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# WESTERN CLARION

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FIVE CENTS

## Progress of the Sedition Cases in Winnipeg

### Defence Will Line Up All Its Forces

**Will Not Rest Until Russell is Free—  
Legal Opinion Sought**

**Big Convention in Winnipeg on Jan.  
18 Will Decide Future Action**

(Special to the B. C. Federationist)  
**A**RRANGEMENTS are now being made for the holding of the labor defense convention in the Strand Theatre, Main Street, Winnipeg, on Sunday, January 18, to which all labor organizations, no matter what affiliation they have, will send their delegates. The purpose of the convention is to discover the precise standing of the labor movement in all its aspects, in view of the summing up of Mr. Justice Metcalfe, the trial judge in the Russell case, and the verdict rendered on the seven counts of the indictment charging seditious conspiracy against eight men, arrested as a result of the Winnipeg strike.

**Will Have Legal Opinion**

One of the best constitutional lawyers in the city of Winnipeg has been

briefed for the purpose of giving his judicious opinion on the matter. Labor men of all shades of opinion are apparently unanimous in that by the decision in the Russell case, all labor's rights have been ruthlessly undermined. Added to the legal consideration, there is also the bitter feeling amongst the members of the rank and file of the organizations that went on strike, that if Russell be guilty for having carried out their instructions, they are also equally guilty, if not more so.

**Cement Labor from Coast to Coast**

By means of this convention Winnipeg labor hopes to be able to cement together in one vast volume of protest the voice of labor from coast to coast. On all sides can be found the grim determination that the matter shall not rest until Russell is free.

**Report to be Published Broadcast**

It is intended that the account of the convention shall be published broadcast, so that labor east and west will be able to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest just what this trial means to labor of the country.

the evidence by the judge in his charge to the jury. The question of who is to pay for the prosecution also may be argued. The defence alleges that the prosecution also may be argued.

The defence alleges that the prosecution is not being paid for by the

provincial government, therefore it is illegal.

The question was raised by the defence as it closed its case before Mr. Justice Metcalfe. At that time Hon. Thomas Johnson, attorney general was not allowed to answer questions put to him by Mr. Cassidy.

## Nemesis, The Terror

From "The Industry," Wash., D.C.

**E**DITORS Note—To the average man, either professional or workman, the value of the dollar simply means the number he can earn and what he can purchase with it. Economists and nations, however, see a much more important significance, especially in its relations to international trade and commerce. "Ways and Means" an English publication, calls attention in a recent issue to the grave danger confronting the finances of the world from the tremendous changes in the movement of exchanges. The attention of our readers is called to the following statement by that publication.

The overshadowing danger of the moment is the possibility of the breaking down of the money machine. Words are incapable of expressing the universal calamity that would follow such an event. The worst horrors of the war would be multiplied a million-fold. Famine, disease, pestilence and death would be brought right home to each one of us within an incredibly short time.

Very little purpose would be served by painting so harrowing a picture for the benefit of the ordinary reader unless some suggestion could also be offered as to how such a reader could do his share towards averting such an unspeakable catastrophe. The imminence of the danger is obvious to all, although most of us do not take the trouble to look at it. It is shown in the daily records of the movement of exchanges. With the mark at 200, the franc at 39, the lira at 55, and the pound at four dollars, we have the whole story in front of us.

We are approaching very near to the point when it will be impossible to exchange goods as between nations, and if the point arrives it will not be long before the next stage when it will be impossible to exchange goods as between members of individual nations. What are the remedies? The first, of course, is production coupled with economy. We pass that, however, as, at once the most obvious and the most difficult, but on the other hand, the one remedy which each and everyone can apply. The second is a relentless, ruthless and drastic cut-

ting down of public expenditure everywhere and by everybody. Some means must be found of making the public realize this outstanding need. Somebody must be discovered who can translate Lord Fisher's dictum into words which will appeal to the masses, not only here, but in every country of the world, and we must sweep away the staggering burden of Governmental artificiality which is rapidly exhausting the last remnants of economic endurance. And this leads us to the third and easiest and best of the urgent things which require instant action.

A simple illustration may help the argument. The American Chamber of Commerce within the United States have met and decided to initiate a campaign for the purpose of persuading the American public to buy British goods. No more remarkable phenomenon ever occurred in commercial history. American manufacturers and producers in solemn conclave with all the facts before them, deliberately appeal to their best customers to buy the goods of their competitors. The American business man, thanks to a system of university education which does not ignore business and economics, realize that the money machine is in danger of breaking down, and if that happens he has lost everything.

With that illustration before us, a study of the exchange figures quoted above helps us to see the simple world movements which are essential to restore the balance so rudely shaken at the moment. To get the pound back to parity, British goods must go to America. To get the mark back to a condition when it becomes a workable factor, German goods must come to us and others. To re-establish the rouble, the worst of all the money tokens, Russia must be started again in the exporting business. These are the big things, the life and death things which must be done. It is incredible that with these facts known to them, with the situation open to their disposal, Governments should be so blind to realities as to deliberately frame their policy so as to accentuate rather than palliate the ill that threatens us.

## Russell Case before the Manitoba Appeal Court

WINNIPEG, Man., Jan. 8, 1920—The appellate court upheld the crown in the appeal case of R. B. Russell today, in so far as count one is concerned.

Chief Justice Perdue said he could see nothing vague in the first count of the twenty-eight page indictment against the strike leaders, which Mr. Cassidy contended was general and not specified because it mentioned seditious contention without attributing it to anyone. Indications point to several days of argument, because the defence had only begun its first point when the court adjourned for the noon recess. Arguments are largely on technical points of law.

Reasons for appeal; The indictment is general and not specific. The eight men should have been tried together, because they were indicted together, this would give the defence thirty-two challenges, four for each accused. With the trials split Russell should have been given twenty-eight challenges, four on each of the seven counts in the indictment. Prospective jurors should have been allowed to say whether

the general strike last Spring caused them any monetary loss. Documentary evidence produced against Russell which had no association with him. Accused was not permitted to put in evidence to show that the strike and its continuance were not intentions of the accused, but that on the contrary he tried to stop it. Evidence of the strike and alleged unlawful acts committed during its progress should not have been admitted against accused. Overt acts were put in the form to lead one to suppose they were the substance of the charge. Mr. Justice Metcalfe's instructions on this point after his long dissertation to the jury would have been alright if they had been made at the beginning of his charge.

Resolutions, speeches and acts in the labor organizations' meetings come under the protection of the law as they are the result of a lawful trade combination as defined by statute. Evidence of public meetings which was entirely irrelevant to the charge was admitted. Wrong interpretations were placed on some of

## A Letter on Social Change

Dear Comrade:

Your letter received and contents noted. I gather that my views of social change, do not entirely meet with your approval. Probably I am pessimistic, and very probably my notions of how the change will be effected are wide of what the fact may prove to be. The transformation, in your terms of social sanity, may prove prophetic—as beyond all question, it is the better method.

Still, although I defer to your weightier opinion, I hardly agree with it. And I am still pessimistic. I do not think we have seen the darkest hour. Rather is it the perumbra—we have yet to enter the real shadow. Data is not mine to judge truly, but if, out of all the brutality, repression, thrust upon the world, as it now is, by a profit blind financial oligarchy, there comes not, a fierce reaction, I am not understanding the situation.

And what is the situation? Allied interference has crushed all resistance in Central Europe; the minor States from the Black Sea to the Baltic, are strung in the toils of Allied diplomacy, Austria completely subdued, Germany utterly broken. And in all that wide stretch of territory, famine, destitution, disease and death prevails; normal life conditions shattered by war—and more chaotic with "peace"; and Imperialism plunging through the bloody ruin, heedless of its handiwork, frantic for its market.

Now those peoples appear to be weary, weary from the agony of

But it is inconceivable that a situation can long continue; as inconceivable that capitalism will revoke it. Because, with Bolshevism threatening its existence, as Jehovah threatened the Caananites, capitalist control and repression dare not be relaxed. What will be the nature of the reaction? Is action not the expression of thought? And in face of capitalist despotism, will—can—thought be enlightened? Till capital collapses, will not the capitalist class resist? In "the last man and the last dollar" spirit? Would the Russian revolution have been as mild as it was, but for the war? Is not Britain ruled despotically by Imperialism? Does it not mock working class aspirations? Counter its "pretensions," resist all demands for better conditions; and render nugatory, every working class protest and suggestion? And while yet its breath is warm with tales of a "new world"—a hypocrisy which raises the heat under one's collar—is it not organizing and gathering together its forces in battle against labor? And it is not a threat merely. Capital, steel-clad, booted and spurred, is everywhere riding a high horse.

Labor feels its misery and servitude with a keenness that needs no telling. But does it know the cause? Quite true the workers are "gathering strength"—the pressure of economic conditions is forcing us into unanimity. And while unanimity implies a conscious objective, that objective is not born of political understanding, but of industrial misery. In other words, it is the common struggle for existence, that gravitates us together, and not the recognition of class interest.

There can be no doubt that change has come upon working class organisations. The germ of power-conscious-

ness is born within them, but only born—or they would not bother about reforms. The automatic conduct and orderliness of strikes, rallying to the support of comrades, fighting for "rights," etc., may be due, as much to union discipline, habit of thought, and social custom, as to consciousness of social status, or any clear cut definiteness of aim or goal. The mutual association of victims of a common exploitation, if not clearly conscious of that exploitation, may, of itself, offer a pretext for capitalist interference and tyranny, may be transformed into a dangerous association. May it not? Are not the driving forces, on both sides, becoming more urgent? Is necessity not growing more desperate? And is not immediate necessity invariably far in advance of social understanding?

The expansion of capital—apparently to its logical conclusion—is the pre-requisite of educational principles. And in the nature of things, that expansion far outstrips the rate of education. Because, the habits and customs of a society are (as you well know) the resultants of its material conditions. Those customs and ideas are imposed on the social members; they become local factors, influencing further development. But, they are also the ethic of the dominant social forces, and until those forces have

developed their own negation, established custom cannot be broken, or arbitrarily set aside.

True, "rationality will increase as the day draws nigh," but, likely in a limited sense, or scope. I grant you that the conditions favorable to the growth of rationalism will be greatly augmented. But that is a different matter. When the change comes and the new ethic takes form, the new social consciousness will be developed, will become the dominant habit. The new society will grow in, and of, the conditions, generated by the old, but the new social consciousness can only acquire dominance under the influence of the new order. History seems to point the lesson, that, so far, we are driven, not persuaded, and when the social forces compel society to act, if circumstances are propitious, an intelligent minority may guide its destinies into channels of wisdom and peace. For sake of that minority and in hope of such an eventuation, I subscribe most earnestly to the doctrine of education. And education may be aided by military science. The modern, scientific means and methods of destruction, might be too appalling to contemplate, might be beyond the command of proletarian effort, and that fact, and not rationalism, might compel the transition to ways of comparative peace.

I apologise for this forward trespass on your long suffering, and I am gratefully appreciative of your personal efforts to set my feet on the "straight and narrow way."

Yours for Socialism, R.

## CONNOLLY'S POLICY

**M**ORE and more it becomes apparent (in spite of the suppression of the national press) that the people of Ireland have at last united on a truly national basis and have purged from the national entity the last vestige of Imperial Anglophobia; that for the first time in history agitation in Ireland has assumed an economic as well as a political aspect. The present policy of Sinn Fein is as much the result of Connolly's fight against the economic exploitation of the working people as is Pearce's struggle for their political freedom.

When in 1798 Wolfe Tone first advanced his republican theories, he also advanced a system of economics that kept the land-owning classes from his banner. Again in 1848 when Mitchell declared for an economic as well as a political revolution, he found himself opposed by the wealthy political Girouidins. But the Land League struggle, while it was abandoned before any decision was reached, yet showed the people the possibilities of this form of agitation, and the Gaelic League through its educational policy has shown the people how alien to the national conscience was the British idea of property in land. So that the combination of the Republican Policy of Wolfe Tone, the economic policy of Mitchell and Lalor, the communal policy of Gaelic Leaguers, and the abstention policy of Griffith's, are now combined and form the aims of Pearce and Connolly in 1916, and the platform of De Valeria and Griffiths in '18.

The political and economic platform of Sinn Fein can be summed up in the words of Lalor—"That the sole ownership of Ireland is vested of right in

the people of Ireland, that they and they alone are the law makers and landowners of this island, that all laws are null and void, not made by them, and all titles to land invalid not conferred or confirmed by them, and that this right of full possession should be asserted and enforced by all means in the power of men. They challenge the right of the viceroy in Dublin to make the laws of the country, but they also challenge the right of each and every landlord in the country to make the economic conditions on their various estates. They criticise the right of renegade Irishmen to call in the military forces of a foreign power to restrain working Irishmen from attempting to secure and obtain the necessary economic status which is their right as natives of Ireland to demand. They criticise the right of a small minority to impose their will on a large majority and to prevent and obstruct the political aims of such majority. They believe that the bad economic conditions are due entirely to the political control of the country and its industries by a foreign power and the exploitation of these bad conditions by a renegade group of Irishmen, under the protection of the foreign power. They moreover maintain that the depopulation of the country is due more to the economic conditions created by the foreigner than the political status of the country. For Ireland now realizes the truth of Lalor's words when he said—"Let laws and institutions say what they will, this fact will be stronger than all laws and prevail against them, the fact that those who own your lands will make your laws and control your lives and your liberties."

Is it then any wonder that the Murphy's and Guinnesses and Landsdownes and Dunsanys still earnestly desire and fight for the British connection.

France needed three revolutions before finally arriving at the solution of the needs of the people. America, whilst breaking the political control of Europe still retained the European form of civilisation and that state today, is more autocratic than the Tories she overthrew. Ireland seeing this, must take them as the lessons of history and shape her destinies accordingly. She has enemies galore inside as well as outside, but the spirit of Connolly is alive among the people and whatever the paid press of Imperialism may propagate among the outside world, Sinn Fein today is heart and soul in the cause of Universal Liberty.

P. J. O'D. READ.

## Egotism or Altruism?

**L**ET us not forget that there is nothing intrinsically noble or beautiful in the socialist movement that we should desire to preserve its existence. On the contrary, it can be shown, without any contortion of metaphor, that like the Liberal or Tory movement, it is a DISEASE. Or, rather, like skin eruptions upon a human body, it is a symptom of internal disease, and therefore part of the disease. The existence of the political and industrial Socialist Movements indicated that there is such a faulty and unjust method of wealth production and distribution in society, that class hatreds and warfare arise; which further results in the creation of opposing armies, one such being the Socialist organizations. Even the splendid feats of self-sacrifice performed within the Socialist Movements are exactly similar to the warfare and self-sacrifice between the healthy elements in the blood, against the disease-spreading organisms which invade the body; the struggle between the two being a feature of the ailment.

Our business, therefore, is not to prolong the life of the Socialist Movement, but to fight Capitalism to a finish and by the establishment of the Socialist Republic itself, render the Socialist Movement unnecessary; for Socialism is Health, Peace and Happiness; while under Capitalism, the workers have only their chains, as Marx says, to lose, and a whole world to win.

From another standpoint one can forgive the ego-Socialists for their harsh attitude towards their fellow-workers. We live, at present, in an imperfect world, amidst imperfect people, forced relationships and intercourse. "Absence makes the heart grow fonder" has a cynical basis of truth. Did not the late Prof. Haeckel write, that many men would gladly forego the "delights" of an after life, if it meant that they were doomed to spend an eternity in the society of their immortal "better-halves" or mothers-in-law? Schopenhauer puts it still more neatly in a parable of his about a number of porcupines, who, on a cold winter day, huddled together for warmth; but as they began to prick one another with their quills, they were compelled to disperse. However, again the cold drove them together, and the same trouble happened.

(Continued on page 3)

# Early Political Institutions

From Prof. Jenk's History of Politics

## The Council.

WE have seen that in the rude beginnings of monarchy, the host-leader is found always to be surrounded by his followers or companions, men devoted entirely to his service, on the terms that he shall provide them with maintenance, and opportunities for distinction. As the host-leader developed into the king, this body of followers became the council of the kingdom. Placed in the midst of a hostile country, the king and his followers were absolutely essential to one another's safety. Without their support, the king could not hold his conquest; without his master mind, they would fall victims in detail to racial hostility. The success of the king meant the enrichment of his followers; the contentment and prosperity of his followers meant the safety of the king. We may put aside as premature any definite theories about the right of the council, in those early days, to control the actions of the king. All our accounts of the relationship between the early king and his council go to show, that the former, if he choose to run the risk of becoming unpopular, could do what he liked. Although, perhaps, the council gained somewhat in the eyes of the king's subjects by being regarded as the successor of the old tribal council of elders, yet, in reality it was the body of the king's servants, chosen by him at his pleasure. Nevertheless, the existence of the council did soon undoubtedly become a substantial check on the despotic tendencies of the king. A theory grew up, that a good king consulted his council frequently, that he listened to its advice. And from this point the step was comparatively short, to the doctrine that the king ought to consult, and, finally, that he must consult his council. And thus, in reality, the council is the germ of what we call constitutional government. But, long before it became a bulwark of popular liberties, the council had rendered invaluable service to the kingship as an institution, and this in at least four ways.

### (a) It preserved the continuity.

Kingship may be perpetual; but, in fact, the individual king dies. And, between the death of one king and the succession of another, there lies a critical moment. The forces of anarchy are ready to break out. "The king died on the following day—then there was tribulation soon in the land, for every man that could forthwith robbed another," says an old chronicler. There is always a chance that old ideas may revive, and set people longing for the good old days when every one did that which was right in his own eyes. We must remember that a successful monarchy does run counter to a good many cherished practices. It does not, for example, permit of blood-feuds or tribal forays; it probably has incurred the resentment of old religions; it has sanctioned practices which ancient prejudice regards as monstrous; it has probably, exacted a good deal of tribute. So there are always people waiting for a good opportunity to revolt against it. But the existence of the council tides over the dangerous moment. Though, in strict

theory, the death of the king dissolves his council; in fact, the members of council hold together, in hopes of being appointed his successor. And, in the meantime, they keep the political machine going.

### (b) It preserved the traditions.

One of the greatest dangers to the newly established kingship is, the risk of offending its subjects by exhibition of caprice. It has to deal with a community living according to immemorial custom. It is bound to effect alterations to a certain extent; but, if it is wise, it will do so as little as possible. Above all, it must avoid any unnecessary changes. It is almost better, under some conditions, to persevere in a bad policy, than to change it for a good one. The average man, especially if he be of a patriarchal type, suspects and hates change. But a body of councillors is less likely to be capricious than a single ruler; its members will possibly, have something to lose by a change of policy. Its influence will, in the majority of cases, be against change.

### (c) It broke the obloquy.

As we have said, government, especially a newly-established government, is bound to be unpopular, at least to a certain extent. If the whole of the criticism provoked by its acts were to fall on the head of a single individual, his position would become very precarious. But if the blame can be distributed amongst his advisers, or if even, in extreme cases, one or more of these advisers can be sacrificed to the popular discontent, much will be gained by the head of the state. Being an impersonal authority, a council stands criticism much better than an individual. This may not be a very dignified or enjoyable function of the council, but it is a very valuable one from this point of view of the State.

### (d) It increases the activity.

The limits of the activity of a single individual are soon reached. Even a king like Frederick the Great cannot know, personally, very much of what is going on in his dominions. But he would know still less if it were not for his councillors. By their own observations, and through their agents, they find out things which are going on, and repeat them to the king. As with knowledge, so with action. The king can personally, do but little. Even in early days, when the king was still in the main, a warrior, he could not personally protect all his dominions at once. Still less could he, when the business of his position became, (as it did become) enormously increased, conduct it all himself. But his council could be increased to any size; and thus he could, as it were, provide himself with an unlimited number of hands.

### 3. The local agents.

Hitherto we have assumed that the king's councillors have, save for short intervals of absence, surrounded his person, either on the battle-field or in the palace or hall. This was as we have seen, the old idea. The war-leader's companions, in time of peace, fed at his table and lived in his house. And the idea has never been abandoned. The court of the monarch, even in modern times, is actually in attendance on the person of the king. But when the freebooting leader became

the king of a territory, he required supporters, not only round his throne, but also all over his territory. We have already in the preceding chapter, had a glimpse of the readiest plan. The conqueror accepted the allegiance of such of the old patriarchal authorities as were willing to submit to him, and continued them in their old positions, as his representatives. It was a dangerous practice, though, perhaps, less dangerous than forcible dispossession. The king felt safer where the circumstances allowed him to place one of his own trusted followers in the room of a dead or a banished chief. And, as the old nobles died out, the policy of replacing them by the "king's thegns" was steadily pursued, until, by a silent but revolutionary process, the country had been mapped out into districts, each in charge of a representative of the central government. In all probability, the districts themselves would be little changed. In England, for example, the local divisions which existed until the beginning of the present century, represented in the main the ancient units of patriarchal society. The county or shire was, in many cases at least, the district of a tribal settlement—Sussex of the South Saxons, Dorsetshire of the Dorsaetas, Somerset of the Somersaetas, and so on. In other cases, as Dr. Freeman pointed out, it was an artificial district commanded by a fortified town, such as Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Derbyshire, and so on. But this was a much later formation. And there are strong reasons to believe that the hun-

ded, the other great local division of the Middle Ages, will ultimately be proved to have been the territory of a clan. In later times, of course, the subdivision becomes more minute, and we get the single manor, under its lord; but enough has been said to show how feudalism began.

We must not of course, suppose that the man who was placed in charge of a local district was entirely excluded from the Council which surrounded the person of the king. On the contrary, there seems to be little doubt that the greatest of the king's subordinates, the earls in England and Scotland, the dukes and counts on the continent, always sat, as of right, in the Council, at any of its solemn days of sessions. We distinguish in the Witan of the Angle-Saxon kings, beside the royal princes and the great ecclesiastics, two classes of people, the ealdormen and the thegns. The former undoubtedly had a local position as heads of the shires; the latter were probably, the humbler followers of the king, who lived permanently at his court. But it is unlikely that the smaller local representatives, the landed "thegns" (as we may call them) sat in the Council.

To conclude this chapter, we may ask, what were the duties imposed upon these local representatives by the early kings? And we shall hardly get a better answer than by referring once more to the picturesque words of the Heimskringla, which describe Harold Fairhair as subduing all Norway "with seatt, and duties, and lordships."

## Egoism or Altruism?

(Continued from page 2)

At last they discovered they would be best off by remaining, not close together, but at a little distance from one another. The same thing occurs, he says, in human society, and hence the English phrase "keep your distance," and also, the man who has sufficient heat (or self-sufficiency) in himself, prefers to remain where he will neither prick other people nor get pricked himself.

Whatever the faults of the workers—faults, not of their making but due to capitalist conditions—they have certain abstract rights and certain concrete miseries—such as their commodity status. He who mingles with the non-Socialist workers, is in danger of an "argumentum ad hominem"—for their illusions and ignorance cannot fail to disgust those who have raised themselves upon the platform of Socialist Science.

Oscar Wilde was right when he wrote that sympathy with suffering is morbid and tainted with egoism. He says there is in it a certain element of terror for our own safety. We become afraid that we ourselves might be as the leper or as the blind, and that no man would have care of us. But allowing that sympathy ("feeling with") is based on self, when it comes to sympathy with the working class, how exalted it seems to raise one. What worker, or any other person, has a conception of abstract justice (which is more a mathematical than a moral entity) can withhold his disgust and indignation that they who perform the hardest and most necessary toil of society, should yet be milked, outraged and exploited. Think of the miserable plight of the workers, enslaved to those who monopolize the means of living, functioning, actually, not as

human beings, but as commodities, like oranges, to be bought, sucked and cast aside, or allowed to rot when there is no demand for such. Who can withhold his quota of burning admiration when economically weak as they are, they wage some courageous battle for the right to live like human beings, whilst hundreds are inevitably doomed to ruinous defeat in nearly every strike they carry out. The further progress of civilization rests with the working class and every victory they gain is a step nearer to our goal. Let the Socialist ignore their present imperfections and afford them all the help he is gifted with, for, thereby, he is bringing nearer that Socialist Republic which will eliminate the abnormal and the stunted beings of Capitalism. Then will it be a pleasure to consort with and not to avoid (as at present) his fellow men.

## PROGRESS.

### SOCIALIST MEMBERS ARE DENIED SEATS

Will Be Excluded from the Lower House of New York Assembly

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan. 8.—Five Socialist members of the assembly of the New York State Legislature were denied their seats at the lower branch's opening meeting of the 1920 session on Wednesday. A resolution questioning whether they could be loyal to their oaths of office when bound to act subject to instructions of the Socialist party was passed, 140 to 6.

### Manifesto of Socialist Party of Canada

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THE year 1919 will be historic for the catalogue of misfortunes and failures of the statesmen of the capitalist order, but also, in later years viewed in retrospect, it will be seen to have been the year when the anarchy of capitalist tyranny first stamped into the hearts and minds of multitudes an abiding sense of fierce resentment and an understanding that the late catastrophic war was not fought that a new and better order of life should be established. The bitter lesson of the war is coming home now that we see those who were most clamorously insistent on it being prosecuted and waged to "the last man and the last dollar," are those who are now using all their influence and power, not alone to maintain the old evil pre-war condition of things, but in order to do so, they are superimposing upon society a world wide militaristic tyranny worse even than that which existed in Prussia itself.

The beast of militarism is now everywhere, there is no land of refuge from it. And governmental policies are growing more insane and arbitrary, the nearer the capitalist system draws to its inevitable economic bankruptcy. Already, long since, it was without moral justification.

The statesmen of the bourgeois class had promises to fulfil in the year 1919. A new order, a new democracy there was to be for the toiling multitudes as the price of Armageddon. Where is it? Where is that democracy of the glowing phrases? Instead, the people's hopes are blasted. The organizations and movements of the working class are being stamped to earth under the armed heel of jackboot administrations. Everywhere we see hunger and misery and violent repression, prohibitions, mock sedition trials, deportations without trial, and paid spies and procurers thrusting themselves in amongst us in every phase of social activity.

On the North American continent, the organized labor movement is with its back to the wall, facing a concerted move to smash it to impotence. In Canada, by a decision of the courts, its one means of making its strength felt has been declared unconstitutional, and those who have been most bold in voicing its needs and aspirations, are in gaol, or awaiting trial. A secret census has been ordered to be taken of all those holding unorthodox economic and political views, and the military police forces and the soldiery are being re-enforced preparatory to we know not what.

In the United States a reign of terrorism holds sway which would disgrace a Russian Czar. Thousands of foreigners are being deported, and under cover of that, native sons of radical views are thrown into prison.

Duly and constitutionally elected members to State assemblies and to Congress are refused their seats, and so their constituents are disfranchised for their political views. This calls to mind an editorial in a capitalist paper in Eastern Canada, which frankly said, "if the working class think they are going to vote themselves into power they are badly mistaken, because the bourgeoisie are a more military class than they and will fight and probably beat them."

On a par with the United States is France. There, the electoral machinery was thimble-rigged to defeat the radical forces at the last elections when the number of deputies returned to the house bore no relation to the increased number of votes cast against the government. And Ireland, India, Egypt, Korea, Siberia, their peoples are held in subjection to alien rule by the most ruthless exercise of military might.

There are two countries however, where the outlook is brighter. These are Russia and Great Britain. In neither of these countries are the workers waiting for manna to fall from heaven. In great Britain intense educational and organization programs are being carried out. The organization of the working masses and amalgamation of the various groups has proceeded at such a pace and reached such magnitude, that the capitalist class hesitate to use the drastic methods in vogue in Canada and the United States. It is to be regretfully admitted that the workers of Britain, as a whole, have but small knowledge of socialist principles, but their organizations provide a bulwark against the intolerance and tyranny of the ruling class, from behind which working class education may be carried on.

In Russia the Soviet forces continue to win signal victories on every front, and the prospects are that complete victory will soon be won, and the work of regenerating the economic and cultural life of that country be proceeded with at greater speed, when their energies, instead of being used up in the waste of war, will be devoted to the progressive transformation of the remains of the capitalist structure into the body of their Communist organization.

And so, the workers of the world may see, in some countries, their class marching to power and freedom, and in others, writhing under ruthless tyranny. With that best of all lessons provided them, an objective one, is there any doubt that they will profit thereby? In the latter case, it should spur them to resistance; in the former, it should hasten their march.

### C. M. O'BRIEN ARRESTED

Among those arrested in the recent arrests of Reds in the land of democracy to the south of us, was Charles M. O'Brien, at one time member of the Alberta Provincial Legislature. Charley was arrested at Rochester, N. Y.

Comrade O'Brien will be remembered in Canada as an organizer and lecturer for the Socialist Party of Canada. For the last several years, he has been active in the movement in the Eastern States. All his old friends in the West will be anxious for Charley's quick release.

## PARTY NEWS

AT a special meeting of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party held Monday, Jan. 5, Comrade Ewen MacLeod was appointed secretary of the committee and editor of the Western Clarion, in place of C. Stephenson and W. Bennett, resigned.

Both Stephenson and Bennett desire to thank all those who have so kindly assisted them during their term of office, in their endeavor to maintain the Party publications at a high standard as mediums of working class education.

Comrade MacLeod is a member of many years standing of Vancouver Local No. 1. Now that he holds those offices we beg that he be given every support. Given that support and a fair field, we are sure that both the Party and its organ, the Western Clarion, will benefit through his incumbency and enter into a new phase of development.

\* \* \*

Old readers of the Western Clarion will be pleased to see the familiar name at the head of the Party organ. Fourteen months ago it was suppressed by order of the government, but under the recent order lifting the censorship on banned publications, we are allowed to publish it again with the mailing privileges as a fortnightly restored.

When the Clarion was banned, and after several attempts to get the ban lifted had failed, the Red Flag was issued. This name was, under pressure, later changed to the Indicator, which we have continued to publish as a weekly to this date. Because it was not permissible to use the Clarion mailing list for the other publications, we were unable to fulfil the obligations to the subscribers of the Clarion, but now that we have resumed publication of it, we shall attempt to the best of our ability to do so. Many of the subscribers will have left their old addresses, and, should they become aware that the Clarion is being issued again, we request them to forward their new addresses so that they may receive it. Our chief difficulty, however, is a financial one. The fulfilling of this obligation means that we must send out many thousand copies each issue without any present funds coming in, the funds for the unfulfilled subscriptions to the Clarion having been eaten up in carrying the "Red Flag" and the "Indicator," which were comparatively expensive publications, laboring as they did under the disadvantage of limited circulation and high mailing and express rates, and the increasing prices of production. The strain to carry out our obligations threatens to break us financially, or at any rate, to very seriously curtail our activities for working class education in the principles of scientific socialism. To assist us to carry on, unimpeded by this burden, we request all those Clarion subscribers who can, to cancel our obligation and renew their subscriptions. In addition, in order that we may even carry on with renewed vigor, we also ask them to obtain new subscriptions for us.

The Clarion has a clear field in Canada as an exponent of Scientific Socialism. In view of this, we are convinced that if a united and persistent effort is made by our readers, that the Clarion circulation will increase by

thousands in a short time. We think it needless to dwell on the necessity for intense educational activity among the workers, our readers will realize it as much as we do. Therefore, all hands to the ropes.

The Clarion Maintenance Fund will be reopened, and contributions to it, no matter how small, will be welcomed and acknowledged each issue in the initials of the contributors.

As the Clarion is registered as a fortnightly we must for the present, issue it as such. Should, however, our hopes of an increased circulation be realised, it may be decided to issue it weekly, or if not that then its size may be increased. The "Indicator" is now discontinued.

### RAILWAYMEN'S PROBLEMS IN GREAT BRITAIN

According to latest press reports it appears certain the government proposals for settlement of the employees claims will be rejected by the delegates. Whether this will result in a strike is not certain. It may be decided to waive this and instead cooperate with the miners later to enforce nationalization of mines and means of transportation.

### SOVIET ARMIES MAKING GAINS

LONDON, Jan. 8.—The situation in Russia is about as bad as could be from an anti-Bolshevik point of view, according to British war office reports, and there are few signs indicating any likely improvement. There are two especially menacing developments. In the first place, General Denikine's army has been cut in two through the Bolshevik push to the Sea of Azov at Tanganrod and its flanks have been thrust back, leaving a large gap. In addition there comes a claim from the Bolsheviks of the capture further east of the town of Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian Sea, and while this is not confirmed, it is generally accepted as true.

### Baku Endangered

Baku with its important oil supplies on the western coast of the Caspian seems likely also to fall into Bolshevik hands and its occupation would provide a base for further operations against the rear of Denikine's hard-pressed right wing.

—Vancouver Province.

### OUR LITERATURE

The Communist Manifesto, at the rate of \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

Wage, Labor and Capital, \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

The Present Economic System, by Professor W. A. Bonger, \$6 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

Evolution of the "Idea of God," by Grant Allen, 45 cents by post.

Capitalist Production, being the first nine chapters of Vol. I., Marx's Capital. Single copies, paper cover, 50 cents; cloth bound, \$1.00.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, \$13 per 100. Single copies, 15 cents.

Postage Paid.

Make all Money Orders payable to C. Stephenson, 401 Pender Street

## A Counterfeiter Exposed

It will be remembered what a to do was raised by the press during the Winnipeg strike over the alleged difficulty some one had to get a bottle of milk for a baby. It will also be remembered that this incident was made to feature in the trial of R. B. Russell in order to influence the jury of farmers and business men to convict and to furnish an excuse for the judge to send him to gaol for two years. Prominent as a witness was the manager of the Crescent Creamery Company of Winnipeg. The attitude of this gentleman was very aggressive against Russell when in the witness box and he made a great display of righteous indignation. Now, however, it ought to be plain to everyone, that both his indignation, as that of the "kept" press, was counterfeit. A despatch from Ottawa in the Vancouver "Sun" of Jan. 8, has this to say under the caption "Winnipeg Milk Company Declines to Obey Commerce Board."

"OTTAWA, Jan. 7.—The Crescent Creamery company of Winnipeg has thrown down the gauntlet to the Board of Commerce and the board has promptly taken it up.

"The creamery company in question has refused to comply with the order of the board fixing a just and reasonable price upon milk. So the board has declared against the company, to the effect that it has refused to sell at "prices reasonable and just," and a declaration to that effect has been sent to H. Whitla, counsel for the commission at Winnipeg, with instructions for laying of an information against the company and its officers under Section 22 of the Combines and Fair Prices act.

### Prohibits Higher Price

"The board made an order yesterday prohibiting the company from continuing to sell at a price in excess of that which the board declared to be just and reasonable, namely, 15 cents per quart and 8 cents per pint. That order will be served at once, and if the company continues to sell in violation of the instructions given, then proceedings will be commenced under Section 20 of the act for violation of that order."

The insincerity of the evidence of the manager of this concern against Russell at the trial, was manifest to everyone with an open mind, but it served the purpose of the prosecution. Russell is doing two years and a judicial precedent has been established, which reduces the organized labor movement to constitutional impotence.

The creamery company, as a capitalist concern, sells milk for profit, in this case, according to the Board of Commerce, which has held an investigation into costs, "at prices unreasonable and unjust." Is there any compassion for babies in those prices. Mr. Manager? Evidently the board does not think so. But Russell is doing two years.

### Sub. Hustlers Wanted

To increase the circulation of "The Clarion," Urgent. One dollar for twenty issues. Do not delay. Help on the educational movement.

# Appeal in Russell Case

Court Does Not Agree With Legal Arguments Presented by Cassidy

WINNIPEG, Jan. 9.—The extent to which section 590 of the criminal code protected the activities of members of trade unions was defined in the court of appeal by Chief Justice Perdue today, when Robert Cassidy, K.C., in speaking to the Russell appeal case claimed that under this section no evidence concerning the Winnipeg general strike should have been admitted. No charge of conspiracy could be laid against an individual he said, for actions within the orbit of a trade combination. Chief Justice Perdue, in defining the meaning of this section said:

### Object to Protect Unions

"The object of section 590 is to protect trade unions. Otherwise they might be charged with conspiracy for inducing a man to leave his employment. You can not say that everything done inside the doors of their meeting place is absolutely protected, notwithstanding there was a conspiracy to commit a crime or violate a statute."

Again referring to the same section, Chief Justice Perdue said: "It was introduced to protect trade unions. It was not introduced to make them immune from charges of conspiracy if they were guilty of it."

### Judge's View Different

Mr. Cassidy contended that the overt acts which had occurred during the strike should have been kept out of the prosecution under this section of the code.

Mr. Justice Fullerton: "In other words, you are arguing that Russell

could make speeches as seditious as he pleased in a labor meeting and would not be liable for prosecutions for them."

Mr. Cassidy jumped the fifth objection, and commenced arguing the sixth. He contended that Mr. Justice Metcalfe should not have admitted evidence to show that the strike was continued by the accused and should not have ruled as inadmissible the evidence of a witness for the defence, whose testimony would have corroborated Russell's to the effect that he did everything in his power to settle the strike once it had started.

### Repented Afterwards

Mr. Justice Perdue remarked that this point had nothing whatever to do with the result of the trial and he was surprised that the trial judge had permitted the point to be included in the reserved case. The fact that the accused had repented, had undergone a change of heart, after the strike had started, was not of importance as far as the legal rectitude of the trial was concerned. Others of the judges, however, remarked that when Mr. Cassidy said that Russell worked to settle the strike he (Mr. Cassidy) meant that he endeavored to bring it to a successful finish from the standpoint of labor. This could not be taken as a whole-hearted effort to end the strike from an impartial viewpoint. Mr. Cassidy did not entirely accept this version of Mr. Russell's efforts. He said that Russell strove rather to bring the strike to an end by accommodating the various interests.

## POSITION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN RUSSIA

The Russian school children have the opportunity of continuing their studies without experiencing the material hardships of life. The Commissariat for social maintenance undertakes their support. The scholars and students are only expected to pursue their studies, and if they really do this the state supplies them with food, clothes, housing, books and recreation.

Free education was introduced in all the schools in Russia in 1918. The scholars of the higher elementary schools are granted subsidies, school books, literature, etc., or they are given food free of charge. They are allowed to visit theatres, concerts, lectures, museums, exhibitions, etc., also free of charge. The pupils of the colleges live either in communal houses or separate lodgings. All students receive a certain sum of money; in Moscow, for instance, every student receives 1,200 roubles. If desired, part of the money is spent on food or other articles.

In order to make it possible for students to continue their studies uninterruptedly the three-term system has been introduced into the universities by adding another summer term to the autumn and spring terms. For this same reason the students are freed from military training and service in the Red army.

## INCREASED PAY FOR FAMILIES OF MEN IN THE RED ARMY

The Soviet of People's Commissaries has given orders to double the amount paid to each member of a soldier's family incapable of working and dependent on him. If this way, every member receives 120 roubles monthly. Besides money they receive food.

## ASSISTANCE DURING TEMPORARY ILLNESS

The Soviet of People's Commissaries has issued a decree for granting material assistance to those temporarily incapable of working, (through disease, pregnancy and confinement, injuries and quarantine). In this case the patients receive two months' full pay. If the illness continues for a longer period the patients are granted relief and social maintenance until they are quite recovered or until it is found necessary to give them a pension (invalids.) Any institution not carrying out this order correctly is made responsible and fined.

## FREE FOOD FOR CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

From June 5, free feeding for children has been introduced in the following 16 governments of Soviet Russia: Archangel, Vladimir, Vologda, Ivanovovosnesensk, Kalongna, Kostroma, Moscow, Nishni, Olonetz, Petrograd, Pskov, North Dvinsk, Tver, Cherepovetz, Varoslavl.

## The Capitalists' Profits

WHENCE does the capitalist class derive its income. The gains of merchants' and lenders' capital consisted originally of the portions which they withheld from the property of those dependent upon them, who might represent any of the various classes. It is otherwise with industrial capital. It so happens that in proportion as the capitalist system of production develops, the industrial form of capital overshadows all others and forces them into its service. Furthermore, it can do this only in so far as its returns to them a part of the surplus value which it has drawn from the workers. As a result of this development the surplus produced by the proletarians becomes more and more the only source from which the whole capitalist class draws its income.

As the small industrialist and the small farmer are disappearing and their influence upon modern society is felt ever less, so also are disappearing the old forms of merchant's and interest-bearing capital, both of which made their gains by exploiting the non-capitalist classes. Already there are nations without independent artisans and small farmers. England is an instance in point. But no one can conceive of a single modern state without large production. Whoever desires to understand the modern forms of capital must proceed from the industrial form that capital has assumed. The real and increasingly important source from which flow capitalist gains is to be found in the surplus value produced by capital industry.

We have in the preceding chapter become acquainted with the surplus value which the industrial proletariat produces and the industrial capital appropriates. We have also seen how the amount of the surplus value produced by the individual laborer increases at a more rapid rate than does his wage; this is brought about by the increase in the amount of labor, introducing labor-saving machinery and cheaper forms of labor. At the same time there is an increase in the number of proletarians. So the amount of the surplus accruing to the capitalist class swells constantly more and more.

Unfortunately, however, "life's unalloyed enjoyment is not the lot of mortal man." However distasteful it may be to him, the capitalist is compelled to "divide" with the landowner and the state. And the share claimed by each of these increases from year to year.

## PROTECTING BOY AND GIRL LABOUR IN RUSSIA

To all youths and girls working in Soviet establishments the Commissariat for Labor has granted one month's holiday with maintenance of wages. They have been sent by the State to those parts of Russia which are rich in food and with good climatic conditions. Here they are maintained by the State. The youths and girls have been divided into groups which form independent colonies and are housed in the many bourgeois mansions.

# Reducing the Irreducible

**L**AFARGUE has drawn an analogy between the primitive savage and the modern bourgeois showing that the savage believes in the supernatural because of his ignorance of the natural world, while the bourgeois recognizes the necessity of a supreme being to elucidate the mechanism of the social world. This analogy seems to be well taken when one considers the plethora of salves, and lotions, that are being applied to the social gearing in the hope of prolonging class rule. Just as in the field of medicine we are made acquainted with Turtle Serums, microbe destroyers, interstitial glands and other quackery, so in the economic field similar elixirs are introduced to build up, maintain, and perpetuate the present system of production.

One of the many perplexing problems that await solution at the hands of our economists is that known for the lack of a better title as the "High Cost of Living." Numerous causes have been advanced, ranging in order from sunspots to profiteers, to account for this prevalent social malady, but without success. To the Socialist the reasons for such a phenomenon are well known, and many articles have been published in this journal setting forth our views on the matter. Particularly interesting, in this regard, was a contribution by "Geordie," a few months past, in which the soaring prices were attributed to the decreasing value of gold in relation to other commodities; the enormous demand for goods of practically every description in the face of a diminished supply due to the withdrawal of millions of our class from the sphere of production, and their removal to other lands for military purposes, where their consuming capacity was increased, being better fed and clothed as well as expending their energies in an entirely destructive field of human endeavor; by the inflation of the currency, and the consequent depreciation of same, manifesting itself in an advance of prices; and the effects of partial monopolies, that flourished due to war-time conditions, which prevented an open market and free competition. These reasons will adequately explain the present situation even though our masters' economists fail to grasp their import.

But, now, while all are agreed that prices have risen tremendously since the beginning of the war, vitally affecting those who peddle the commodity, labor power, which has failed to keep pace with the others on their upward journey, and demand the immediate attention of our statesmen, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, consumers' league, housewives' clubs and other brainy manipulators of social forces; still, all are not in harmony regarding the means of relieving the distress. One of the most ingenious devices yet concocted to perform the impossible, comes from the pen of Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale University, who is also president of the "American Economic Association," and chairman of the "Association on the Purchasing Power of Money in Relation to the War." His invention purposes to stabilize the buying val-

ue of the dollar by a novel and amusing plan. In brief this plan means—

1. To abolish gold coins and to convert our present gold certificates into "gold dollar certificates," entitling the holder to dollars of gold bullion of such weight as may be officially declared from time to time.

2. To retain the virtual "free coinage," that is, deposit—of gold and the free redemption of gold dollar certificates.

3. To designate an ideal composite goods-dollar, consisting of a representative assortment of commodities worth a dollar at the outset, and to establish an index number for recording, at stated intervals, the market price of this composite dollar in terms of the gold dollar.

4. To adjust the weight of the gold bullion at stated intervals, each adjustment to be proportioned to the recorded deviation of the index number from par.

5. To impose a small "brassage" not to exceed any one change in the gold-dollar's weight.

The point of departure assumed by our learned professor displays a certain amount of reasoning power, inasmuch as he has no intention of getting the cost of living back to the good old days, a few centuries since, when a barrel of beer (no stipulated per cent) could be purchased for  $\frac{1}{2}$ d, and a dozen of eggs (minus of course, the cold storage flavor) exchanged for a farthing. His method is to start off with the price level actually existing immediately before its adoption. To do this, he recommends the "composite goods dollar," which might be composed of say, 1 oz. sugar, 1 egg, 1 pt. of milk,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a lb. of copper, 3 board feet of lumber, 4 pounds of coal, 2 apples, and 1 pound of nails, and let the gold dollar represent these goods, varying the weight of this dollar to suit the prevailing conditions as often the need arises. This means, of course, that to keep the gold dollar from shrinking in value we make it grow in weight, and so recognize that a depreciated dollar is a short weight dollar and, reversely, to keep the dollar from increasing its value we subtract a necessary portion of its weight and thus grant that an appreciated dollar is one of too great a weight.

The reason for starting off with the price list in vogue the day we adopted the goods dollar as our unit, is to prevent a shock to the sensitive nerves of the buying public, who would, in this way, not notice the difference in the systems any more than in the change from local to standard time, or more recently, by the shift for daylight saving. In fact, the average wage plug wouldn't know any more about the new gold dollar than he knew about the old one. They would both practically be strangers to him.

If this method of reducing the old H. C. L. were merely the unsupported suggestion of an inventive economist it would not demand, on our part, any serious consideration. But the plan has already tickled the fancy of such men as President Hadley of Yale, Frank A. Vanderlip, Geo. F. Peabody, John Hays Hammond, Senator R. L. Owen, Sir David Balfour and many other "big moguls" in the business and

financial world, as well as the department of economics in most universities. For this reason we cannot afford to throw it aside with contempt.

Today, gold, in addition to other functions, is a measure of value and standard of price. The labor theory of value tells us that commodities exchange on the basis of the relative quantities of labor necessary for their production. Gold, then, can measure the values of other commodities only because of the fact that it contains a certain quantity of that substance—labor, which is common to all commodities. If new gold bearing areas are discovered and, consequently, new methods of mining and refining are employed, thus lessening the cost of production of gold, a correspondingly increased quantity must be given in exchange for other things not subject to the same influences. This expresses itself in the prices of other commodities. Price is nothing more than the value of any commodity expressed in terms of the money commodity. If this money commodity happens to be gold, then, the others reflect their values in gold prices. When in a store we do not see articles marked as containing so many hours of labor time for their production. They are marked in this country in dollars and cents. Here, then, we find gold to be also a standard of price.

A certain portion of the metal, to wit, 25.8 grs., nine-tenths fine, constitutes the gold dollar. How this particular weight was decided upon is beside the question. As there are 480 grs. of gold in an oz. this would leave the oz. of this given fineness always equal to \$18.60. No matter how gold may depreciate in value due to the various influences that may affect it, its fluctuations are always registered in the prices of other commodities as the specified number of grains are always one dollar. To find the purchasing power of gold we read the price list backwards and see it expressed in all kinds of commodities.

Under this novel plan of our worthy professor, gold would still be the measure of value, but its function of standard of price would be seriously interfered with by the lack of having a definite quantity agreed upon as the unit. As the average worker finds the study of gold money a complicated problem, due to the difficulty of dissociating it from its money position, let us examine the proposition by using wheat instead. The bushel is accepted as the unit. This bushel contains 60 pounds of wheat. If by some discovery wheat can be produced twice as easily as last season, and the labor time necessary to produce spuds and carrots remains constant, then, it will require double the quantity of wheat to purchase a given store of those other commodities. The trouble is in no way removed, or the problem in no way simplified, by adding an extra 60 pounds to the unit to prevent it from shrinking in value. It still exchanges with spuds and carrots on the same basis as it did before. So, too, in the case of gold adding 10 or 20 grs. to the dollar does not offer any solution, any more than that we can buy the same amount of goods for a larger amount of gold instead of

less of other goods for the same amount of gold. The law of value will assert itself just the same.

Then, again, the idea of having gold dollar certificates entitling the holder to certain quantities of gold bullion may sound well in theory but not in practice. There is not enough gold in existence to represent the values that are being consumed, and the more the present system develops the more the ratio of gold to notes, checks, drafts, bills, and other credit instruments varies in a downward direction. Gold and silver certificates which represent, or circulate in place of, equivalent quantities of these metals, stored in government or bank vaults, are becoming strangers to the channels of circulation, while their places are taken by other forms of paper money which have little or no connection with metal reserves. "All goes well so long as this paper can be redeemed or replaced by new promises. But no student of capitalist finance can fail to notice that increasing quantities of inconvertible paper are making their appearance, and that the gold reserves are continually dwindling compared with the amount of this currency in circulation. The idea of abstracting something from the gold bullion, should be an extremely difficult feat in view of the fact that there is nothing to subtract from. Some other remedy will have to be prescribed but, then, there are plenty professors, so who's next?

J. A. McD.

## The Denekine Army

The armies of Soviet Russia on all fronts are sweeping the capitalist counter-revolutionary forces before them like leaves before a storm. The ease and rapidity with which they are doing it shows that the populations of the regained territory are assisting them to rout the mercenary troops of the invaders. Revolutionary principles are triumphing over blood-money.

If the soviet armies do enter Persia, as the capitalist press reports it is feared, it will not be to tyrannize and to sap the life of the underlying population but to free them from capitalist exploitation, both foreign and native.

As showing the character of the anti-bolshevik forces under Dennikin, C. B. read the following clipping from the Vancouver Province.

"NEW YORK, Jan. 8.—The army of General Denikine is characterized as a 'blood-thirsty rabble' guilty of 'brutish outrages,' and a mob which revels in the most abominable crimes and shrinks from no infamy," in a communication written by Dr. Max Nordeau, Jewish publicist and leader, made public here.

The communication is a protest against the repeated pogroms in Ukraina and an appeal in behalf of the survivors.

Propaganda meeting, Sunday, 8 p.m. Empress Theatre, Gore and Hastings street.

# The Capitalist Class

## Division of Labor and Competition.

While on the one hand, the industrial development draws commerce and credit in ever closer relation with industry, it brings about, on the other hand, an increased division of labor; the various functions which the capitalist has to fulfill in the industrial life, divide more and more and fall to the part of separate undertakings and institutions. Formerly, it was the merchant's function not only to buy and sell goods, but to store them, and often to carry them to far distant markets. He had to assort his goods, display them, and render them accessible to the individual purchaser. Today there is a division of labor not between wholesale and retail trade only; we find also large undertakings for the transportation and the storing of goods. In those large central markets called exchanges, buying and selling have to such extent become separate pursuits and freed themselves from the other functions commonly pertaining to the merchant, that not only are goods located in distant regions, or even not yet produced, bought and sold there, but that goods are bought without the purchaser intending to take possession of them, and others are sold without the seller ever having had them in his possession.

In former days a capitalist could not be conceived without the thought of a large safe into which money was collected and out of which he took the funds which he needed to make payments. Today the treasury of the capitalist has become the subject of a separate occupation in all industrially advanced countries especially in England and America. The bank has sprung up. Payments are no longer made to the capitalist, but to his bank, and from his bank, not from him, and his debts collected. And so it happens that a few central concerns perform today the functions of treasury for the whole capitalist class of the country.

But although the several functions of the capitalist thus become the functions of separate undertakings, they do not become independent of each other except in appearance and legal form: economically, they remain as closely bound to and dependent upon each other as ever. The functions of any of these undertakings could not continue if those of any of the others with which they are connected were to be interrupted.

The more commerce, credit and industry become independent and the more the separate functions of the capitalist class are assumed by separate undertakings, the greater is the dependence of one capitalist upon another. Capitalist production becomes accordingly, more and more a gigantic body, whose various limbs are in the closest relation to each other. Thus, while the masses of the people become ever more dependent upon the capitalists, the capitalists themselves become ever more dependent upon one another.

The economic machinery of the modern system of production constitutes a more and more delicate and complicated mechanism; its uninterrupted operation depends constantly more upon whether each of its wheels

fits in with the others and does the work expected of it. Never yet did any system of production stand in such need of careful direction as does the present one. But the institution of private property makes it impossible to introduce plan and order into this system.

While the several industries become, in point of fact, more and more dependent upon one another, in point of law, they remain wholly independent. The means of production in every single industry are private property; their owner can do with them as he pleases.

The farther large production develops, the larger every single industry becomes, the better is the order to which the economic activity of each is reduced, and the more accurate and well considered is the plan upon which each is carried on, down to the smallest details. The joint operation of the various industries is, however, left to the blind force of free competition. It is at the expense of a prodigious waste of power and of materials and under stress of constantly increasing economic crisis that free competition

keeps the industrial mechanism in motion. The process goes on, not by putting every one in his place, but crushing every one who stands in the way. This is called "the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence." The fact is, however, that competition crushes not so much the truly unfit, as those who stand in the wrong place, and who lack either the special qualifications or, what is more important, the capital to survive. But competition is no longer satisfied with crushing those who are unequal to the "struggle for existence." The destruction of every one of these draws in its wake the ruin of numberless others who were economically connected with the bankrupt concern—wage-earners, creditors, etc.

"Every man is the architect of his own fortune." So runs a favorite proverb. This proverb is an heirloom from the days of small production, when the fate of every single breadwinner, at most that of his family also, depended upon his own personal qualities. Today the fate of every member of a capitalist community depends less and less upon his own individuality, and more and more upon a thousand circumstances that are wholly beyond his control. Competition no longer brings about the survival of the fittest.

## CONCILIATION

THE meaning of the late conciliation propaganda is becoming clearer. Heretofore, it has been obscured by the misty vagaries of hero-worship, and the whirling kaleidoscope of bourgeois "duty." But now that the spasm of hero-worship has subsided, and the intensification of the market struggle has overwhelmed the philosophy of duty, the true relationship of capital and labor is coming steadily to the forefront of reality. And in a manner, that even the running reader may see. The concentration of capital is sacrificing the profit of to-day, for the greater spoil of tomorrow; is clothing the national state with the politics of imperialism; sharpening the edge of class conflict; stripping the camouflage from the falsity of conciliation.

In Canada, we are threatened with a new Premier—a more dangerous thing than the "mounties." But, although Canada is a democracy (may the Lord save our beans), it will not be the people of Canada who will elect the new premier. That will be the privilege of capitalist interests, acting behind cabinet "conventions"; and even if the "people" did elect him, the difference would be invisible—the nominee being of the ruling class. The politics of Canada, like the politics of all capitalist countries, is not an affair of national import only. It is a part of the wider organization of world politics, of necessity, since capitalist production and exchange is no longer national, but for the world market. With the close of the Anglo-German war, the old capitalist methods are obsolete. The new (anticipated) conditions of the world market demand new alignments of capitalist control, more efficient methods of production, different adjustments of commerce. Canadian capital is associated with world capital, and therefore in accordance with the interests and necessities of international finance. Canadian politics must be shaped; must harmonise

with the needs and conform with the regulations of the greater interests. And be the premier, whom he may, his election will be of the power of that greater capital with that end in view.

In America, the quarrel over the Peace Treaty is of the same nature. From economic exigencies the U. S. entered the war, and emerged flying the blue ribbon of commercial supremacy. To maintain that supremacy is the objective of American statescraft, but as a national unity, single handed, free from European alliances and entanglements which in future may involve the U. S. ruling class in struggle not to their interest. But in the nature of capitalist development, world exploitation is not a national monopoly, but vests in the polity of international control. And being economically powerful, American finance will exercise a supreme influence in the councils of that control.

In Britain there has been an attempt (among the lesser capitalist fry, whose holdings are impaired by capitalist concentration) to renew the old anarchy of party politics, oblivious of the fact that the pre-war world has vanished; that war-time industry has dissolved their individualism, as completely as science has destroyed their gods. But faced with nationalisation, the growing solidarity of labor, the open (though limited) advocacy of sovietism and the imperious necessity of intensive production, capitalist differences surely will be merged in the Greater Imperialism.

All this is the reflex of the new world condition. If capitalist society is to be maintained, intensity of competition overcome, adverse exchanges reversed, then the world market must be controlled: the volume of production must be increased; labor must be cheap. Just as coalition mergers are the political evidence of economic amalgamation, so censorships and

bludgeonings, "red" pogroms and injunctions, are rude witness to capitalist concentration in that throbbing world of wasted energy—capitalist industry.

Every attempt of labor to secure better conditions is countered by force; every effort for social amelioration parried by investigating committees (of ruling class personnel); every scheme of reconstruction founded on profit: every plan of "conciliation" reflects the hope of gain. Palpably conciliation is a sham, democracy a figment of the imagination. And the regularities of class expediency, furnish proof of the class consciousness of the rulers, and its absence in the proletariat.

Conciliation is beyond all question impossible. To expect such a contingency is to expect repulsions to act as affinities; is to expect the miraculous. Conciliation would mean the negation of the capitalist economic. And the capitalist class cannot accomplish the negation, for the abrogation of its law must extinguish capital, as irrevocably as the violation of physical law would shatter the solar system. Capital and labor are as wide apart as the poles, in nature and objective. The one is exploitation and profit, the other economic freedom and use-production. The existence of capital compels the existence of wage labor. The accumulation of capital is the economic servitude of the worker; the surplus of the master, the degradation of the slave. And the only remedy is the abolition of capital.

Labor follows after strange gods. The necessities of its harried life drive it to action, willy-nilly. It is impelled along the barren ways of reform; bartered by governments; betrayed by office seekers; exchanging its life for subsistence, its manhood for a crust. Yet that seems to be the only way to emancipation. Goaded on by the rough buffetings of economic determinism, we have little time for reason or opportunity for study. But that same determinism is whirling us on to the climax of capitalist society, forcing us face to face with the cause of our poverty and misery—the capitalist ownership of the social means of life. When capitalist development attains to that point, then shall we see—and act.

Education and propaganda cannot hasten the end, cannot influence but the class awakened, or convince the victims of tradition. And the capitalist class will misinform, slander and repress. Still education is urgently necessary. For when the crisis comes, when the social forms of production have broken through the restrictions of the capitalist mode of production, it can only be the wisdom of widespread social understanding, that can prevent the burning passions, generated in the proletariat by centuries of agony and repression, from recoiling blindly, and tragically on society itself, and smooth the passage of that society from capitalist anarchy to socialist co-operation. R.

Propaganda Meeting, at Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings street, Sunday, 8 p.m. Doors open at 7:30 p.m.

Articles are desired on the Socialist Philosophy or on current events interpreted in the light of its principles.