaves the reader to make his own comments on Bolshevik acts as compared with the principles and assertion contained in the document:

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LABORING HUMANITY.

Approved by the Commission of the Central Committee for drafting the Constitution of the Soviets.

We, the working people of Russia, laborers, peasants, Cossacks, soldiers and sailors, united in the councils of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates, declare in the persons of our plenipotentiary representatives, who have assembled at the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets, the following rights and duties of the working and despoiled people:

The economic subjection of the laboring classes by the possessors of the means and instruments of production, of the soil, machines, factories, railways, and raw materials—these basic sources of life—appears as the cause of all sorts of political oppression, economic spoliation, intellectual and moral enslavement of the laboring masses.

The economic liberation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism represents therefore the greatest task of our time and must be accomplished at all cost.

The liberation of the working classes must and can be the work of those classes themselves, who must unite for that purpose in the Soviets of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates.

In order to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that it is necessary to destroy the existing social structure, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to

substitute for it a socialistic structure. Then the whole earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

Only by giving society a socialistic structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed; only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men—placed upon an equality as to rights and duties—will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem, and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertions of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the workingmen of other countries who have risen against the capitalistic structure of society.

The working class of Russia, true to the legacy of the Internationale, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all the means of production in the hands of the socialistic state and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

LAND HOLDINGS ABOLISHED

The first steps in that direction were:

1.—Abolition of property in land, declaration of the entire soil to be national property, and the distribution of it to the workmen without purchase money, upon the principle of equality in utilizing it.

2.—Declaration as national property of all forests, treasures of the earth and waters of general public utility, and all the belongings, whether animals or things of the model farms and agricultural undertakings.

3.—Introduction of a law for the control of workmen and for the nationalization of a number of branches of industry.

4.—Nationalization of the banks, which heretofore

were one of the mightiest instruments for the spoliation of society by capital.

5.—Repudiation of loans which were contracted by the Czar's Government upon account of the Russian people, thereby to deal a blow to international capital as one of the factors chiefly responsible for the war.

6.—Arming of the laborers and peasants and disarming of the propertied classes.

7.—Besides all this, the introduction of a universal obligation to work, for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society, is planned.

As soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic association, in which the development of every single individual will appear as the condition for the development of all men; as soon as the old bourgeois state, with its classes and class hatred, is definitely superseded by a firmly established socialistic society, which rests upon universal labor, upon the application and distribution of all productive forces according to plan, and upon the solidarity of all its members, then, along with the disappearance of class differences, will disappear also the necessity for the dictatorship of the working classes for State power as the instrument of class domination.

These are the immediate internal problems of the Soviet Republic.

In its relations to other nations the Soviet Republic stands upon the principles of the first Internationale, which recognized truth, justice, and morality as the foundation of its relations to all humanity, independent of race, religion, or nationality.

The Socialist Soviet Republic recognizes that wherever one member of the family of humanity is oppressed all humanity is oppressed, and for that reason it proclaims and defends to the utmost the right of all nations to self-determination, and thereby to the free choice of their destiny.

It accords that right to all nations without exception, even to the hundreds of millions of laborers in Asia, Africa, in all colonies and the small countries who, down to the present day, have been oppressed and despoiled without pity by the ruling classes, by the so-called civilized nations.

The Soviet Republic has transformed into deeds the principles proclaimed before its existence. The right of Poland to self-determination having been recognized in the first days of the March revolution, after the overturn in October the Soviet Republic proclaimed the full independence of Finland and the right of the Ukraine, of Armenia, of all the peoples populating the territory of the former Russian Empire, to their full self-determination.

In its efforts to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the Soviet Republic declared itself a Federal Republic and offered to the laborers and peasants of every nation the opportunity to enter as members with equal rights into the fraternal family of the Republic of Soviets (through action taken) independently in the plenipotentiary sessions of their Soviets, to any extent and in whatever form they might wish.

TO WAR AGAINST WAR.

The Soviet Republic has declared war upon war, not only in words, but also in deeds; and in doing so it formally and in the name of the working masses of Russia announced its complete renunciation of all efforts at con-

quest and annexation, as well as all thought of oppressing small nations. At the same time the Soviet Republic to prove the sincerity of its purposes, broke openly with the policy of secret diplomacy and secret treaties, and it proposed to all belligerent nations to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free self-determination of peoples. That standpoint is still firmly adhered to by the Soviet Republic.

Compelled by the policy of violence practiced by the imperialisms of all the world, the Soviet Republic is marshalling its forces for resistance against the growing demands of the robber packs of international capital, and it looks to the inevitable rebellion of the working classes for the solution of the question of how the nations can live peacefully together. The international Socialist rebellion alone, in which the laboring people of each State overthrow their own imperialisms, puts an end to war once for all and creates the conditions for the full realization of the solidarity of the working people of the entire world.

Taking its stand upon the principles of the Internationale, the Soviet Republic recognizes that there can be no rights without duties and no duties without rights, and therefore proclaims at the same time with the right of the working classes in a rejuvenated society the following outline of their duties:

1.—To fight everywhere and without sparing their strength for the complete power of the working classes and to stamp out all attempts to restore the dominion of the despoilers and oppressors.

2.—To assist with all their strength in overcoming the depression caused by the war and the opposition of the bourgeoisie, and to co-operate in bringing about as speedy a recovery as possible of production in all branches of economy.

3.—To subordinate their personal and group interests to the interests of all the working people of Russia and the whole world.

4.—To defend the Republic of the Soviets, the only socialistic bulwark in the capitalistic world, from the attacks of international imperialism without sparing their own strength and even their own lives.

5.—To keep in mind always and everywhere the sacred duty of liberating labor from the domination of capital, and to strive for the establishment of a world embracing fraternal league of working people.

In proclaiming these rights and duties the Russian Socialistic Republic of the Soviets calls upon the working classes of the entire world to accomplish their task to the very end, and in the faith that the Socialist ideal will soon be achieved to write upon their flags the old battle cry of the working people:

"Proletarians of all lands, unite! Long live the Socialistic world revolution!"

II.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTIC FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship over the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry, the power of the Pan Russian-Soviet

authority, the crushing of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the spoliation of men by men and the introduction of socialism in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a State authority.

1.—The Russian Republic is the free socialistic society of all the working people of Russia, united in the urban and rural Soviets.

2.—The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character will be united into autonomous regional associations ruled by the sessions of the Soviets of those regions and their executive organs.

3.—The Soviet associations of the regions participate in the Russian Socialistic Republic upon the basis of federation, at the head of which stand the Pan-Russian session of the Soviets and, in periods between the sessions, the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

III.

CONCERNING THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS

Section First: Concerning the Suffrage:

1.—The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of the election:

1.—All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and are members of the trades associations; namely:

(a) Laborers and employes of all classes who are employed in industry, trade and agriculture.

(b) Peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who hire no labor.

(c) Employes and laborers in the offices of the Soviet Government.

2.—Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

3.—Citizens of the two previous categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

II.—The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

1.—Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase of profits;

2.—Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, and so on;

3.—Private merchants, trade and commercial intermediaries;

4.—Employes of communities for religious worship;

5.—Employes and agents of the former police, the gendarmic corps, and the Ochrana; also members of the dynasty that formerly ruled in Russia;

6.—Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also deaf and dumb persons;

7.—Persons who have been punished for selfish or dishonorable misdemeanors.

IV.—VII.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

The Government is based upon the smallest settlements (villages and hamlets), the inhabitants of which may elect one representative to each 100 persons.

The rural Soviets are under the authority of the Sov-

iets of the Volosts (districts), and these latter under the Soviets of the Ujests (larger regions).

The urban and Ujest Soviets elect delegates to sessions of the Government or Oblast Soviets. Each of these bodies chooses independently its own Executive Committee.

The keystone of the whole Constitution is embraced in:

VIII.

CONCERNING THE PAN RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF THE SOVIETS.

1.—The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets, (one delegate for each 25,000 voters), and representatives of the Government congresses (one delegate for each 125,000 voters).

2.—The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

3.—The extraordinary Pan Russian Congress will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of the Soviets of districts embracing at least one-third of the entire population of the republic.

4.—The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

5.—The Pan Russian Executive Committee is responsible to the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets.

6.—The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets is the highest power in the republic. In the periods between its sessions that power is represented by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

It is further provided that the Central Executive Committee shall be divided into eleven colleges for administrative functions. These are:

1. Foreign policies.
2. Defense of the country (army and navy).
3. Social order and security (militia), census of the people, registration of societies and associations, fire department, insurance, organization of the Soviets.
4. Justice.
5. Public economy (with sub-section for agriculture, industry and trade, finances, railways, food supply, State property, and construction).
6. Labor and social welfare.
7. Education and enlightenment of the people.
8. Public health.
9. Post, telegraph and telephone.
10. Federal and national affairs.
11. Control and auditing.

The above "Declaration," an illuminating document amidst the thick obscurity of libel and distortion which has been thrown over the Russian situation will be published in leaflet form.

Students of sociology are interested, not in the accidental and incidental phenomena which may accompany the attempt to realize the provisions of this "Declaration," but in the fundamental principles and ideals involved in it, which multitudes of men have set as the goal of realization.

Send to "Western Clarion," 401 Pender St. E., Vancouver, B. C., for leaflets. Price 75c per 100.

WAR AIMS

SOcialists, that is, the Socialists of the Scientific school, have always maintained that this war was economic in its origin. It is true that during the early days of the war our views found little popular support. That was due to the fact that people generally know so little about foreign relations and world politics that they can really not make correct judgments about issues involving war. Moreover, it was hard for Socialists to give more than general facts pointing to the economic origin of the war. We could not place our finger on a particular place in the map and say that the economic and commercial rivalry between the national groups of capitalists in this place culminated in the war. That is, we could not localize the origin of war, if indeed it could be localized. The origin of the war might better be looked upon as the sum and outcome of the economic rivalries in all the sensitive places on the commercial map. These sensitive places we can easily indicate. The more important are (or were before the war) Mexico, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Balkan States. Possibly Morocco should be mentioned in this number too. Commercial and economic rivalry, in its various phases, has been very active in these places, and it is really only a matter of accident that the world war did not break out in 1905 or 1911. The rivalry was certainly present, but the dramatic act, the immediate cause of every war, such, for instance, as the murder of a prince or the blowing up of a battleship—something which would inflame the war-passion of the populace—was wanting.

There need be no doubt in anyone's mind as to whether this world war was due to economic causes. But if the war was caused by economic rivalries are the war aims of the combatting nations economic in their nature?

To this the Socialists answered with an emphatic "Yes." It is not the popular conception that this is true, and the capitalist governments and press deny it. But nevertheless it is true, and the purpose of this article is to show that it is.

In writing about war-aims only those which are involved in the policy of the Allies can be considered, although the writer, in his own mind, is quite satisfied that the war-aims of the Central European powers differ very little, in substance and in general principles, from those of the Allies. The war-aims may be classified as political and economic. The latter may be sub-divided so as to show two tendencies: First, to boycott German made goods; second, to drive the Germans from the territory which is most likely to serve as a sphere of development for German trade and to be dominated by German finance.

There are, of course, no war aims that have been definitely stated. Such as we have, are stated in broad general terms so that their meaning is not clear. They may mean one thing or they may mean another. Of the political aims the catchiest, if not the one which comes closest to stating the point, is Wilson's "to make the world safe for democracy." The meaning one gets from this phrase depends altogether on what is understood by the word "Democracy." This is one of those elastic words which can be stretched to mean almost anything. It is a catch phrase, something like the French "Liberty, Freedom and Equality." Coming as it does from Wilson, the official representative of the American capitalists, we may safely interpret it to mean such a form of government, or such political relationships, as will make

it safe to carry on trade and to invest capital, especially in those parts of the world in which American capitalists are particularly interested. So "to make the world safe for democracy" is really the same thing as to make it safe for trade. For "democracy" is the political expression used to designate those political relationships which ensure good trade relations.

Harmonious trade relations, with all that means, is the life-giving spirit of international capitalism. Governments are the agents through which these relations are brought about. Thus a government has its work pretty well mapped out for it. Now the small nations which are apparently going to be given what is called the "right of self-determination" must establish such governments as will maintain this political standard. The great powers lay this down as a necessary condition for their receiving this right. The small nations must have governments that will maintain law and order; that will guarantee the security of the investments of foreign capitalists; that will not levy taxes of a confiscatory nature; otherwise they will incur the hostility and probable military intervention of the governments whose citizens have been injured by such taxes. The Mexican government only a few weeks ago, made the mistake of levying heavy taxes on the properties of British and American investors, with the result that both the government of Great Britain and the United States made dire threats, even to the extent of suggesting military intervention. Moreover the foreign offices of these governments met, at all times, be ready and willing to listen to and receive suggestions in regard to some policy from the large powers. The foreign office of these small nations is by no means the most insignificant branch of their governments; indeed, it is the most important in that it is through this channel that they keep in touch, politically at least, with the rest of the world, and so find out if they are conducting their governments according to schedule and not endangering their right to national existence. For if a small nation becomes recalcitrant and remains obdurate to the suggestions of some large power which, for some reason or other is interested in the proper conduct of its government, that is, if it does not maintain law and order and keep up the harmonious trade relations, then this large power will interfere and probably establish a protectorate over it by conducting the affairs of its foreign office as England has done with Egypt.

It is very probable that these small nations, which enjoy self-determination, will be allowed a great deal of elbow room in conducting their domestic policies. They will be permitted to pass a woman suffrage law, to maintain a national church, to establish a system of public education, to make public improvements and to enact social reforms, all provided of course that they give due attention to the amount of taxes that they levy against the property of powerful foreign investors. Neither is it probable that the great powers will concern themselves about what form of government each individual small nation chooses to establish, just so that each government has a foreign office that is sensitive to the wishes of the great powers. Now this system of international politics is democracy according to imperialistic interpretation. But one cannot escape the impression that democracy has become a system of political relationship through which the large powers can wield the "big stick" over the heads of the small nations even though the latter have graciously been granted the right of self-determination.

The political war aims can be glossed over by ringing catch phrases so that their true significance is not revealed. Not so with the economic aims. Here we have the elementary struggle for advantage which brooks no prevarications. Hence, when dealing with the economic phases of the war the capitalist press uses plain language which everyone can understand. Thus the press tells us plainly that one aim of the Entente Allies and America is to crush German trade. The German capitalists are equally anxious to crush the trade of the Allied countries.

It is interesting as well as instructive to note the increased space that is given to the discussion of this phase of the war in the American press. Quite aside from the fact that this subject is more to the liking of the editorial scribes than exciting accounts of the wreck of the Lusitania, and the Violation of the Rights of Small Nations, it shows that the economic phases of the war are the more important and the most vital, for the subsidized press is the sure indicator of the direction of the wind in the political and economic atmosphere. And that the threat to crush each others industries is no child's play, is seen by the characteristic manner in which the warring factions are setting about to accomplish this end. The American bourgeois element favor the economic boycott. Thus a society, the "American Guardian Society," has been organized whose members have pledged themselves to oppose the opening of American markets to German goods for the next twenty-five years. Furthermore they are pledged neither to buy nor use German goods for the same period of time. If these schemes would work it is one way of ruining German trade and substituting the American, thus giving to American capitalists the profits the German capitalists used to make.

On the other hand, the German capitalists have their subtle designs against their enemies trade. They are evidently not going to allow themselves to be beat out in this attempt to put a bar on their goods. Mr. Marcossan, a correspondent of the "Saturday Evening Post," tells us about their methods. They are establishing factories in Holland, Switzerland and, especially, in Spain. These capitalists are fairly overrunning Spain, by buying up all the water-rights and the stocks, securing all the leases, and as many factories as are procurable. Great warehouses are built and stocked with copper, oil and cotton. The basis of a great industry is being laid. After the war the products of these factories will be labelled "Made in Holland," etc., and will be shipped out to the various countries of the world. This drives Mr. Marcossan almost to the depths of despair. He thinks it is the pinnacle of German perfidy. Indeed, it does defeat the attempt to boycott German made goods. In retaliation for this act of German perfidy, this capitalist-minded scribe advises the American machine-makers not to export any machines or tools to the above-mentioned countries unless they are certain beforehand that the factories in which these machines will be installed are not owned or dominated by German capital. Thus behind the back of the war that is supposed to be waged for the liberation of humanity goes on the conflict to destroy commercial rivals.

Socialists contend that this is the essence, the very marrow, of the present war. It is a war between the capital, to use the word in the popular sense, of the contending nations. Let us look at this closer. Our exasperated scribe was up in arms because German made goods could not be detected on the markets. Now most any one would naturally suppose that goods which are

made within the territorial division called Holland should be labelled "Made in Holland," even though they were made in a factory that was owned and dominated by German capital. It is hard for us average-minded people to see how such goods can be called "German made goods." But that is because we cannot see with the keen eye of the capitalist. Capitalists recognize no country. They only recognize rivals. Thus goods are stamped in the eyes of the capitalist, not by the name of the territory in which they were made, but by the name or nationality of the capitalists who own the machinery by which they were made. Now an English or American capitalist, who ordinarily are so merciful and kind to the poor, can have nothing against a Dutch working man getting a job, but it does aggravate him that it is a German capitalist who exploits him and gets the unpaid surplus value. In other words, our American and English capitalists are sore because these goods made by the Dutchman on machines owned by German capitalists will be placed on the markets of the world and sold in competition with the goods placed on these same markets by American and English capitalists, thus necessitating a rivalry between these sets of capitalists to get a chance to sell their goods so as to realize the surplus value they contain. It is in this way that the war is a fight between different aggregations of capital, although it may and does assume the form of a conflict between countries and nationalities.

At all events, the invasion by German capital of foreign nations, the building of factories and railways in these foreign parts and the manufacturing of goods which are sold in competition with the goods of other nations is the thrust that cuts deep into the moral consciousness of the Allied capitalist nations. This is really the basis of German duplicity and treachery. This is the unpardonable sin. Hence, the dictum has gone out that German industry must be crippled, and, above all things, its capital must not be allowed to expand.

German economic influence must not develop eastwards into Russia and Siberia. This is the key to the undertaking of the war developments in the East. To prevent this is the last aim of the death-dealing struggle that is being waged. Economic domination of Russia and Siberia is the great objective of the war. All the national capitalistic group, the English, American, German, Austrian, French and Japanese, want to plant their influence here. Unless unforeseen events take place there is sure to be a huge and fierce battle before it is finally decided which set of capitalists is going to dominate Russian industrial and commercial enterprise. It will be a battle in which no quarter will be given. Events are already beginning to shape themselves for this last and huge encounter. It may be fought out on the western front, or the battle lines may be shifted to the east. At all events Russia is already being invaded from the four corners of the earth by hostile capitalist armies. And if these armies meet each other, owing to the enormous value of the prize at stake, there will be a deadly combat. It will indeed be a contest of Greek against Greek.

The economic control of Russia and Siberia is, assuredly, worth any imperialist government's effort. This is the largest expanse of undeveloped territory in the world. It is teeming with natural resources of all descriptions. In the south around the Caspian Sea are large deposits of salt, and in the Caucasian region are the finest oil fields in the world. In the north is a belt of valuable timber that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the Urals and the mountains of the east and in the alluvial

(Continued on page 8.)

Editorial Page

The Western Clarion

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These must be happy days for the Gods, providing, of course, they have a sense of humor. We have on good authority, the Holy Bible, no less, that once upon a time they were reduced to making sport of an old shepherd on the Plains of Shinar. It was rough humor of course, befitting the rude and barbarous conditions of that remote and uncultured period. They were furthermore reduced to seeking the aid of the devil himself to carry out the joke.

We cultured mortals who have Charlie Chaplin on tap, could find little cause for laughter in blasting an old shepherd's flock, slaughtering his sons, and covering his frail body with boils; personally we have no objections, other times, other humor.

The trouble in those days was the limited nature of the humor fund.

In the first place there were no slaves in those days. And slavery is humorous in many aspects. In its latest phase the wage variety, it is supreme and lofty comedy. It is said, or if it isn't, it ought to be, that superb comedy borders on the tragic. That is why a street urchin gets such vast enjoyment out of a gentleman falling into a mud puddle; doubtless also why the Almighty egged the devil on in his tragic sport with Job.

Anyway it is a significant fact that the Gods quit interfering in human affairs when wage slavery appeared. The humor of a situation lies not so much in the finale as in the complications; and wage-slavery is full to the brim of complications. For instance, there is nothing humorous in the war, but the little side lines everywhere arising out of the war are chock full.

Take the report, lately carried in the newspapers, that all news of Russia came through Germany and was colored and cooked by the humnish hand, and then compare the editorials of the same papers on Russian affairs. To get the full flavor of this situation go and see the celluloid drama entitled "The Yellow Ticket." This photo play seems to suggest that Russia had a class of creatures

who occupied places of "honor" and who were not Bolshevik, but who never-the-less would make excellent originals for the mammoth pictures which portrayed the Kaiser consuming women whole, sans dressing, sans salt, sans anything. Russia, the land of the knout, of the Ohkrana, of Siberian exile, Czarism, which represents all that is hateful to the Liberal bourgeoisie, could hardly be expected to clean her Augean stables over night. There is no river which a modern Hercules could turn into them. The task had to be accomplished by men, the gods no doubt are helpless with laughter even were they inclined to help.

And there is, of course, the great-joke—Kerensky. Memories of this savior bellowing from a gas wagon, in Petrograd, dope inspired eloquence to the soldiers, linger in our minds, when accounts appeared of his dramatic recrudescence from behind the robes of a gigantic priest in the British Trades Congress in London.

Who brought him and where he now resides we will learn some day, but we can picture the hilarious laughter in the gallery over that stunt.

The situation in Petrograd is also not without humor. For almost a year the working class have been in control, aside from the tremendous task of bringing order out of chaos, during the past four months they have been visited by pestilence, famine and fire, not to speak of counter revolution and assassinations, and yet they still control. Some stunt that. We don't know how it fits with the Defense of the Realm Act, but we are inclined to believe most of the famine, fire and pestilence exists in the minds of inspired newspapermen.

However, if all we read of Petrograd be true, then the working class of that city have performed a task greater than any recorded in the annals of man.

The funny part is, that in attempting to belittle the Bolsheviks, the great lying press have credited them with courage, ability and tenacity beyond belief. You can't beat that joke. Well—

"'Tis a strange world we come to you and I,

Whence so one knows and surely none know why

Why we remain, a harder question still.

And still another, whither when we die.

Some say we come God's purpose to fulfill,

Faith a poor purpose, if so you will.

Sport for the heavenly hunters, others say;

Sorry the sport methinks and poor the skill.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To the members of the Socialist Party of Canada and all readers of the Western Clarion:

Comrades.—In conformity with the promise made to our readers regarding the issuance of the "Western Clarion" twice monthly, we are making the plunge with the present issue. We say "making the plunge," advisedly, as the venture is in its nature speculative.

The subscription list, although much better than it was three months ago, is not such as to warrant us taking a step that might end in disaster, but the excellent results obtained from the appeal to party members and other readers, during the period above mentioned, leads us to

believe that, having carried out our part of the bargain, we can rely on the comrades throughout the country to redouble their efforts.

The rapidly changing political situation demands the wide circulation of a revolutionary organ, with a philosophy based on the established principles of Scientific Socialism, unswerving in its efforts and uncompromising in its position. This the "Clarion" has been in the past and no efforts will be lacking on our part to maintain it at that standard.

This is our part of the work. We are but the engine, you are the driving power. In collaboration we can make the "Clarion" one of the most active forces working for the overthrow of the degrading system of wealth production that now obtains, and towards the establishment of a new system, where servitude and bondage will be but a hideous memory.

Our comrades will appreciate the increased value of a two weekly "Clarion" over a monthly as a more effective instrument for dealing with current affairs and for countering the vicious propaganda of the desperate bourgeoisie.

Additional expenses are incurred by this venture, but the matter is now in your hands, and with the support we hope for, from you, we may even be able, in the near future, to publish the "Clarion" weekly. Let us not fail!

TCHITCHERIN'S PROTEST.

Amsterdam, August 15.—A very remarkable statement was delivered August 6 by Foreign Minister Tchitcherin to Consul-General Poole at Moscow:

The Bolshevik minister said he had placed at the consul-general's disposal the Russian wireless station, and asked Mr. Poole to inform his government that an unjustifiable attack was being made upon the Bolshevik government. M. Tchitcherin protested against the Allied landing in the north. His note, as sent by the Wolff Bureau in a despatch from Moscow, under date of Tuesday reads:

"Dear Mr. Poole—At the time when Citizen Lenine, in a speech referring to the unjustifiable Anglo-French invasion declared that the British and French were in fact at war with us and you came to ask whether peace or war existed between us and whether you were to remain with us, I replied that our people were still at peace with yours, and that to enable you to continue acting as representative of the United States, the same facilities would be granted you as heretofore.

"This possibility still holds good as far as we are concerned, inasmuch as the interruption of cable communication by way of the Murman coast is the work of Great Britain, not ours, and as the only possibility of communicating with your government we have placed our wireless station at your disposal.

UNJUSTIFIABLE ATTACK

"We, therefore, request you to inform your government and peoples abroad that a completely unjustifiable attack and a pronounced act of violence is being committed upon us. Our people want nothing but to live in peace and friendship with the masses and workers of all nations. Despite the existing state of peace, Anglo-French armed forces have invaded our territory, taken our towns and villages by force, dissolved our workers'

organizations, imprisoned their members and driven them from their homes without any reason or warrant for these predatory acts.

"And without a declaration of war and without the existence of a state of war hostilities are opened against us and our national property is pillaged. Toward us no justice is observed and no law acknowledged by those who sent these invading troops against us, for we are the first in the world to establish a government for the oppressed people. Barefaced robbery is held permissible against us.

"These people, who did not declare war against us, act like brigands toward us, but we who represent the oppressed people, are no barbarians like those invaders. Retaliation against those who shoot the members of our Soviet does not take the shape of similar acts against representatives of these governments. The official government representatives enjoy an immunity which is refused by the latter's official departments to our Soviet members.

WORRINGMEN EXEMPT

"While we take this attitude toward the official representatives of Great Britain and France, we take into consideration your own urgent request because we regard you as the representative of a nation which to use your own words, will undertake nothing against the Soviets if we retaliate with precautionary measures against the warlike measures directed against us.

"It is in pursuance of this that we intern the nationals of invading powers in concentration camps. We regard these nationals as civilian persons. We apply these precautionary measures only against the members of the property classes, who are our opponents. No such measures are taken against our national allies, the working men of these same countries, who happen to be here. The working classes of the whole world are our friends.

"Precisely at this moment we say this to the countries whose armies proceed with open violence against us, and we call out to their peoples, 'peace be to the homes of the poor.'

"As you stated to us as your nation does not propose to destroy the Soviets, we ask you now if you can tell us plainly what Great Britain wants with us. Is Great Britain's aim to destroy the most popular government the world ever has seen, namely the councils of the poor and the peasants? Is her aim a counter-revolution?

"In view of the acts referred to by me, I must assume that that is true. We must believe that her intention is to establish the worst tyranny that ever existed in the world, namely, the hated czarism. Or does she contemplate seizing any specific town or territory she can take?

"Remembering your kindness, I hope you will help us to elucidate these problems.

—Vancouver World, Aug. 18, 1918.

DEATH OF H. M. FITZGERALD

We regret to announce the death of H. M. Fitzgerald, in Tranquille Sanitarium, Kamloops, B. C. Fitz was suffering from tuberculosis and enlargement of the heart. His death is the movements loss, for while he had health and strength he spent himself lavishly in its service. Henry M. Fitzgerald will live always in the memories of those who knew him while in the movement, as a tireless propagandist and a brilliant, resourceful fighter for the social revolution.

WAR AIMS
(Continued from page 5.)

deposits of the northern river valleys of Siberia are found deposits of all minerals, gold, silver, lead, iron, coal and copper, in large quantities. In the interior, especially in the black earth belt east of the Valdai Hills, and in the broad expanse of prairie along the Trans-Siberian Railway in Siberia, is some of the best agricultural lands in the world. Indeed Siberia promises to become the bread basket of the world. It has the climate and the soil, but it lacks the people and the transportation facilities.

Now by a little exercise of the imagination by a slight attempt at visualizing the situation, it is possible to realize the glorious possibilities ahead of capitalism in such a territory. Think of the real estate speculations; think of the bonds that can be bought from local governments, towns and local improvement districts; think of the railways to be built (President Wilson has kept a troupe of railway engineers at Nagasaki purposely to begin surveying at the first opportune moment); think of the factories to be established; the mines to be opened and the timber to be cut down. Try to get a vision of the stream of profits that will flow into the pockets of the foreign investor and the industrial capitalist from all this commercial and industrial activity, and you may get an idea of why the warring nations are all so anxious to intervene in Russian affairs. For if, by a little stretch of the imagination, we can make minerals and wheat look like honey, and oil like milk, we can truly say that Russia and Siberia is a land flowing with milk and honey for capitalist investors.

Assuredly, he must be dull who cannot see that the objective of the Germans is not Paris, nor that of the Allies Berlin, but it is Moscow, Odessa, Baku, Irkutsk and Vladivostok. In this mad race to get control of Russia, Germany by the acquisition of Courland, Estonia and Lithuania, was the first to place her foot on the doorstep into Russia. This sufficiently explains the present frantic endeavor of the Allies to intervene in Russian affairs, for as the Manchester Guardian states: "While all Russia is open to German commercial penetration, the Allies are, commercially, utterly sundered from her." Thus the capitalist press itself furnishes the key to the understanding of the Allies seemingly benevolent interest in Russia.

We do not charge that the Allies design to conquer Russia. A local bank in Western Canada does not need to own an acre of land in the district in which it does business in order to direct and control the agricultural activities of that district. On the same principle it is not necessary for one nation to own another in order to control the latter's political and economic destiny. But we do charge that the aim of the Allied intervention or German invasion in Russia is to secure political and consequently, economic control over this country, and that the motive for such intervention is the insatiable hunger on the part of enterprising capitalists to make profitable investments, and to exploit undeveloped territories and backward peoples. We scorn with the bitter scorn of those who are seeking the truth, the assertion that this action was taken on humanitarian and moral grounds, so as "to help the Russians repair their shattered political and economic fabric."

Socialists are not particular at all which set of capitalists finally get possession of the spoils of the war. They cannot link their aims with the aims of any imperialist government. If Russia, against the will of her people,

is to be overrun and ravished by invading hordes as is being done by the warring armies, Socialists can only expose the imperialist policies of the participating governments. And in doing this they would have no other aim than disclosing the truth. For, as the old saying is "Seek the truth and it shall make you free." And the truth is this, that the present war is economic in its origin and aims, that Russia and Siberia are the great paradises of future capitalist development, and into this paradise all capitalists are seeking to enter. No other conclusion can be drawn from a close observation of the events of the day, and of the drift of the storm centre of the war.

**AS TO A MONUMENT TO THE LATE COMRADE
D. G. MCKENZIE**

The publication in book form of selected "Clarion" editorials has for long enough been considered worth undertaking. Several times we have made attempts to have this done, but difficulties invariably arose which forced us to abandon the project, until more favorable times.

We do not consider that the time is now come, but we are reminded of our plans by a couple of offers of \$5 each toward the publication of the book containing selected editorials and other writings of the late D. G. McKenzie.

We consider that apart from the educational value of such a book, it would also serve as a fitting remembrance of, and a monument to his work in the Socialist Party of Canada. Beside the editorials we would endeavor to include some of his writings which had not been published.

The book would be gotten up somewhat better than the usual servicable propaganda style. Those who feel that the customary savage survival of covering the grave with rocks is an inadequate means of expressing their appreciation of the talent and services of our dead comrade, could find in the production of a work of this kind an avenue for their good intents.

Those who feel that something should be done in this matter, are invited to send along their advice. We are desirous of having a book worthy of the man. The matter will take care of itself. The style and appearance of the book will have to be left to Mc's friends. This is only a hint at our intentions, the consummation of which, of course, will have to await less strenuous days.

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SECRETARIAL SCRAPS.**

Commencing this month (October) the "Western Clarion" will be issued every two weeks. As to whether it will continue as a two-weekly depends on the support of our readers. They are our volunteer subscribers. Subs. were never before so easy to get. The people want to know. They must know. Do we not all sense another social crisis rapidly approaching? Then prepare. Introduce the "Clarion" to all the people and make them subscribe.

The "Clarion" will be dated and mailed from this office on the 1st and 15th of each month. The assistance of Comrade W. Bennett has been secured, so the Clarion will be issued promptly in future.

EDITORIAL ERUDITION

LABOR DAY

Labor Day will bring sport and rest, along with the usual crop of parades and protest. Some speakers will set forth that the interests of capital and labor are one and that they should draw together in unity. Others will affirm that these interests must be hostile until the private capitalist disappears and organized labor rules the world. Still others may think, if they do not say, that labor is a commodity to be bought like other merchandise as cheap as possible. Here extreme views meet, for the term "wage slavery" is accepted by a group of local orators and writers as a correct statement of the situation of employees, even when they earn a dollar an hour and the employer works harder and gets less. The gospel of the still narrower view of "class consciousness" will be preached tomorrow. Workers are urged to cultivate a class consciousness, considering only their own rights and interests against other classes. Employees have a similar consciousness of their own purposes, problems and perils.

Now we add our platitudes. The way of peace is not in the cultivation of these mutually exclusive phases of consciousness. If there can be no merger of the two in the present economic situation, there might be a wider exploration of each other's interests. The time calls for frank consultation and discussion between interests now drifting into what seems to be an unassisted hostility. Physically related as the employer and employed must be, since they obtain their living from the same enterprise, it is a loss to both that they should be separated in sympathy and aspiration. Many causes have contributed to the state of affairs. The remedy is not to be found in the exclusive cultivation of a separate class consciousness but in the search of some common interest of all parties to the social contract. Capital and labor might reach a temporary decision by fighting it out, but that would only be a preliminary campaign in an eternal war. There must be a better way.

—Vancouver Province, Aug. 31, 1918

FOOD PROFITEERING AD-VEB.

Investigation of food profiteering in the United States discloses facts unparalleled except perhaps in Russia. A report recently made to the United States Treasury Department shows profits exceeding in some cases a thousand per cent. Some of the figures given are truly astonishing. For instance, a canning company which made a profit in 1916 of 277 per cent, increased that figure in 1917 to 1,074. A flour milling company with a capital of \$2,500,000 made a clear profit of one million dollars last year. And dozens of canning companies made profits over 100 per cent. Meat packers did especially well. One concern with a capitalization of \$100,000 made over four million dollars profit. In 1917, another, with a capital of \$100,000, 000 made \$43,000,000 after paying war tax.

Figures such as these show the necessity of increasing the profiteering taxes in the neighboring republic. Something like the tax on alcohol in Canada which keeps cold storage companies' profits down to eleven per cent or so is what is needed on the other side of the line.

—Vancouver World, Aug. 31, 1918

he essays to instruct others. Had he done so the charge that we Socialists consider labor a commodity would never have been made.

We have not, nor, as far as we can learn, has any other body of workmen, possessed of a knowledge of Marxian Economics, made any such absurd claim. But we ask our editorial advisor what is a market but a condition under which things are bought and sold. As for instance, turning to the financial page of our esteemed contemporary we glean some information re the stock market, the present quotations on Baldwin Locomotives or Bethlehem Steel. When we speak of the cotton market as being up or down we understand comparatively the condition existing relating to the purchase and sale of cotton. Can we conceive of a coal market where coal is not bought and sold? Or a copper market where copper is not bought and sold? So, turning to "The Labor Gazette," published monthly by the Department of Labor at Ottawa, vol xviii—No. 8, August, 1918, we find, p. 562, under "Industrial Conditions During July, 1918," the following leading sub-head: "The Labor Market." Again we ask the inscrutably wise "Province" views-basher, can you conceive of a labor market where nothing is marketed? Obviously, either the "Province" or "The Labor Gazette" can be comforted by the consoling reflection that one of them is telling the truth.

But what is it that is bought and sold in the labor-market? Not labor, but labor-power, the workers' mental and physical energy. For labor, briefly, can be described as "labor-power in action," human energy being delivered up.

Does our editorial pundit say that the worker does not sell his labor-power, that the master does not buy it? If so, why do manufacturers lament so about the high-price of labor (high wages)? Further, if the "Province" thinks that labor-power is not "bought and sold"—is not a commodity—why the phrase "to be bought like other merchandise, as cheap as possible?"

And while we may be enjoying to the full "our" un stinted prosperity in the shape of One Dollar per hour (just where this exists, apart from overtime or Sunday rates), we would like to know, because we would notify Ottawa immediately of our change of address) while the boss may get less, still, our friend the "World" editor helps us out and further comment would spoil the exquisite beauty of these two-delectable samples of "Editorial Erudition."

Nevertheless, if some hard-headed working man wishes to realize the significance of the "World's" figures, let him try a little simple arithmetic. Commencing work, at the age of thirteen; 360 days a year, 10 hours a day, and dying at the immature age of 83 (since hard work never kills anyone) and receiving the "Province's" mythical One Dollar per hour, the sum of his pay envelope, for that period would amount to \$252,000. Under present conditions which is the better position—to sell labor-power or to buy it? No wonder the masters "engage" their miserable "penny-a-liners" to hoodwink the worker. Wake up workmen! Study Socialism!

W. A. P.

More articles for our columns will be required, so, send in your copy. Be brief, bright, and to the point.

Comrades Joe Naylor and Aitken will be tried at the Nanaimo Assizes some time this month (October). Send in your financial assistance without delay.

THE two foregoing editorials appeared the same evening in the two evening journalistic "mistakes" of our Western Metropolis. Compared they appear gems of rarest value. After such comparisons comment were almost superfluous were it not for the wild statements made by the editorial pundit of the "Province." For when that worthy states "Still others may think if they do not say, that labor is a commodity to be bought like other merchandise as cheap as possible," he has his editorial weather optic on us, insignificant mote as we are in the public eye.

But the writer in the "Province" "viewpaper" ought to look before he leaps, listen, observe and read before

CAPITALISM IN ITS LATER STAGES

(Continued from previous issues)

On their efforts to secure the highest possible degree of commercial prosperity, English manufacturers were first-guided by what is called the Mercantile Theory. This policy was chiefly based on an erroneous conception of wealth, according to which money, or gold, formed the foundation of national well-being. To this end, every effort was made to keep the amount of imports less than that of exports so that no money would have to leave the country. Articles of foreign manufacture were not allowed to enter or were heavily taxed in order to make their entry unprofitable, and only those things imported which were needed in production.

In conformity with this theory, England looked upon her colonies merely as sources of raw material, and as markets for the disposal of manufactured goods. Any attempt on the part of the American colonies to launch out into industry was severely suppressed, and every precaution was taken by English manufacturers to see that no machinery or even a plan or design of a machine left the country.

Through the Navigation Laws, which were passed in 1651, goods from India, Africa and America could only be transported in English ships, and goods from other countries were admitted only if carried by ships belonging to those countries. As a result, the Dutch, who had been the trade carriers of the world for many years, were practically given a death blow. England also prohibited the Americans to trade with any other country but herself, feeling that she should have the full benefit of her colonies, but America managed to carry on a thriving slave trade with Africa, as well as dealing surreptitiously, and therefore only in a limited way, with other countries.

With the increase of population and development of resources in America, the restrictions of the mother country both as to trade and industrial activity, began to grow more and more irksome. The members of business America began to resent the subordinate position in which they were held, and when their demands for greater commercial and political freedom were ignored, decided to break away and manage their affairs themselves.

English manufacturers defended the protests of their colonial brothers against "taxation without representation" for the reason that such arbitrary political methods, if allowed to prevail, would strengthen the power of the King and thus endanger their own political freedom. But they had not the slightest bit of sympathy for those colonists who desired to follow in their footsteps and engage in manufacturing. Restrictions in that direction could not be too severe.

With America's declaration of war on England, France eagerly rushed to the aid of the colonies, for here was a splendid chance of getting even with her enemy for ousting her from America in the Seven Years War. The separation of the colonies from England really had little effect on the economic relations of the two countries, for America's industrial development was barely begun, and she was still greatly dependent on England. But she was now free to regulate her affairs to her own good and from this time on her commercial growth was a steady one.

The French Revolution in 1789 was looked upon with

great interest by all classes in England. The landed aristocracy were horrified at the bloody methods that were used against the members of their own class in France. On principle, the English manufacturers were with the French bourgeoisie, for the latter were only struggling to secure, but with much greater effort, what they themselves had gained in 1688—greater political representation. But from a business standpoint, the English merchants had to fear the success of the revolution, for a politically liberated French bourgeoisie meant a stronger and more efficient business rival.

As for the toiling English masses, the issue, as usual, was completely clouded to them. The spectacle of the downtrodden and oppressed French workers rising up in arms, even though it was solely against the feudal lords, who, of course, were only a portion of the master class of France, thrilled them deeply. It did not occur to the English workers, and certainly not to the French, that the fight was purely one between the commercial and the feudal class for the political mastery of France, and that the position of the workers would be economically the same under either.

With the triumph of the French bourgeoisie, England saw that she would again have to come to grips with her old rival, if she wished to retain control over the markets of the world, and so in 1793 war was declared. At that time, it will be remembered, England's system of production was undergoing a most radical change. By the conclusion of the Continental War of 1915, the domestic system of industry had been almost done away with. In the Midland and Northern sections of England, there were thousands of factories working day and night in the manufacture of wool and cotton. Yet with all the many signs of bustle and activity, many workers were without employment. Women and children, however, were in great demand because a smaller wage could be paid them, and as far as skill was concerned, it required little of that to watch over the machines.

But so averse were women to becoming factory hands, that the manufacturers conceived the idea of drawing upon the workhouses and orphanages of the country; of which there were, unfortunately, a great number, for children, whom they engaged as apprentices. So vicious and selfish was the treatment these apprentices received at the hands of their employers, whose slaves they literally were, that this period of British industry forms one of the blackest pages in history. The victims worked until exhausted, were poorly fed and indecently housed, and many were chained to their machines for having attempted to run away.

Many an English workman had to live off the labor of his wife or children, for he somehow did not seem to fit anywhere. Those who did find employment worked at wages that were excessively low. All during and after the Continental War, the necessities of life were taxed on every hand, and wheat sold at famine prices. The Corn Laws of the country, which had been framed in the interest of the landowners, were mainly responsible for the high price of corn, for they forbade its importation until the home product had reached an excessive figure. Pauperism was never so apparent as at this time, and the Law of Settlement, by which a man could not draw on the poor rates of a parish until he had resided there at least forty days, prevented the workers from going elsewhere to look for work.

(To be continued.)

ADELINA CROSSETTE.

THIS PAGE RESERVED FOR
 "The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States"

MARXIAN DIALECTICS.

No. 1 of a Series of Three

EXPLANATORY.

THE word "dialectic" is much misunderstood by many people, being usually associated with some mental gymnastics, by which we seek to prove the incorrect by means of devious and tricky methods.

In the scientific sense the word means something entirely different, but even then many people use it as a substitute for the word "evolutionary," whereas it actually means far more than this.

Engels describes the dialectic as being "as a matter of fact, nothing but the science of the universal laws of motion and evolution in nature, human society and thought."

While we cannot promise in these articles to fully explain its meaning, we will endeavor to give an idea of its fuller use, and what a logical development of the dialectic method of thinking leads us to.

It is often said that the old Greek philosopher, Heraclitus, had a dialectic view of the universe because of the expression which he used, "Nothing is, everything is becoming," and we must agree that this saying shows a glimpse of dialectics, but Heraclitus and the rest of the Greek philosophers, while in a sense dialecticians, could get only a general view of the universe as a whole, but were unable to explain its various parts and their relation one to another. As Engels again shows, they could only express the general character of the picture and in order to understand it fully the picture had to be taken to pieces and its separate parts examined. This has been the work of the special sciences and the foundations for these, the gathering of knowledge of specific parts of nature, were also laid by the Greeks, carried on by the Arabs in the Middle Ages, and developed more fully from the later years of the 15th century till today.

The examination and grouping of the different parts led to a metaphysical method of thought, that method which looks only at the special parts immediately being examined, and so loses sight of the relation of one thing to another, and cannot view the universe in motion. To the metaphysician, things are unmovable and are isolated.

This mode of thought was used in philosophy even by materialists of the 17th and 18th centuries, for while they regarded ideas as the result of sense perceptions, yet to them matter became of itself the sole cause of ideas and thinking a purely mechanical process, lifeless and unchanging.

This view is essentially metaphysical, but it did not last for we find Locke maintaining that ideas result from sense perception, but adding to that the power of reflection, thus recognizing that ideas themselves are capable of developing and giving birth to more ideas after they have been received through the senses. While Locke cannot be regarded as a dialectician, still he made a great advance over the preceding materialists.

Later we find these materialists being supplanted by Hegel, who was for a time the foremost dialectic philosopher, for to Hegel the whole world, natural phen-

omena, society and our ideas are in constant motion, coming into being, changing and developing while all the time dependent upon one another.

But Hegel was an idealist; that is, he held that the continual movement and changing of material things was the result of a pre-conceived idea, in a word, that our ideas are not the result of material environment, but exist independently of matter and indeed superior to it, changing material phenomena to accord with the idea.

This was the flaw in the Hegelian system, for to have a view of everything as being constantly in motion, always developing, and yet to conceive of that development as being governed by an eternal, absolute idea, is a contradiction. If all things in the universe are constantly in motion, and changing their relation to one another, then nothing can be regarded as having existed from all time, and one thing cannot be separated from everything else. The only thing that can be regarded as absolute, must be the totality of all things, in other words, only the universe itself.

Hegelianism was a great advance on the old metaphysical materialism, but it was not sufficient; it was necessary to combine the dialectic and materialist methods making them one. This was done by Marx and Engels, and developed more fully in the field of philosophy by Joseph Dietzgen.

It is this method of viewing history dialectically by a materialist, i.e., one who only takes into account the world of facts in which we live, and who holds that ideas are the result of the operation of material forces—that is essentially Marxian, and is the foundation of the Socialist system of thought. There had been attempts by materialists to explain social development, as being due to geographical and climatic conditions, but Marx and Engels pointed out that climate and geography change very slowly, while social development moves comparatively fast, so they held that something which also changed frequently must be the cause for frequently changing effects; this cause they found to be in the main—the economic factor, the manner in which men get their living.

There are those who say the economic factor is the only one, and these are essentially metaphysicians, though they may vigorously deny it, for to attempt to separate the economic from all others factors and make it an absolute cause is decidedly metaphysical. What do we find arise of Marxian dialectics.

We realize that man was not created perfect, afterwards falling from his high position, but on the contrary, we see man's growth as a long and painful process of evolution from the time of his primeval life in the forest, through that long period of primitive communism when man although owning all the means of life in common, still was in a state of ignorance and had a very precarious existence, thence through the "glories" of Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome, founded all on chattel slavery, but when the arts were highly developed, and when much of the foundation work of science was laid, to be stopped in Europe to all intents and purposes for some centuries under Feudalism when the Catholic Church held much sway, but during which period the nations

became settled, and much of that accumulation of wealth was begun which was to be utilized under Capitalism to bring together the ends of the earth, to turn small individual tools into the gigantic social instruments of today, and to reduce the workers of society to a condition of entire freedom from access to the means of wealth production, making them a class of slaves receiving less of the product of their toil than the slaves of any former society; but also forcing on them an education which will become a means to the overthrow of their masters' supremacy.

We learn from this growth that man's development has not been due to the guiding hand of some divine, all wise and all powerful being, nor to the exertions of great men, nor to any consciousness in Nature; on the contrary, we see this evolution as an endless chain of causal sequence.

W. H. C.

PROBLING PROBLEMS.

NO. 1 OF A SERIES OF TWO.

MANY have been the problems which have confronted man in his progressive march onwards and upwards, from the simple forms of social organization of primitive society, up to present day civilization with its highly developed and complex methods of production, and the social superstructure arising therefrom. Many have been the attempts to solve these problems.

Man's chief problem on this earth is to gain the necessities of life; and as he increased in numbers, he soon found that he had to leave one habitat after another in order to find food. As the food supplies were dependent on the bountifulness of nature, it goes without saying that he had quite a number of precarious periods, as his kind tended to increase much faster than unassisted nature could provide for them.

Just what were the first tools man used we do not know, and can only therefore surmise. But undoubtedly they must have been very crude, probably a broken branch of a tree, or stone which he would find close at hand. At some period in the dim distant past we know that he acquired the knowledge of making fire. This was a stupendous discovery, for by its aid man was no longer limited to certain surroundings, but was able to spread over a larger surface of the globe. He followed the rivers in emigration for by so doing he was assured of water to drink and also food which he found in the form of fish, and which he was able to cook by means of fire.

His ideas and language were necessarily crude and limited, and natural phenomena were somewhat of a mystery to him. For it is well to remember that he lived in far different surroundings to those we see around us today. Not for him were the libraries with their stored up treasures of knowledge regarding the manifestations of nature which science has wrested from her, and to which we have access, but he was obliged to read into the different phenomena actions of spirits and ghosts. The wind whistling through the trees, rain, thunder, lightning, his own shadow and reflection when he drank from the water were extremely puzzling to him, and could only be explained by the existence of supernatural beings.

Dreams and death were also problems which needed some explaining, but primitive man was no piker. He did not know the first thing about biology. The work-

ings of the digestive organs or the brain were outside of his category, but he made a brilliant attempt to explain his own dreams. What was more easy hadn't he been out hunting in his sleep, or else having a gentle little argument with some quarrelsome neighbor, etc. But on being told that he had not moved away in his sleep, his only explanation was that he was possessed of a spirit which could leave the body at will. Natural death was something past his comprehension altogether, for he generally came to a violent end either by the short route of somebody's stone hatchet, or through the loving disposition of some wild beast. So the only way he could explain natural death was that someone must have been the cause of it, and he most likely started out to avenge the death of anyone who departed by that method. The death of a great chief who had shown wise counsel in war or prowess as a hunter was also lamented and his spirit was often called upon to guide them in their battles and hunting expeditions, and offerings of food were placed at his grave or hut, this giving rise in time to temples and churches, also pilgrimages to places of worship. So we see that in man's attempt to explain nature we get the birth of religion, and the belief in the existence of a supernatural deity, and that religion was not given us from above but arose from man's ignorance of nature.

How religion has changed since its inception! Right down through history we see what a curse it has been upon man. Science has had battle after battle with it and many are the names of martyrs written in blood on its pages, which the church can never efface.

As science advances, religion retreats. At one time we find God was necessary to explain the origin of the earth. But alas for poor Moses! his ingenious theory was based upon an incorrect foundation, although the error was perfectly natural. His Geocentric theory, that is, the theory that the Earth is the centre and that the Sun revolves around it, turned out to be just the reverse, although the church still held the idea for many centuries afterwards and woe to the unlucky one who was heard to express otherwise. Copernicus was obliged to keep it locked within his breast and Bruno and Galileo bear silent witness to the inhuman methods of the church to stem the march of progress and keep herself in the position of a ruling power.

Along with the discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape and the circumnavigation of the globe, we see an impetus given to trade and the rise of a new class. This new class of merchant traders, the forerunners of the present capitalist class, soon came to grips with the Catholic Church and the Feudal Regime which it represented. The reformation of Germany and England can be traced to the changed economic conditions, and a revolt on the part of the rising manufacturing class against Feudal restrictions.

Under the new rule, scientific research was encouraged. Aristotle's work was no longer looked upon as the last word on the subject. The works of Newton and Descartes instead of being suppressed were given the widest publicity.

But progress doesn't stop with the knowledge of gravitation and the motions of the planetary system. Man again asks himself how came the sun and its planets. We will deal with the answers to these questions in our next.

J. CONLAN.

An Appeal for Moral and Financial Support

In Defence of Comrades Joe Naylor and Dave Aitken, from Local Union 2299, United Mine Workers of America

Cumberland, B. C.,
Vancouver Island,
August 28th, 1918.

Fellow Workers and Brothers,—

Bro. Joe Naylor, secretary, and Bro. Aitken, of our Local Union 2299, United Mine Workers of America, charged with assisting draft-evaders by supplying them with food stuffs, have been remanded for trial at the October Assizes to be held in Nanaimo.

Financial assistance is urgently needed in order that the best legal advice procurable may be obtained for their defence.

Organized labor and sympathizers stand with our

brothers in their hour of need. Act at once. Do not delay, for the time is short in which to accumulate the necessary funds.

William Braes, Dave Little, Bob Walker, Wm. McMillan, John Williams, Defence Committee.

We also ask our readers to give these comrades of ours their ungrudging support. Both are members of the S. P. of C., Comrade Naylor especially being well-known in the movement on the coast. Both are men of lofty character, but they are entangled in the coils of circumstantial evidence.

Make all remittances payable to David Little, treasurer, Naylor-Aitken Defence Fund, P.O. Box 142, Cumberland, Vancouver Island, B. C., Canada.

HERE AND NOW.

Victoria Local	.....\$1	50c
Vancouver Local	.....13	1
Winnipeg Local	.....17	8
St. Catharines Local	.....3	9
W. S. P. of A., Detroit	.....1	9
Joe Johnson, Vancouver	.....19	2
Chas. Johnson, Chase, B. C.	.....9	2
Gus. Johnson, Wayne, Alta.	.....7	0
T. Bell, Quathiaski Cove, B. C.	.....5	0
E. D. Mitchell, Brandon, Man.	.....5	0
A. McIntosh, Parry Sound, Ont.	.....4	0
A. P. McCabe, Smithers, B. C.	.....3	0
I. Moon, North Battleford, Sask.	.....3	0
Carl Anderson, Alhambra, Alta.	.....3	0
Geo. Paton, Delburne, Alta.	.....3	0
E. McLeod, Anxox, B. C.	.....2	0
A. Isaacson, Eckville, Alta.	.....2	0
Mrs. J. R. McDonald, Berry Creek, Alta.	.....2	0
Oscar Erickson, Fernie, B. C.	.....2	0
Jas. Bone, Emmet, Idaho	.....2	0
W. Ferguson, Bonanza, Y. T.	.....2	0
A. R. Sinclair, James Island, B. C.	.....2	0
R. Inglis, Fort William	.....2	0
A. Webster, Trail, B. C.	.....1	1
J. C. Schuneman, Calgary	.....1	1
C. J. Gardiner, Vancouver1	1
I. Moon, North Battleford0	5
H. W. Long, Milkish, N. B.0	3
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	137	50

\$1.00 Singles—W. J. McMillan, Cumberland, B. C.; Provincial Library, Victoria; R. R. Jeffries, Francois Lake, B. C.; Sam Larson, Lethbridge, Alta.; Alex. Sus-

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CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Vancouver Lett. Local No. 58\$ 3.20
Vancouver Local No. 116.50
R. McGregor, Crawford Bay	......15
R. Inglis, Fort William	.....1.00
R. Thomas, Victoria	......75
C. Lee, Victoria	.....2.00
J. Williams, Ottawa	.....1.00
	.....\$24.60

A total of 208. This is a falling off since last month of almost a hundred. Fifty of the new subs. last month however, were secured under exceptional circumstances, at the Goodwin memorial meeting in Cumberland. Without these fifty we would still have to register a drop of about fifty. This means a slackening of our efforts, which we can ill afford now that the "Clarion" is being issued twice monthly. Cumberland, B. C., is the best town on the map as far as our paper is concerned. We are sending one copy of the "Clarion" to that coal camp for every five whites in the town, one copy for every family almost. This is the best monument to Ginger Goodwin that could be conceived of, and will help to explain the poor showing of the Cumberland boys this month. Having gathered every body into their mesh, they can now rest on their laurels. This reference to Cumberland has been made for the benefit of other cities and towns throughout the Dominion. If every other

town was as well supplied with the revolutionary propaganda, optimism would be a word with a real meaning. Those who have been rustling during the past few months doubtless need no encouragement, but there are

others. It is to them we appeal. Bringing the "Clarion" out bi-weekly means doubling the expense, and necessarily doubling the sub-list. We would particularly ask the Locals to exert every effort to this end.

LITERATURE

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Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Business meeting held in the office of Secretary, 401 Pender Street E., Vancouver, B. C., September 16th.

President W. A. Pritchard, J. Harrington, L. Robertson (chairman), Com. Sinclair (visiting comrade seated), and the Secretary.

Correspondence—B. C.—W. Braes (2), Cumberland; Ewen McLeod, Anxos, B. C. (2); J. Field, Powell River; H. J. B. Harper, Old Sport Mine; William Litzenberger, Gifford; Mrs. Ella Darlington, Victoria; O. Carlson, Red Cap; W. J. McMillan, Cumberland; Tom Bell, Quathlakh Cove; Oscar Erickson, Fernie; C. Johnson, Chase; Wm. Davies Cumberland; A. Webster, Trail; W. H. Halfpenny, Vancouver; Kurt Unger, Collymount; W. W. Lefaux, Vancouver.

Alta.—John P. McGuire Edmonton; Alfred Isaacson, Eekville; J. C. Schuneman, Calgary; Alex. Suman, Brule; Jas. Brewer, Nordegg; Mrs. E. R. McDonald, Berry Creek; J. Grosner, Edmonton; Gus Johnson, Wayne; C. Ogilvie, Calgary; John Smart, Red Willow; Peter Walgreen, Edgerton; C. Anderson, Alhambra; Geo. Paton, Delburne; LeRoy Taylor, Poncaas; Joe J. Anters, Edberg; T. R. Keeling, Edmonton.

Sask.—Star News Agency North Battleford; Ed. Kristjansson, Springwater; Walter Jeffries, Regina; G. Albery, Regina; W. B. Bird, Birvin; J. Moon, North Battleford; Frank A. Johns, Regina (2). Manitoba—Errol D. Mitchell, Brandon; A. Patterson, Winnipeg (6); A. J. Benny, Winnipeg; W. W. Craig, Winnipeg; Ontario—F. H. Avery, St. Catharines; R. Parrisi, Fort Williams; A. McIntosh, Barry Sound (3); O. Luff, Parry Sound; S. Stefansky, Toronto; Jax N. Walker, St. Catharines; D. Thomson, St. Catharines; H. Moriarty, Ottawa.

C. M. Robertson, Montreal; E. J. Long, Montreal; M. Goudie, St. John, N.B. (2); A. E. Stead, Montreal; G. A. Field, Montreal; N. Leach, Abbotsford; F. Willard, Thomson, St. John, N.B.; Wm. C. Curry, Miramichi, N.B.

Foreign.—The Peoples Institute, San Francisco; R. W. Housley, England; David W. Anderson, Wellington, N. Z.; J. Ebbw, Detroit; Geo. Moffatt, New York; Jas. Bess, Emmette, Id.; Socialist Publication Society, Brooklyn, N.Y.; The Harland Worker, Wellington, N.Z.

The question of publishing in book form, a selection of the late Comrade D. B. McKenzie's "Clarion" articles and of his other writings was discussed.

Moved Harrington, seconded Pritchard, that Comrade Lefaux's action re multi-graphing machine be endorsed.—Carried. A communication from Comrade Isaacson, of Eekville, Alta., discussed and secretary instructed to write to the Alberta P. E. C. on the matter.

Moved Pritchard, seconded Harrington, that Comrade Bennet be requested to accept the position of assistant editor, and that to commence with, the wages be \$50 per month.—Carried.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Socialist Party of Canada; meets every alternate Sunday, 2 p.m., Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy, Vancouver, B. C.—C. Stephenson, Secretary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.

CRAWFORD BAY LOCAL No. 72, S. P. of C.—Business—Propaganda Meetings first Sunday of the month. Every body welcome.—Secretary, J. E. McGregor.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary, John P. McGuire, Box 785, Edmonton. Phone 4803.

LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—F. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horegarden, Alta.

LOCAL BRANDON No. 88 (Man.) S. P. of C.—Secretary, 1408, Ironwell, 343 1st Street, Brandon, Man.

LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Business meeting every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p.m. Economic class every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Headquarters, Room 207, Bay Block, 236A 10th Ave. W. Secretary, W. R. Lewis, 1018—10th Ave. west.

LOCAL CLAYTON No. 83 (B.C.), S. P. of C.—John T. Dempster, Secretary, Clayton, B. C.

LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.—Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bldg. Propaganda meeting every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 5 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Flegg, Secretary, P. O. Box 785.

LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 32 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—A. A. McNeill, Secretary, Erskine, Alta.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 505.

LOCAL FERGUSON FLATS, No. 85 (Alta.)—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Flats, Alta.

LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—F. H. James, Secretary, Deerling P. O., Alta. Business meetings first Saturday of every month.

LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 68 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

LOCAL KINDERLEY, No. 10 (Sask.) S. P. of C.—H. Vindeg, Secretary, Sunkist, Sask.

LOCAL MARKERVILLE, No. 31 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—S. E. Baldwin, Secretary, Markerville, Alta.

LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.—314 St. Catherine St. W. Address all enquiries to P.O. Box 253, Station B, Montreal, P. Q. Secretary Charles M. Robertson. Headquarters open every evening.

LOCAL FLOWEADALE, No. 71 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. E. Macdonald, Secretary, Richdale, Alta.

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LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Economic Class every Sunday 2 p.m., 34 William St.

LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B., No. 1, S. P. of C.—Visiting Comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.

LOCAL TRAVES, No. 56 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—W. A. Brown, Secretary, Travess, P. O., Alta.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 401 Pender St. E. Propaganda meeting at the Empress Theatre every Sunday, 8 p.m. Secretary, J. Kavanagh.

VANCOUVER LETTISH LOCAL No. 58, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 11 a.m. Open to everybody, at Socialist Club, Secretary, Robert Kalnin, Box 667.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 45, Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Ovia Lind, Secretary.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month.—Secretary, J. Stevenson, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.—Headquarters Room 4—328 Smith St. Business meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings Sundays, 8 p.m. Economic Class, Sundays 5 p.m. Lending Library 50 cents per year. Organizers, John Henderson and Stewart Secretary, Albert Korin, P. O. Box 2025.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Business meeting 1st Sunday in the month at Monument National, 2nd floor, 3 p.m. Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 276 Laurier Ave. W.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program 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 profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

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

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