

# WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
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PHILOSOPHY

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FIVE CENTS

## Labor's International Day

**T**HE First of May this year of 1924, according to custom, will be celebrated by the advanced sections of the proletarians of modern capitalism, as International Labor Day.

From time immemorial the laboring class of Europe have held this day as a brand plucked from the burning, and have devoted it to demonstrations of working-class solidarity and recognition of their common interests against the rulers and oppressors.

Originally, in the dim historic past of our savage forbears, the observance of this festival had been religious in character, a day of rejoicing at the evidence of the survival of life in vegetation after the long winter, and for sacrificing and petitioning the demonic powers that the earth might yield abundantly its fruits in the year to come.

In the days of the Greek and Roman empires it was already an old established festival. The people gathered together to render placatory homage, through strange rites to Ceres (Greek: Demeter), Goddess of Agriculture and Fruitfulness, and to Minerva (Greek: Athena), Goddess of Manual Labor and protectress of working women and working men.

The empire states of the ancient world accumulated their wealth and reared the mighty structures of their civil and military polity upon bloody rapine and conquest, and upon the ill requited labors of myriads of toiling slaves:

"Monarchs and conquerors there  
Proud o'er prostrate millions trod."

And such was the superfluity of human flesh and blood, it was recorded of Rome that slaves were "butchered to make a Roman holiday": butchered in the circus by fellow slaves. Immortal! No!—Priestly theology of the time conveniently maintained that slaves had no soul. Even Plato, the enlightened humanist, only conceded them a half-soul.

The introduction of chattel slavery on such a huge scale profoundly affected the course of Rome's history. The lower strata of the free citizenry—the small producers—were finally ruined by the competition of cheap slave labor and were reduced to a condition analogous to the propertyless proletarians of modern capitalism. The state was in the end compelled, in the interests of civil peace, to maintain them. Doles and circuses, doles and circuses until—Rome fell—fell to rise no more, having become economically inefficient, intellectually bankrupt and morally infamous. Tiberius Gracchus, one of the noble minded Gracchi brothers, in Plutarch's life of that Roman, gives this account of the conditions of the poorer plebs. He says:

"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when at the head of their armies they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for among such numbers perhaps there is not a Roman who

has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

There is a truth in the aphorism that "History holds up the mirror to life."

Rome fell, but prior to the fall, her agonizing decline during hundreds of years consisted of one long record of slave revolts, of savage suppression, of bloody massacres and exterminations, and also, in addition, of class struggles due to conflicting economic interests among the free citizenry.

It is said, it was as these conditions began to develop that the oppressed and toiling multitudes, proletarians and chattel slaves alike, appropriated the first of May as a day of special significance to themselves. Hope springs eternal in the human breast. After the long dread winter of their oppression, May Day would symbolize for them the pathetic hope that they were on the threshold of better days to come, when the earth and the fullness thereof should be theirs, a hope which down through the succeeding ages has been unextinguished—is unextinguishable while lives the spirit of man.

It is also said that white, in heathen mythology, was emblematic of degree in rank. It was the color used by the gens or patrician families and by the priesthood, while that of the strictly laboring element was red and brown, dun and murk. White and shining purple could deck the bodies of those who did not labor, and so these colors became a mark of distinction and could not clothe the bodies of those creatures smoked and smeared at the furnace and the anvil. The function of these creatures with no soul was to keep their masters white, clean—washed and fat.

White was the color of the aristocratic flags of military Romans and Greeks, while on the other hand, red banners flew over the labor communes. The sculptured images of Ceres, Goddess of Agriculture and Fruitfulness, and of Minerva, Goddess of Manual Labor and of Working Women and Men, were robed in flaming red. Flaming red became the symbolic color of the suppressed laboring masses and of struggle for freedom.

Since those olden times the ruling classes have frowned upon May Day: its class associations were too vivid, and attempts to stamp out its observance have often succeeded for a time.

Historical data on the observance of this festival during the middle ages is very meagre because bourgeois historians and chroniclers have suppressed accounts of it insofar as its exclusively class associations are concerned. Typical of their way of treating it, are their accounts of its observance in England. They report the entire population as going "A Maying"—gathering flowers in the country to decorate the villages; other features were sports and dances, chief of which was the "Maypole" dance. We are pictured a "Merry England," but to those who know the history of the working-class, it is a mythical England that is pictured.

Be that as it may, Puritanism came, and the gospel of salvation by work. Later came the machine age, when we have neither a merry nor a mythical England, but a very sorrowful, grimly realistic England for its underlying population. The machine age of the modern world in many features has similarities with the ancient world. The competition of machine production brings ruin to the small handicraftsman, and a mass of propertyless proletarians appear again in the world's history. They are the modern wage workers. And lo! A new social phenomenon appears which the historians and the editors can not hide: "A spectre is haunting Europe."

The revolutionary year of 1848 comes bringing English Chartism and other forms of proletarian political disturbances in France and Germany, with adumbrations throughout the rest of the world. The year 1870 brings another terrifying shock to the bourgeois world, in the Paris Commune where the Red Flag flamed again "o'er the embattled proletarians." But, again the revolt is stamped out, but—Let us quote Karl Marx on the matter, from his "Civil War in France." He says:

"That after the most tremendous war of modern times (the Franco-German, 1870) the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. . . Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working-class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

And then, 1914 and the great suicidal war of capitalism. And then, Russia—Red Russia—and proletarian Communism, so often crushed to earth, now risen again.

Our minds have travelled the long gray years of working-class travail and struggle, back to the dawn of history. We have been with the victims of the hell of modern industrialism, with the villeins, the serfs, the bond thralls of feudalism, with the chattel slaves of "the grandeur that was Rome," and the helots of "the glory that was Greece." We have been with overwork and starvation, with hangings, shootings, burnings at the stake, crucifixions, the hiss of stinging whips and branding irons, with massacres and exterminations—and yet—the hope deferred of the oppressed of all the ages draws nearer its realization.

Comrades! To pass in historical retrospect the agonizing triumphs and defeats endured by our class in ages past should, on this First of May, their day as it is ours, give us understanding and stimulate our energies for the great historic task of the working-class to free human society from class rule and exploitation.

In the year 1924 the workers of the world find themselves in a state of discontent that is prompted by the miseries and uncertainties of their working lives. The present links the past to what may be made of the future. Let that future be moulded with the aid of a comprehending working-class, keen to realise the nature of its problems, prompt and practical in remedy and having its ideals always leavening all its activity.

C. S.

# The Claims of "Nordic" Race Superiority

BY JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

**Origin of the pernicious doctrine of "race superiority"—its subsequent development in Germany and its recent appearance in America as an alarmist warning against non-"Nordic" increase—Hypothesis disproved by modern science.**

(Reprinted from "Current History.")

WHEN the immigrant wrote back to his people in Ireland that in America every man is just as good as his neighbor, if not better, he expressed in a typical Irishism a universal sentiment, which is undoubtedly as old as it is widespread. Every man feels in some way superior to his neighbour, whether because he is rich or poor, modest or proud, giant or pigmy, carnal or pious, quick-witted or plodding, for it is in every man's power and it is every man's custom to make a virtue of his special condition and characteristics. Moreover, in this task of marking "Superior Brand" on distinctive traits and qualities, the individual does not stop with himself, he exalts similarly his family, his town and his tribe, thus unconsciously creating a vicious circle by admiring what he has, because he has it.

What is true of individuals is equally true of nations. From the earliest times a given nation's feelings of superiority to its neighbors has been one of the most powerful forces influencing and molding the life of peoples. There is hardly a nation which has not suffered because at some time in its history it acted in the belief that this feeling was a fact. Furthermore, both the records of ancient civilization and the history of our more immediate past show us that the nations have followed an identical formula to justify this national arrogance. We see, in the first place, that a given people claims to have a monopoly of some desirable quality; then we find that it believes this quality to be particularly acceptable to God and by virtue thereof becomes "the chosen people"; and finally, with sanctimonious hypocrisy, the nation in question takes upon itself a mission to excuse its policy of territorial aggrandizement and all the acts of exploitation and oppression which such a policy entails. In the chronicles of every nation infected by this arrogance there is a story of misery, famine and bloodshed, often of complete ruin, all a direct consequence of this theory of superiority. The Greeks and Jews suffered from it; it spread like a plague to France, showed itself in England during the Victorian era, and broke out in Germany a few years ago in its most violent and fatal form. The tragedy of this disease lies not so much in the theory itself as in the fact that it has always been made to serve political purposes and hence has always affected most intimately the political history of virtually every nation in the world.

Lately, however, those who would exploit man's self-conceit for political ends have substituted a racial in place of the national unit of comparison. They speak now in terms of Semite, Mongol and Aryan, or Alpine, "Nordic" and Mediterranean; they interpret God's favoritism not through oracles and prophecies, but by means of cranial dimensions and basketry weaves; and, most important development of all, they no longer attempt to establish their unique qualities but arbitrarily assert their superiority and throw the burden of proof on the "inferior" races. It would seem to the student of history that in the course of civilization mankind has had delusions of chosen peoples and superior races to make it wary when another such theory is put on the market. But quite the contrary is true, and hence it becomes necessary to take notice of the most absurd claims of superiority for fear that the fanatical activity of a handful of believers may cause again irremediable harm.

## Evolution of the "Nordic" Theory.

One of the latest and undoubtedly one of the most absurd and pernicious applications of this "superiority" theory has made its appearance in the United States. The doctrine propounded is that the

white race is biologically superior to all the others and that a certain division of the white race, called "Nordic," is the acme of its excellencies. This theory, propagated in a passionate, melodramatic manner, is finding acceptance among the ignorant, and through them is already exerting an influence on such important practical problems of American life as immigration, eugenics and education. The theory is voiced by members of the legal profession posing as temporary anthropologists, by journalists transformed into ominous prophets, by professors seeking lecture fees and by that curious anomaly, the lady novelist, striving for distinction as a socio-literary critic.

Before we become panic-stricken with fear that the great blond race will disappear into the mysterious twilight zone to which its gods and its heroes are said to have passed in times remote, it may be profitable to examine the fundamental elements of the "Nordic" theory and to see what the anthropological and ethnic facts, which have only recently been brought to light, mean when they are interpreted in the hard, cold light of truth. The curtain for the first act of this romantic melodrama concerning our "Nordic" race rose about seventy years ago. At that time Comte Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), inspired by the great scientific discoveries of his time and anxious to warn his countrymen against hybridization through intermarriage or intermingling with the Germans, who were peacefully penetrating into France, wrote his "Essai sur l'Inegalite des Races Humaines" (Essay on the Inequality of the Races of Mankind). Although he announced that "if the Bible declares that mankind is descended from the same common stock, all that goes to prove the contrary is mere semblance, unworthy of consideration," the Count succeeded in interpreting the Scripture in such a way as to permit him to differ from the common notion that all men are alike, inasmuch as they are all descended from Adam. He proceeded to indicate "the moral and intellectual diversity of races" and came to two important conclusions: (1) That the white race is superior to all others, and (2) that to be great, every nation must be pure in stock. As to the comparative greatness of the numerous divisions of the white race, Gobineau offered no opinion except in so far as his examples were drawn from the ancient Mediterranean civilization. He writes, for example: "If Rome, in her decadence, had possessed soldiers and Senators like those of the time of Fabius, Scipio and Cato, would she have fallen prey to the barbarians of the North?"

Although Gobineau's book was almost immediately translated in America to be used as an argument for slavery, it had little influence on the thought of the day. Not until the biologists, August Weismann and Gregor Mendel, formulated their theories of heredity, not until the discovery of "primitive man" offered a basis for the most imposing superstructures of speculation did the idea of racial inequality fire overwrought and egoistic imaginations. The Weismann doctrine is based upon the idea that every individual is composed of two independent types of tissues, the germ-plasm and the somatoplasm. It holds that the germplasm consists of the generating cells, which reproduce themselves and pass on unchanged from generation to generation, each time building new bodies out of somatoplasm as temporary containers for this precious fluid. The argument that found most favor in the eyes of the propagators of the superior race prejudice is that the individual today is essentially the same as his unknown ancestors of the neo-monkey era, since the vital qualities he had at the beginning were passed on by the germplasm, while the characteristics he acquired in each generation were lost at his death with the disintegration of his body.

Among the individuals who combined the supposition of Gobineau with the speculations of Weismann was a renegade Englishman named Houston

Stewart Chamberlain, whose book, "Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" (The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century) raised the old "chosen people" delusion to a height of magnificent absurdity which it had never before attained. Chamberlain simply and systematically classified all virtues and abilities under the heading "Teuton" and all vices and failings under that of "non-Teuton." After that one could see at a glance the superiority of the northern blond giant over the dark, stubby southerner. The Kaiser is said to have bought 30,000 copies of the book to be distributed where it would do the most good. That the distribution was thoroughly efficient may be gathered by the loud and numerous echoes of these absurdities throughout Europe and America.

## Alarmist Doctrine in United States.

This statistical race ecstasy was fostered in Germany to give an appearance of scientific support to the position of the junkers and to bolster up the belief in the divine right of kings. But it was presented in America as a prophylactic against an imminent danger to mankind. In the books of Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard and others, all the virtues which Chamberlain had monopolized for the Teuton were ascribed to the "Nordic," and the incense which Chamberlain, Witmann and Wirth burned before the idol of their own making was transferred to a shrine less bespattered by the venom of the World War.

It is significant that the authors of these publications devoted to self-admiration exhibit similar mental characteristics and qualifications and employ the same technique in setting down their dogmatic dicta. They are sentimentalists blinded by fear, staggering under a prejudice and wholly lacking in any basis of scientific knowledge. Consciously or not, they base this fantastic farrago of cephalic indices, skull sutures, brain weights, intelligence tests and cultural stages on the very earliest and most antiquated ethnological postulates and shun the later investigations and the demonstrated conclusions of such anthropologists, physiologists, biologists and psychologists as Ripley, Boas, Lowie, Dixon, Spencer, Haeckel, Lamarek, Pavlov, Cunningham, Stockard, Guyer, Smith, Griffith, Weigert and Woodworth—to mention only a few of the most noted in each field. The situation has no parallel in science; it is as if some radio amateur, troubled by a nightmare, had studied the lightning experiments and accepted the conclusions of Benjamin Franklin and on the basis of that knowledge had published books and magazine articles alarming the public with his hysterical dread of the dangers of electricity.

At its best this amateur anthropology is a carefully reasoned plea in support of preconceived notions; the author never admits that his main thesis is not established and, in the present state of scholarship, is not capable of establishment, that his arguments rest on debatable assumptions and his determinations on most questionable evidence. The average product, however, is usually far below this level. In the main these volumes are monstrous statistical romances given a certain plausibility by the tone of solemn dogmatism, the use of quasi-authentic traditions and the show of pseudo-scientific method. As Professor Boas once put it: "Books of this type try to bolster up their unscientific theories by an amateurish appeal to misunderstood discoveries relating to heredity and to give in this manner a scientific guise to their dogmatic statements which misleads the public."

A Main Street President has pondered on the awful spectacle of a dying race thus presented; Congressional committees have summoned and still summon the authors who voice this alarmist theory to ask their counsel on pressing problems and pending problems and pending legislation; sensational magazines publish articles in which the patriotism

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# The Birth of Iris

BY F. W. MOORE.

**T**HERE is a story told of a certain doctor in the Far North who is said to have prescribed treatment for influenza to relieve pain incidental to a broken rib, and every time we think of it we are reminded of the current history of our own times in which we read of the analogous case of the international politico-economic physician (and surgeon, if necessary) Dr. Leagonations, who is treating Madame Capital for general debility when in reality her case is one for specialists in the maternity hospital.

A new social order struggles for birth while the doctor interprets the agonized cries of the mother as insistent demands for more markets merely, or as peevish wailings for fresh supplies of oil and iron.

To those who have followed the trend of events in recent years there is no mystery any more than there was to Tennyson when he gave such delightful expression to a great truth that is obvious to almost everybody, except learned diplomats of course:

"Ev'n now we hear with inward strife  
A motion toiling in the gloom  
The spirit of the years to come  
Yearning to mix himself with life  
A slow-develop'd strength awaits  
Completion in a painful school  
Phantoms of other forms of rule  
New majesties of mighty states."

"Phantoms of other forms of rule" is a most suggestive expression. The very decrepitude of Madame, makes one think of the "witching hour of night" of a dying age "when churchyards groaned, and graves gave up their dead." Her physical development has reached such gigantic proportions that her vital organs—her industrial institutions and markets, have become semi-paralysed, choked with the metaphorical adipose tissue incidental to the power of producing too much for a limited market. Her entire constitution suffers severely as a consequence of continual attempts to infringe the laws of economic determinism, and considering the condition she is in, her troubles are highly complex indeed. No longer is it possible for her system to receive adequate nourishment. It avails little that her appetite, unlike that of other beings, which diminishes with advancing age, becomes ever more insatiable in accordance with the requirements of her constantly increasing mechanical power. She is slowly dying of unsatisfied hunger for markets. Dr. Leagonations therefore spends the greater part of his time planning ways and means to obtain these wherever they may be found. We are unable to foretell how soon or in what manner the old lady will "shuffle off this mortal coil," but we do know that her end is not far distant, as periods of evolution are usually reckoned. It is therefore incumbent on us to supplement the work of the doctor, by broadcasting a diagnosis of Madame's infirmity, since the possibility of the successful issue of the great event, would be of intense interest to the whole human race if it only knew that on its attitude depends the safe arrival of the lusty infant that will have been born of ages of development, an infant that will, no doubt, surpass in comeliness all its predecessors just as in preceding ages at junctures of a similar nature, each succeeding child of Madame Economic Circumstance, of whom Madame Capital was the last, surpassed all her predecessors.

Miss Barbarism, for instance, was far more elegant than Miss Savagery, just as in later years Miss Feudalism carried off all the honours when compared with Miss Barbarism: and now we look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the time when Iris Industrial government will far out rival the beauty and virtue of her dear old mother Mrs. Capital.

Is it not therefore an arrant shame to trust the fortunes of our prospective baby to the tender mercies of so uncongenial a doctor? Surely it would be an act of charity if the women of the world lent him some assistance. Who would be better able to sense intuitively the real nature of Madame's troub-

les? Who would be better fitted to aid her in her distress in which she needs other medicines to supplement those mentioned? A clue to the nature of the panacea required can be had in the known fact that the political atmosphere was changed completely as each of the interesting ladies mentioned above made her entrance on the world's stage. The social infant whose appearance we anticipate and who, we trust, will soon spread its radiance on a fortunate world can, in its requirements, be no exception to the general rule. It too, must have an environing atmosphere suitable to its condition—an atmosphere prevailed by widespread knowledge of economic truths relating to the facts to which the infant owes its existence, and in which alone the ship of state can be successfully navigated.

In ordinary school-education these facts are not considered, while in our maturer years there is little time to look them up. How indeed could there be, since existence is maintained by an incessant struggle that in a word of highly developed machinery, is the last extreme in quintessential folly?

Let the following momentous truth be heralded across the universe and pervade the atmosphere in which our beautiful Iris must some day live:—that the inhabitants of this world are divided by circumstances into two main classes, the exploiters and the exploited. Let it be further known that the exploited who receive only from the world's produce sufficient to maintain themselves and their families according to the current standard of living, can by no means buy back, the huge bulk of the surplus commodities that must be disposed of if Madame Capital's metaphorical life-blood be allowed to circulate. Hence arises, in every country where machinery is highly developed, the necessity for a foreign market. To this might be added the statement that since the continual increase in the world's power of production calls for an increasing but impossible expansion in a world-market of well defined limits, we are driven to the conclusion that the lack of correspondence between our industrial institutions and their environment, is a sure premonition of their approaching dissolution, and that the time must come when the congestion will be so serious that the smooth running of the wheels of industry must necessarily become impossible.

Surely then it is the duty of all honest men and women to make an enquiry into the truth or falsity of these statements which have been proclaimed by the Socialist parties of the world for some years. If they find that they are true, they owe it to honour and honesty, to themselves and to the world at large, to spread the knowledge of the results of their investigations as extensively as their means of doing so will permit.

In this way they can prepare for the great day when the aggravated congestion of the markets of the world will bring within measurable distance the materialization of the dreams of the world's great poets and thinkers—the birthday of the baby Iris involving also the coming of Tennyson's "Parliament of Man" whose factors would be the "United States of the World" in which would be regulated by members of an industrial parliament, the production and distribution of commodities in the interests of all mankind.

Let us fondly hope that the nurses and physicians—those groups of men and women who disdain "even by silence to sanction lies" will be able to prevent the surgeon—the legions of barbaric militarism that have been captivated by the subtle propaganda of the designing reactionary, creating a state of anarchy embodied in the death under operation of both mother and child. How regrettable that would be it is impossible to conjecture. The evil effects on humanity of the death of Iris might be felt for ages. It therefore behoves every true man and woman to be up and doing: to hold aloft the light of economic determinism and to remember that:—

"We live in deeds, not years—in thoughts, not breaths.  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.  
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives  
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

## THE CLAIMS OF NORDIC RACE SUPERIORITY.

(Continued from page 2)

of skin, hair and language is exploited to the utmost; and the man in the street mumbles shibboleths and discovers ancestors in Walhalla. Yet contradictions and exaggerations abound on every page of these pseudo-scientific treatises and absurdity vies with absurdity. Mr. Stoddard writes: "Our glorious civilization is the work of 'Nordics,' sole possessors of the desirable mental qualities, who have taken their faith from Palestine, their laws of beauty from Greece and their civil laws from Rome." Mr. Grant says: "Europe was Germany and Germany was Europe until the Thirty Years' War. . . . When by universal suffrage the transfer of power was completed from a 'Nordic' aristocracy to lower classes of predominantly Alpine and Mediterranean extraction, the decline of France in international power set in." A report of some eugenic commission states: "Admit inferior races, to dig subways and to labor as farmers, but sterilize them that they shall not act as seeds for future crops." And again Mr. Grant: "One of the greatest difficulties in classifying man is his perverse predisposition to mismatch." A chorus of voices, indeed, a veritable cloud of witnesses, declare that though Christianity is essentially the religion of Mediterranean slaves, Christ was a "Nordic." I have yet to read a book, however, which can avoid the confession that the great beginnings and the large achievements of European culture were made by the Alpine and Mediterranean stocks.

(To be concluded.)

## MANIFESTO

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## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-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 upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MAY 1, 1924.

### MAY DAY.

**T**HE "feature" of working class journals and periodicals at this time is May Day, which has attached itself to working class tradition in the annual resolve toward the maintenance of the struggle for emancipation from the impositions, exactions, restraints and unhappiness of work-a-day life.

Since 1923 there has been but little change in the condition of the working class throughout the industrial world or, at any rate, such change as there has been has been for the worse. The workers of Europe are still torn by sectionalism and nationalism. It is a noticeable feature there, particularly in France, that in election periods the rabid patriotic type of man gains ascendancy in National government, whereas the broader viewpoint is required to narrow its vision in the practical administration of municipal affairs. Idealism is endorsed in principle and amended in practice the world over.

Despite the fact that the working class is divided internationally in the maintenance still of the persistent and understandable national attitude, it is all to the good that May Day serves ideally and sentimentally to foster the idea of international human brotherhood. Brought to bear upon that thought the working class mind sees a goal to strive for. There is no work of greater importance in helpfulness to that end than the educational effort. The world we want must be built from the material of the world we find ourselves in, and while the worker whose time is devoted to the education of his fellows makes a comprehending allowance for human sentiment and the occasion of its expression—and indeed encourages its proper expression—he constantly harps upon the necessity for application to the understanding of that material, as far as may be, as of primary importance.

May Day is a welcome day of seasonal promise. To the international workers it is likewise a day promising mutual aid among all workers the world over.

### SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Local (Calgary, Alberta), No. 86.

Propaganda meetings are held every Sunday afternoon at 3 on St. George's Island. Come and swell the crowd.

History and Economics classes are suspended for the summer season and while outdoor propaganda meetings obtain. All information from R. Burns, secretary, 134a 9th Ave. West, Calgary, Alberta.

Local (Vancouver) No. 1.

The supper and dance held by Local No. 1, on 18th March has produced so good an effect that another one is scheduled for Friday, 23rd May. This date has been selected because the 24th is a holiday and will provide occasion for the usually much-needed "sleep-in." Tickets are now on sale—Men 50c.

and Women 25 cents. Secure your tickets early and give the committee a good start in effecting arrangements.

The Building Fund, opened by Local No. 1, some time ago for the securing of money to build suitable headquarters, has not grown sufficiently to warrant proceeding. As a consequence it has been decided to abandon the project meantime. A little expense has been incurred in printing and mailing circulars which it is hoped the contributors to the Fund will not object to having deducted proportionately from the moneys already given. The committee asks us to state, however, that any or all amounts received will be repaid in full. The wishes in this respect of the contributors will be conveyed to the committee if communicated to E. MacLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.

Numbers convey more to some people than to others. For instance, the number preceding your name on the address label of this paper indicates to us that your sub. has expired if it is No. 914. If the number is below that then you'll find to your surprise that you're actually getting credit—though it won't last long! If the number should happen to be 915 then your sub. expires with next issue. Pay up and pay promptly as cheerfully as you can. Pay up anyway.

### HERE AND NOW.

**W**HAT poetry has to do with Clarion subs. is not easy to see, unless it be that impetuosity forms the bond.

At any rate, a lad of 45 (or so) summers sends us this:

#### Lulu's Lament.

"Rock-a-bye baby on the tree top,  
When you grow up you'll work in a shop;  
When you are married your wife can work too,  
So that the rich will have nothing to do.

"Rock-a-bye baby on the tree top,  
When you grow up your wages will stop;  
And when you've spent what little you save,  
Rock-a-bye baby—off to the grave."

No disclosures are to be made as to authorship, a feature which is not without merit and which clearly denotes that our poet has some personal pride left in him yet.

As a general rule poets and near-poets do not find favor with us. This is, of course, because they do not understand us.

The author of the "Lament," however, is to be forgiven for his idea of "encouragement" to the rising generation. He sent subs. along with his song. Hence this encouraging return from us, which is unusual in our dealings with the poetic fraternity.

We'll forgive you your sins if you'll send us subs.

Our stock of forgiveness is not nearly exhausted—as witness:—

Following \$1 each: Abe Karne, M. C. Sterling, L. Sickle, W. G. Kievel, J. McKinley, G. Gemmell, Wm. Thomson, T. Richardson, W. T. Moore, O. Bridgeman, C. Lester, R. Gooding, C. Thorning, J. R. Kuypers, C. W. Mossman, R. C. McKay, J. Hodges.

Following \$2 each: C. Macdonald, H. F. Smith, A. V. Laurence, F. W. Moore, E. M. Carruthers, Will Fleming.

Geo. Rossiter 50 cents; H. Vindeg \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs. received from April 11th to 28th, inclusive, total \$31.

### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Following \$1 each: Harry Grand, G. Gemmell, Ben Huntly, F. Cusack, C. Stewart.

Alex. Shepherd \$2; "A Friend" \$5; St. John Comrades (per S. E. White) \$7.50; F. W. Moore 50 cents.

Above, C. M. F. receipts from 11th to 28th April, inclusive, total \$20.

## The Farmer's Forum

**N**OT having the faculty of a "Geordie" in the realm of economics, or a "C" in philosophy, I find it rather difficult to make clear the farmer's present-day position in society—at least insofar as the actual state of affairs in Canada is concerned. Nevertheless, disadvantages, in the sphere of general knowledge being of a relative character, such will not hinder my endeavour in contributing to our journal a few sidelights on the agrarian question. John Farmer is the producer of our food supply. He also produces the raw material (wool) that shields the bulk of mankind from the rigors of climate, etc., raw hides, out of which is made the fancy footwear of the elite; and the shoddy that deforms and tortures the hoofs of the proletariat are a by-product of the farm.

It will appear quite evident that our rustic friend under discussion is an important factor in the great stage of capitalism. We may look back and examine his role during the recent struggle in Russia, and later in Germany, to really understand his importance in the event of a cataclysmic social upheaval. We may not like the uncouth manner and idiosyncracies of Mr. Farmer, so different is he from the industrial wage slave of the city in his general outlook on the affairs of the world. His mode of getting a living, environment, etc., is responsible for his narrow outlook, and the appalling state of rural cultural life generally. The cultural side of the life of the mass of wage slaves, we recognize, is at a low ebb. We can nevertheless make comparisons on the psychological make up of the two groups of slaves, and try to find a means, as it were, of bringing the two elements, Farm Slaves and Wage Slaves, to see a common ground on which to wage the class war against the rapine and plunder of Capitalism. It is the task of the Marxian Socialists to participate in farmer's movements, and help them along in their co-operative endeavours to gain a point of vantage in their struggle against the woes and oppressions of Capitalism. At the

(Continued on page 5)

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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# America and Her Influence

**W**HEN Christopher Columbus made his famous voyage across the Atlantic and humped into the Continent now known as America, none foresaw the titanic effects that were doomed to follow such a discovery.

The journey which was originally intended to find a sea route to India, was made with the purpose of opening up a trade route to that country in lieu of the overland route that had existed prior to the War of the Crusades—but which had long since passed under the control of the Saracens.

The tremendous size of the new continent and its vast natural resources offered such favorable inducements that it speedily became one of the chief markets of the world and also one of the chief causes in giving an impulse to the industry and commerce of Europe, especially England. Separated from Europe by water, it also gave a like impulse to navigation, and the position of Britain as well as the fact that it was an Island very favorably blessed with many natural harbors, proved to be of tremendous importance to that country in the struggle for a share in the trade that was carried on with the new country, America. The buccaneering exploits of Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, et al., and the glorious page in English history known as the defeat of the Spanish Armada had their origin in this same discovery.

The economic life of England was given a tremendous impetus, and with constantly rapid changes in the technique of the country taking place in order to meet the increased demand for manufactured goods, we had its necessary product, social and political changes.

The manufacturers and merchants of England began to accumulate vast stores of wealth. Their interests conflicted on an ever expanding scale with those of the ruling feudal class. A show-down became inevitable, and the Revolution under Cromwell was the result. A new historical epoch had been started; the epoch of capitalism.

The various classes that had existed under the feudal regime, but which were already slowly breaking up, began to rapidly disappear, until, today there are but the two classes, wage slaves and capitalists.

Along with this social change in England and Europe there has proceeded a somewhat more rapid change in America. From a virgin country she has risen to a position of pre-eminence in that social system which she was one of the main factors in giving birth to. Like England and France she has had her bourgeois revolution. She, like them, has had her philosophers of pure reason, and the "Rights of Man." And like all countries under the iron-heel of capitalism she has developed into a staunch champion of individual democracy. In fact it would seem that America's mission today is to now function as the main prop of the reactionary forces of modern society in preventing any further revolutions that are by the very nature of things doomed to make their appearance. At one time a factor in causing revolutions and historical change, she has developed into a potent force prohibiting political change. And this is perfectly as it should be.

Her tremendous size and vast natural resources have been the cause of developing within her geographical confines the richest and most ruthless set of plutocrats that modern history can boast of. Her politicians have proven themselves geniuses in their adaptation to the ethics of their system. And the motto of "get while the getting is good" is of universal application among them while in office.

The colossal wealth centralized in such few hands has bred a most ruthless despotic temperament in the minds of its owners. And were Nietzsche alive and sojourning in this land of the free, it is safe to say that he would be the lion of modern literature.

But all is not honey that tastes sweet. The home market of America is utterly unable to absorb the commodities produced therein. Foreign markets are needed, and America must sally forth into lands afar and seek customers. She must crawl out of her nationalistic shell and become more cosmopolitan. God's country has become too small to harbor its god. Mammon, golden, glittering mammon, hoarded in the vaults of its owners and worshippers, craves to fulfil its function in the world of commodities. It forces its owners to seek avenues for its active expression as capital.

Home industries have been expanded to their limit. Gigantic machinery has been introduced in these industries in order to produce more wealth with less labor. Still the golden glittering mass stored as a hoard cannot find full expression.

America's financial magnates have been driven abroad to seek an outlet for the profitable use of this mass of precious metal. But in their searching abroad care has been taken to see that it will only be used in those industries which are of sufficient size to warrant further development at this stage of the capitalist system.

The territory now under control of the Soviets of Russia, with its probable greater natural resources than even the U. S. A., along with its close contact with the fine technical machine of Germany offers golden prospects for such an investment.

The gigantic industries of the Ruhr and the closely connected and highly efficient German railroads are the fish that Morgan and Co. seek to land. This can well be understood, when such are brought into relation with the backward condition of Russia. Russia's demand for machinery and other products of steel can be supplied much more efficiently by the huge combine now in process of formation in the disputed area of the Ruhr. These commodities must be carried over the railroads, and here again is a golden chance to add an increment to the aforementioned golden mass. Thus for the privilege of putting Germany once again on a gold basis; the pound of flesh must be paid. But unlike ancient Shylock's, it must contain both blood and bone. Also Iron.

Should such an harmonious program reach fruition, it means that a large number of former wage-slaves of the German government now transfer their profitable activities to Mr. Morgan and his cohorts, and for their benefit. It also means ructions in the future political life of the Germans.

In any case, it means that our beloved country becomes more entangled in the hated foreign alliances, and due to these growing economic interests we must be obliged to take a corresponding interest in the political affair of those countries.

So it would seem that on the supposition of an impending proletarian revolution in Germany (as is claimed by a few "reputable" authorities) the action of America on such a situation must be taken into serious consideration.

The country whose discovery was one of the main factors in developing the power and class necessary to overthrow the reaction and feudal ruling class of the previous epoch, now seems destined to be the power to uphold that which, due to technical progress, has itself become reactionary. Changing conditions, changing ideas, and a simplification of the classes of society, the product of the time process, have completely altered America's stand from that taken in the days of 1776.

Then the revolutionary element of this country were those destined to become the ruling masters of a new era. They were the forefathers of those that now act in so reactionary a manner. Then they struggled for a complete political expression of their

economic interests. This could only be accomplished by overthrowing those that stood in their way.

Today, the revolutionary element are that class of wage-slaves that their system has created. Capitalists and wage slaves standing irreconcilably opposed to each other. 'Tis this fact which has forced America into a reversal of the position she championed in 1776 and 1789. But it is extremely doubtful if sufficient workers of America are conscious of it. And there is the danger to the "impending revolution in Germany," and also the pressing need for a larger activity in the realms of propaganda.

J. C.

## THE FARMER'S FORUM

(Continued from page 4)

same time they can explain that Wheat Pools and Cattle Pools will not solve the problems of those who toil, even if they may ameliorate the suffering and wait for a time, by gaining a few cents, by eliminating middle men, etc.

We must recognize the fact that a wheat pool is a huge co-operative selling trust. Eventually it is going to take the place of the Grain Ring which is composed of many companies and concerns. Already the Alberta government is empowered to give the Wheat Pool (\$1,000,000) one million dollars to buy company elevators. An average grain elevator cost \$14,000 when built (new); presuming there will be a 15 per cent or more depreciation, a million dollars will buy quite a number of the line elevators in Alberta. Over 35,000,000 bushels have been handled by the Alberta Pool to date. In the event of the collapse of Capitalism and a Socialist state taking control, we can see there would be an advantage to the working class in dealing and if necessary taking over a huge concern such as the Wheat Pool is likely to develop into rather than have to deal with a disorganized group of companies who would more than likely, offer resistance, and would likely practice sabotage on the food supply of society, which could not happen so easily in dealing with a central body like the Pool. Let us hope, in such a contingency, when the working class will take control, the farmers will not lag far behind; they will know their function in society, at least the majority of them will be class conscious by then.

If the theory is correct that the farmers receive a price below value for their commodities because of the low composition of their Capital and their ill organized methods, then it may be argued that the Wheat Pool and their various co-operative efforts which will entail, we presume, a higher composition of Capital, must necessarily bring about a state of affairs where the price of wheat will raise to, at least, around value. It would appear, however, that such is the case, as the Wheat Pool has announced a price for Pool wheat which will be considerably above what has been paid by the line elevators.

I do not think it is part of the aim of the Wheat Pool to fix prices. Even if they had that aim in view, after the idea of wheat control during the war, conditions under normalcy are different, as there appears to be a glut in the world wheat market.

The Wheat Pool would have to assume an international character, and control the world's wheat supply, before such an idea as price fixing could be entertained under normal conditions of Capitalism. If the price of wheat were to raise to value there are still vast areas of the earth where wheat could be profitably grown, and new capital is always available in abundance to exploit the virgin soil of new countries yet untouched. The possibilities of making the implements of wheat production larger and more proficient have also to be considered.

We may, well look upon gigantic farmer's co-operative trusts as the last phase of Capitalism, ere it fulfills its historic mission, when society will take upon itself the task to produce for use instead of for profit.

D. MacPHERSON.

# Lenin's Life and Work

BY KARL RADEK.

(Continued from last issue)

AS early as the period of his first sojourn in Europe, before his banishment, Lenin began to study with great interest the West European labour movement, which up to then had only been known to him through the medium of books and which he was now able to study in actual practice. He often narrated the impressions made upon him by the workers' meetings in Switzerland and France; and he often observed that what he had seen, completely contradicted the ideas which he had formed in Russia with respect to the European labour movement. But this great realist did not succumb for a moment to scepticism, but sought for the essentially revolutionary character of the West European labour movement in the midst of its commonplace triteness and humdrum everyday work. It was not until 1906 that Lenin came into close connection with the labour movement and its leaders in Switzerland, France, and England. At this time he returned from banishment, and took part with Martov, Axelrod, and Plekhanov, in the publication of the "Iskra." The "Iskra" was not only the fighting organ of Russian Social Democracy, but at the same time the fighting organ of European Socialism. The period of its publication coincided with the blazing up of the conflict between the revolutionary and revisionist tendencies of international socialism. The practical questions of the West European labour movement were dealt with in the "Iskra" for the most part by Plekhanov. Lenin devoted his attention chiefly to theoretical questions, but at the same time he accorded much careful study to the practical phenomena of the labour movement. He visited workers' meetings at Munich, and not only listened attentively to the speeches delivered by socialist speakers at the meetings in Hyde Park in London, but also to the speeches delivered by the preachers of the various religious sects exercising so much influence among the working masses of England.

It was perfectly clear to Lenin, after Bernstein's first action, that revisionism represents the expression of the interests of the labour aristocracy and of labour bureaucracy. And now he saw this graphically demonstrated in the types of the labour movement. At the international congresses at Amsterdam and Stuttgart, he observed the leading organizations of the Second International, and it is probable that he felt very solitary. The debates on colonial policy and on the combatting of war danger, held at the Stuttgart congress, showed him the path being pursued by the reformist leaders. The articles which he wrote on the sessions of the International Bureau, after the first revolution, are already permeated with the profound hate which he felt for all these van Kols, Troelstras, Brantings, and the like.

At that time the International was still united, it was not yet dismembered. But Lenin was already aware that the International contained enemies of the working class, and he was aware of the kind of people composing the whole honourable company of the Second International, beginning with the open revisionists, down to and including Kautsky, with whom Lenin had become acquainted in Munich as early as the year 1901, and whom at the very best he recognised to be a man who had his head in the clouds. Comrade Warsky, the theoretician of Polish Marxism, shows in his article on the lessons of the Bolshevik anniversary that he has excellently grasped the fact that at that time, the whole left wing of the Second International, including the best, represented an opposition against reformism within the Second International, and that Lenin alone stood for the principles of the future Third International. It suffices to read Lenin's short review in the "Enlightenment" on the book written by the German trade union leader Legien, to clearly

recognize that no other human being except Lenin wrote in this manner about this worthy company.

The differences between revisionism and the radical Marxism pursued by Karl Kautsky, were merely differences of the interpretation of Marxian doctrine. In reality, in daily practice, these tendencies agreed excellently with one another, and it is upon this fact that the unity of the Second International was based. The congress of this International met for some years without any very serious conflicts arising. Such conflicts as arose generally terminated with the acceptance of a common resolution. In actual practice, the so-called radical Marxists did not even propose the revolutionary preparation of the masses by means of clear and decided revolutionary agitation. In the year 1910 there was a split in the camp of so-called orthodox Marxism. This split came about on account of practical reasons. The result was the so-called left radical section, and the so-called centre headed by Kautsky. The separation took place on the questions of the fight against imperialism, and of the mass strike. At first it appeared to Lenin as if we left radicals had incorrectly formulated our attitude towards imperialism, but were unconditionally right in the question of mass strikes. At the time, when Martov published an article against Rosa Luxemburg in Kautsky's organ, Lenin published an article by Pannekoek in the Russian central organ, in which he defended the attitude of the left radicals, and morally supported the left.

The war breaks out. The dark day comes, the 4th August. Lenin, sojourning in the Carpathian district, receives the news of the complete betrayal by German and international Social Democracy. In the first moment he doubts the tidings, and hopes that it is merely a war manoeuvre of the international bourgeoisie; but he is speedily convinced of its tragic truth, goes to Switzerland, and takes up his fighting position at once. As early as the end of 1914, I had the opportunity of speaking with him, after his attitude had been firmly established in the historical manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Party, and in various issues of the "Social Democrat." I still remember very well the profound impression made on me by the conversation with Lenin. I came from Germany for the purpose of establishing connections with the revolutionary groups of other countries. In Germany we unconditionally rejected the attitude of the social democratic majority from the very first day onwards. We rejected the idea of the defence of native country in an imperialist war. We were in conflict with Haase and Kautsky, who went no further than diffident opposition to the social patriotic leadership, of the party, and only differed from this in sighing for peace. In our propaganda, carried on in the censored press and in hectographed papers, we agitated for revolutionary war against war. But for me—and through my intermediation also for many German comrades—my conversation with Lenin signified a sharp turn to the left. The first question which Lenin put to me was the question of the prospect of a split in the German Social Democracy. This question was like a dagger stab to the heart to me, and to the comrades standing at the left wing of the party. We had spoken thousands of times of reformism as of a policy pursued by the workers' aristocracy. But we hoped that the whole German party, after the first patriotic throwback, would develop towards the left. The fact that Karl Liebknecht did not vote openly against the war on 4th August is to be explained precisely by the fact that he still hoped that the persecution carried on by the government would induce the whole party to break with the government, and with the defence of the imperialist fatherland. Lenin put the direct question: what is the actual policy being pursued by the Second International? Is it an error, or is

it treason to the working class? I began to explain to him that we were on the borderland between the period of peaceful development of socialism and the period of storm and stress, that it was not merely a question of treachery on the part of leaders, but of the attitude taken by masses not possessing the power to offer resistance to the war, but subservient to the bourgeoisie; but that the burdens imposed by this policy would force the masses to break with the bourgeoisie and tread the path of revolutionary struggle. Lenin interrupted me by the words: "It is an historicism that everything finds its explanation in the changing epoch. But is it possible for the leaders of reformism, who led the proletariat systematically into the camp of the bourgeoisie even before the war, and who openly went over to this camp at the moment of the outbreak of the war, to be the champions of a revolutionary policy?" I replied that I did not believe this to be possible. "Then" declared Lenin, "the survivals of an outlived epoch, in the form of reformist leaders, must also be cast aside. If we want to facilitate for the working class its transition to the policy of war against war, of war against reformism, then we must break with the reformist leaders, and with all who are not fighting honourably on the side of the working class. It is only a question of when this rupture is to be accomplished. The question of the organizational preparations of this rupture is purely one of tactics, but to strive towards rupture is the fundamental duty every proletarian revolutionist." Lenin insisted on the sharpest form of the ideological struggle against the social patriots, insisted on the necessity of openly emphasizing the treachery committed, especially the treachery of these leaders. He frequently repeated these words on later occasions, when we were working together; when drawing up resolutions he invariably adhered to the standpoint of this political definition, and held it to be a measure of revolutionary sincerity and logic, an evidence of the will to break with Social Democracy.

Lenin insisted with equal emphasis upon the slogan of civil war being opposed to the slogan of Burgfrieden (civil peace). Since our polemical discussions with Kautsky, we left radicals in Germany had become accustomed to formulate the slogan less clearly: our slogan was the slogan of "mass action." The lack of clearness of this slogan corresponded with the embryonic condition of the revolutionary movement in Germany in the years 1911 and 1912, when we regarded the demonstration made by the workers of Berlin in the Tiergarten, at the time of the struggle for universal suffrage for the Prussian Diet, as the beginning of the revolutionary struggle of the German workers. Lenin showed us that though this slogan might be suitable for the purpose of opposing the action of the masses to the parliamentary game played by the social democratic leaders before the war, it is entirely unsuitable in a period of blood and iron, in a period of war. "When discontent with the war has increased"—he said—"then the Centrists can also organize a mass movement for the purpose of exerting pressure on the government, and for forcing it to end the war with a peaceful understanding, if our goal, the goal of ending the imperialist war by the revolution, is not to be a mere pious wish, but a goal for which we really work, then we must issue the slogan of civil war, clearly and determinedly." He was extraordinarily pleased when Liebknecht, in his letter to the Zimmerwald conference, made use of the words: "Against the civil peace for the civil war." For Lenin, this was the best proof that Liebknecht was in agreement with us in essentials.

The split in the Second International as a means for the development of the revolutionary movement in the proletariat, civil war as the means of victory, over imperialist war—these were the two leading ideas which Lenin endeavored to impress upon the

(Continued on page 8)

# East and West

A couple of editorials headed respectively, "A Golden Opportunity Lost" and "Friend Wallace" appeared in last March 25th Winnipeg "Free Press." The first is as follows: "Mr. Meighen is much acclaimed by his friends for his courage, his national outlook, his disregard for sectional appeals, etc., etc. He lost a golden opportunity for displaying these qualities when at the French Conservative dinner at Montreal on Saturday, he did not say a word in season to Armand Lavergne about his abusive and untrue references to the West. Sectionalism, of a particularly dangerous kind, appears to be becoming the outstanding feature of the Conservative appeal." The second editorial runs thus: "Mr. Wallace, the United States Secretary of Agriculture, is about to resign because President Coolidge declines to support the McNary bill, which is in fact his child. Mr. Sapiro, in his recent trip to Western Canada, spoke quite openly about the purpose of this measure as set forth to him by Mr. Wallace himself. It was to slaughter the United States surplus of wheat in the world's market at prices so low that it would force Canadian farmers to stop growing wheat for export. 'I have told Wallace to his face' said Mr. Sapiro, 'that this is an inhuman and stupid plan.' Mr. Wallace seems to be a kind, generous friendly sort of neighbor."

What with Canadian differences on racial, language and religious questions, and Western threats of secession over the East's holding-up of the Hudson Bay Railway, the above first quotation seems to support Kipling's contention that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet;" while the second editorial completes the full round of the compass by justifying the remark that North is North and South is South and never the twain shall meet. Yet looking at the second emanation from the editorial brain, it really shows an agreement between North and South that forecasts not only the probability of unity between East and West, but even the probability of universal human brotherhood.

It is the two names—Wallace and McNary—that arouse a tremendous train of reflections, which carries us back across the Atlantic to a comparatively small country called Scotland. "Wallace," as the patronymic of the hero of the Scottish war for national independence from English domination, is world famous. The other name that attention is directed towards, is McNary; but apart from the fact that the "Mc" portion thereof indicates a Celtic origin, there is nothing else, so far as the writer is aware, that renders that name remarkable. The whole point is that for material reasons, a Wallace and a McNary reveal themselves as friends and brothers in a common (not to say vicious) cause. That is equal to saying that a Highlander and Lowlander by origin, possess two hearts that beat as one.

Yet, between these two inhabitants or races in former times in Scotland, such unity was a very unusual event; for we may say that Wallace is a name of truly Saxon origin. It is said to come from the Teutonic word "waelsch" which, in modern German, means foreign, outlandish or—Italian! but as used by the Anglo-Saxon invaders was applied by them to the Cymric Celts whom they supplanted and drove into the West of England; and then, to add insult to injury, had the impudence to call them the "Welsh" (foreigners). But the Wallaces of Scotland were for centuries, to all intents and purposes entirely "Sassenach" (Gaelic for Saxon) and titled Lairds, i.e., landlords, of the Lowland portion of that country. That modern fervent expression of German nationalism "The Watch on the Rhine" still contains the above term; for after saying that as long as a drop of blood animates the Teutons and they can aim the rifle and seize the sword, its author swears "betritt kein Waelscher deinen Strand"—no foreigner shall soil the banks of the Rhine. Well, that German poet was a little hasty in his prophecy because, amidst a very badly mixed up

situation, there are all kinds of Waelschers these days, not to mention "welschers" (English slang for dead-beats) bestriding the Rhineish strand!

So, as above said, we find a Lowland Wallace and a Celtic McNary figuring as brothers-in-arms. It was not always thus and few have better expressed this fact than R. L. Stevenson in one of his essays entitled "The Foreigner at Home," his object being to reveal how, within Britain itself, the native inhabitants of the different parts of that country are practically foreigners to the other natives. Of the Highland Celts, he says, writing in 1881: "A century and a half ago the Highlander wore a different costume, spoke a different language, worshipped in another church, held different morals and obeyed a different social constitution from his fellow-countrymen either of the south or north. Even the English, it is recorded, did not loathe the Highlander and the Highland costume as they were loathed by the remainder of the Scotch. Yet the Highlander felt himself a Scot. He would willingly raid into the Scotch lowlands; but his courage failed him at the border and he regarded England as a perilous, unhomely land. When the Black Watch, after years of foreign service, returned to Scotland, veterans leaped out and kissed the earth, at Port Patrick. They had been in Ireland, stationed among men of their own race and language, where they were well liked and treated with affection. But it was the soil of Galloway that they kissed at the extreme end of the hostile Lowlands, among a people who did not understand their speech and who had hated, harried and hanged them since the dawn of history."

Another Lowland Scot, Robert Burns, whose features, mind and temperament, however, proclaim him and his genius to have been more than three parts Celtic, was several times moved to mention matters Highland. When improvements in his financial condition made it possible, he made a tour through the Highlands and his treatment in one inn drew great praise from him about the virtues of a "Highland Welcome," whilst the incivility he received in another inn through having been neglected in favor of visitors to the titled chief of the historically atrocious Campbell clan, caused him to pass remarks on the country and people which were the very reverse of complimentary—thus providing a perfect illustration of the Heraclitian and Hegelean dialectics of variability of all things, including personal opinions!

In one of his songs, written to fit a Celtic tune, the poet condenses into its three verses the social characteristics of the Scottish Celt, but as its Scots dialect is rather thick both in quantity and quality, it must be paraphrased as describing a Highland mother singing to her babe. She tells him that her gay chief knows well who was the father of her young "Highland thief" and wishes a blessing on the child's pretty neck because, if he should live to grow up, he'd steal a horse (and like many others of his fellows, get hung for so doing), and travel through and through the country and perhaps lead home an English cow. The mother next prays that her child may fare through the Lowlands and over the Scots border into England; then, after harrying the skunks of these low countries, return home to her and the Highlands. But despite their mode of living and like "the noble Red Man" of this continent, the Celts have always been remarkable for their romantic, imaginative and courteous nature. And, after all, when the Lowlands were stolen from, they were merely getting back some of their own medicine; for, especially among the Scots border "moss-troopers" cattle-stealing by moon-light was their regular business.

Burns' poem supports some of Marx's statements upon "the brave Gaels" in Capital, vol. I, chap. 27, in connection with the Highland embezzlements or clearances, when the people were expropriated from their commonly-owned lands—a relic of the old

Primitive Communist stage of human evolution. As Marx says, each clan was the owner of the land it was settled on; the clan chief being merely the nominal owner. But after the failure of the largely Highland Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the clan heads degenerated into Lowland landlords by, on their own authority, transforming their nominal rights to the land into a right of private property. The worst example of this, was furnished by the Duchess of Sutherland who, by the aid of the British soldiers, appropriated 794,000 acres of clan lands, the operation involving the burning to death of an old woman who had refused to leave her hut. Truly does Marx speak of this as but a short deviation from the Highland practices of robbing and murdering the Lowlanders and also their fellow Celtic rival clans, which at times took the form of setting fire to a thatched-roof church while women and children were worshipping therein and destroying every person, only themselves to be in turn put to the sword when the clansmen's relatives returned—all of which was ruthless enough to delight the soul of ex-Kaiser Bill, the late Andrew Carnegie or other disciples of Nietzscheanism!

And yet, what confusion among modern Scots and non-Scots prevails upon the Highland and Lowland matters! For example, open-air band concerts in Scotland are usually rendered with brass and wood-wind, etc., instruments, but very often also varied by interludes of bravely marching-up-and-down Highland-costumed bagpipers. During one of the seasons, an Englishman in Glasgow was reckless enough to write a local evening paper that he enjoyed the band music a la Wagner, Rossini, Sousa, etc., but begged that he and the public be spared (what the Scots called) the "Kilty bawnd" features! The venomously ferocious and taunting replies that that unthinking and unfortunate "Southron" received from Scots patriots were well-nigh unprintable and had the latter been able to lay hands on the man, Lynch law would have been mild compared to his probable fate! Yet, if the Lowland Scottish opponents of the Englishman had been acquainted with the real history of their race and part of the country, they would have had much more reason to detest the kilts and bagpipes than had the man at whom they hurled their insults.

Similarly, one reads periodically in Scots journals great arguments "about it and about"—as to the respective importance and superior merits of Highlanders and Lowlanders, their languages, geniuses and country, and even suggestions that the Highlanders are not Scots at all. Fact is, both Celts and Saxons in Scotland, having like the British and French Canadians, dispossessed the original inhabitants, each has as much "right" as the others to be called Scots or Canadians. Again, as regards exploitation of national peculiarities, when Lowland Scots vaudeville comedians and gramophone manufacturers' record furnishers desire to be particularly Caledonian, they invariably appear "in the Garb of Old Gaul" even when they substitute the fur pouch worn in front of the kilt by a painter's kalsomining brush!

Is it possible that any other than the British people carry national sectionalism to a greater point of abuse? The English have their Sons of England societies, the Scots their St. Andrew's society and then the different shires and even towns have their separate organisations, as well as the Scotch and Welsh Celts; and yet none of the groups is composed of an unmixed race that does not include elements from the others. In fact, it is these judicious mixtures that are the very salvation of the different sections viewed as a whole, and counteract sectional inferiorities and one-sidedness. This applies equally to the French, etc., as to the British. It was not so long ago that a French Canadian (supposedly one of the Latin groups) said it was dangerous to attempt to trample on their liberties, because his race

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## Correspondence

## MISERE!

Editor: Western Clarion.

It is a common assertion, especially among the Celtic fringe, that the English generally, lack a sense of humor. But what shall we say of the Scots in this regard? Or some of them at least.

On presenting a copy of the Clarion, containing The Nation reprint, "Presidential Art," to a Scot who immigrated to Canada in 1889, with a request for his opinion on the letter, I was astonished when he informed me "that he could not see anything in it." Not only the Harding "head" of the pin, but the well-sharpened Coolidge "point" failed to penetrate our Scot's faculties, mental, risible and political.

For all that, my Scottish fellow-worker—if not exactly a fellow of infinite wit—can wax hilarious at times. Though he is in the "sere and yellow leaf," nevertheless, he is a devotee of the "funny page"; the highly colored Sunday supplement receives his special attention. Barney Google, "Skeezix," "Jiggs," "The Duffs" and the other "Just Folks" who inhabit the picture strips of our leading journals never fail to arouse his sympathetic risibility.

He had an admiration however, that "Presidential Art" had some connection with politics. And volunteered the statement "that he was sick of politics,"—the events of the past few months—oil scandal, graft, etc.—causing him to lose all his former interest in state affairs. Further, he had cast his ballot, electing "good" men to office ever since he became a citizen, some 20 years ago. Now that his "good men" stood revealed as crooks and plunderers spoiling him of "his" oil fields, etc., he was through with politics.

This worthy Scot is the descendent of four generations of Lowland shoemakers—not common cobblers—a distinction on which he places considerable emphasis. I had been under the impression that the Knights of the Last were not only endowed with a flair for philosophy, but had a reputation for sagacity as well.

In the days of yore, have they not sat in the war councils of besieged cities, among the warriors and the statesmen? Did not a member of their ancient and honorable craft, participating in the deliberations of such a council, considering ways and means towards defending a city, the walls of which were crumbling under the gunfire of the enemy—valiantly assert—"that there's nothing like leather" to withstand the ravages of shot and shell.

How then are we to explain the obtuseness in the matters of state exhibited by the descendent of four generations of philosophic craftsmen, and a Scot to boot? Perhaps an explanation may be found in what "R" terms "environmental circumstances," and at the same time incidentally support the theory of those who claim that environment is the dominating factor in human development—considered in its broadest aspect—rather than heredity. For did not this energetic Scot abandon the craft of his fathers, simultaneously with his departure from the land of his nativity? And for close on 35 years thereafter engage in a dour struggle with nature and capitalism in an endeavour to raise wheat on the drylands of Alta. and Montana?

Now, at the age when the Savings Banks advertisements inform us we should be able to "retire" if we save our money this impecunious ex-farmer recently abandoned his farm to his creditors, and set forth with high hopes to achieve his "ideal," independence, in another field of endeavor—the Labor Market!

It was only after he confided to me his secret—that he was "radical" and that the bankers were to blame for his present low estate—that I offered him the Family Journal, a sort of psychological test as it were.

In some quarters the Clarion editor has a reputation for Solomonic wisdom, even if he lack the other attainments of that ancient ruler. Here is an opportunity for the composer of "Here and Now" to enhance his reputation by answering these questions: "If after studying 'Presidential Art' for the space of five minutes—and spectacles in proper focus—our honest Scot was unable to see the 'point,' how long would it take him to 'get' and distinguish the concept value from the percept Price? Or the Dictatorship of the Proprietariat from the Reign of the Saints?" FRANK CUSACK.

Editor's Note: In the course of his peregrinations Cusack has at length caught up with one humorless Caledonian! And now he proceeds to a sort of futurist, speculative mathematics as to the time it may take for his fellow man aforesaid to see certain other "points." Now a certain Euclid has declared a point to have no dimension any way. In this way we strive to save a fellow innocent from Cusack's unforgiving wrath.

Should you ever run across a good joke don't injure it by explanation—and don't be so optimistic as to offer it to a 35 year settler from Montana. And, by the bye, reputations are largely hocus-pocus and are hard to pack around. They ought to be abolished.

## LENIN'S LIFE AND WORK

(Continued from page 6)

minds of the advanced revolutionary elements of every country with which he was in connection. But despite the fact that Lenin had already, determinedly and unequivocally, adopted the attitude of the future Communist International, he nevertheless took part in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences of the antimilitarist social democratic organizations. He understood quite well that it was necessary first to awaken the minds of the workers by forming blocs with the centrist tendency, to shake the unity of Social Democracy, and gather together considerable sections of the working masses, in order not to remain content with mere propaganda, but to commence the actual struggle.

Not only did he follow with careful attention the whole of the documents produced by the various trends of thought developing in the course of the struggle—and that he did this, without sparing his energies, is amply proved by the fact that, with a dictionary in the hand, he read from the first to the last word the pamphlet written on the war by the Dutch Marxist Gorter and published in the Dutch language, without knowing a word of Dutch—but he also followed every symptom of revolutionary self-activity among the masses, and attempted to ascertain what stage of political development they had really attained. When an old Leipzig comrade visited me in Berne for the purpose of bringing me a report—a comrade belonging to the extreme left wing of German Social Democracy, but ignorant on questions of principle—Lenin succeeded in obtaining from him a complete picture of the movement, in the most literal sense of the word. I recollect the astonishment of this comrade when Lenin left him no peace until he had told him what kind of interjections the working men and women made at the demonstrations. "They make the usual interjections," said the comrade, "such as are always made on such occasions." But Lenin insisted: "Still you must tell me exactly what interjections they make." And then he got the details which he required. With the greatest attention he followed the smallest matter dealt with by the labour press of Europe and America, in order that he might learn the trend of feeling among the masses, since this was no longer expressed in the political articles which were accorded ever-increasing attention by the war censor. And our great revolutionary leader sought also abroad, in foreign lands, for this intimate connection with the working masses, in which alone the lever to the movement can be found. He sacrificed whole evenings in taverns, in order to discover the real basis of the movement by means of conversations with Swiss workers, though these by no means could be reckoned as the flower of the revolutionary proletariat. When the comrades leading at that time the left wing of the Swiss labour movement vacillated, he insisted that every one of us should form connections with workers, if only with small groups, for these formed his sole hope.

As early as the year 1916, when we gathered together those sharing our views in different countries, and founded the organization known as the Zimmerwald Left within the confines of the Zimmerwald bloc, Vladimir Ilych insisted on drawing up the program of the future revolutionary international.

(To be continued)

## EAST AND WEST.

(Continued from page 7)

had "too much of the Celtic element in them."

One is reminded on hearing some "patriot" sweepingly denounce those who, he thinks, are of alien blood from him, of Burns' epitaph on a humorist he knew in the village of Mauchline. By the way, it was a playful habit of the poet in this, as in other cases, to give vent to his sparkling fancies in the form of such rhymes on people who were then as alive and well as he himself was:

Lament him, Mauchline husbands a'—  
He aften did assist ye;  
For had ye staid whole weeks awa',  
Your wives they ne'er had missed ye.

Ye Mauchline bairns, as on ye pass  
To school in bands thegither,

Oh, tread ye lightly on his grass—  
Perhaps he was your father.

So let us beware of how we speak of and treat the "foreigner" because perhaps, in reality, we are just as "foreign" as he. In the first editorial quoted, we find a Teuto-Celt, and anti-sectionalist, Mr. Meighen, upbraided for not reproving a French-Latin-Celt and sectionalist, Armand Lavergne. In the other editorial, we find a Highlander and Lowlander united in the noble endeavor to ruin the farmers of an immense Dominion to the north of them. All of the foregoing too are Asiatics but of Aryan origin. But by the irony of fate, the two latter Asiatics laid themselves open to an indignant lecture from another Asiatic, Aaron Sapiro, whose ancestors, however, for many centuries, hailed from somewhere in the neighborhood of Jerusalem!

Therefore, in the interests of a "united front" against the evil forces both of unregulated nature and of our own human species, let us, so far as nationalism is concerned, follow the unbeatable advice usually given to those who are prone to dwell upon the unfortunate and unalterable incidents in their past lives—FORGET IT!

PROGRESS

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