

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 869

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B. C., JUNE 16, 1922.

FIVE CENTS

"Burn Your Books?"

BY F. CUSACK

They tax our policy and call it cowardice.
Count wisdom as no member of the war.
Forstall prescience, and esteem no act
But that of hand; the still and mental parts
That do contrive how many hands shall strike
When fitness calls them on, and know by measure
Of their observant toll the enemy's weight,
Why this hath not a finger's dignity,
They call this bed-work, mappery, closet-war!
(Troilus and Cressida)

THE U. S. A. and Canada—the sparsely populated territory north of the forty-ninth parallel—constitute, from the Socialist point of view, one politico-economic unit of Capitalist society, notwithstanding that the southern breezes flutter the Stars and Stripes while in the northern wind it is the Union Jack that waves, and the Dominion—as the world has been informed—has attained its majority and has become a nation.

That Canada is economically swayed by American capitalism is a matter of record and the consequent political ascendancy of the U. S. in Canadian affairs is made very clear when we find the Canadian workers engaged in any serious dispute with their masters. Witness Morgan's trip to Ottawa during the Winnipeg strike, the concentration of troops at strategic points along the International line, or the truly American deportation law passed in forty-five minutes (or was it less?) by the Canadian Parliament in 1919.

From these considerations it naturally follows that any tactics drawn up for the guidance of the class-conscious workers in Canada, must be based primarily upon the situation in the U. S. A., since that situation is the completest known development and the outcome of conditions identical with Canadian conditions, although as yet the conditions here are not so well matured; the traditions of the British proletariat modifying in some measure the Canadian workers' ideology.

The two countries present to the student of sociology and economics a case of what may be termed lop-sided development, the social consciousness and political understanding of the workers lagging far behind the remarkable industrial development of the system with which their lives are bound up. Side by side with the most gigantic and intricate machinery of wealth production and the most advanced technical processes we have a working-class mentally "behind the times," possessed of an emotional idealism manifesting itself in race hatred and religious revivalism, red raids and lynching bonfires, ouija-board fetchism or Christian Science, and the most pathetic loyalty in the world to the orders in which they are oddfellows, foresters and knights, or the menageries in which they figure as moose, elks, goblin or what-not, parading in grotesque regalia, participating in ludicrous rites, presumably satisfying the primitive instincts of the untutored barbarians from whom they derive.

If the case for savage survivals required confirmation—here it is.

Mencken describes the "Boobeoisie" as "Knights of Pythias, readers of the 'Saturday Evening Post,' members of the Y. M. C. A., Weepers at Chautauquas, Wearers of Badges, Children of God," etc.

Permeating the mass of native born residents of "these States" is the belief that they are fortunate

above all other people in their possession of constitutional rights, democratic institutions, etc. The whole country is tarred with the same brush, exhibits the same childishness, the same crudity of belief, the same ignorance of social phenomena, the same unconsciousness of working-class requirements. As for any latent revolutionary intent, it is nowhere among this dense mass discernible, and not the most optimistic actionist of them all, looking squarely on the American scene can detect such a thing. Inveterately romantic though some of them are, we know, when they tell us of the revolutionary ferment south of forty-nine, or north of it, that they are gazing on the scene from an eminence in Central Europe. The psychology prevalent among the working-class is, to put it mildly, non-revolutionary, and such as it is, in attempting to intensify it in the interest of the capitalist class, sensational methods are befittingly adopted. Huge posters assure us of the prosperity round the corner, like "the pie in the sky"; educationalists invent idiotic slogans: "Buy your own home," "Do it now," "This is your country," etc., while the national newspapers, edited by journalistic Micawbers with an unerring instinct for "all news that's fit to print," announce in flaming headlines that something is going to "turn up" soon, any delay being due to wages being still too high or to the workers having grown lazy with luxury, or both, propaganda which thousands of workers are only too anxious to swallow because it fits in with their property concepts.

Stunt advertising coupled with that peculiarly American product, Jazz music, is deemed essential to the instant reaching of the masses, either by those having wares to sell (especially if they are doubtful bargains, when we must be "inspired" to purchase) or by those whose mission it is to rouse emotion or create a sentiment. Jazz music is composed by professional syncopaters who thrive by indecently conspiring odds and ends of notes from the classic or standard musicians, from Palestrina to Scrabina, and jumble them together with the slap-stick buck and wing ebullitions of modern vaudeville, and the croonings of the African or Alabama jungles or the superstitious voodoo dance.

This contradiction, between the high industrial development of the U. S. and the low cultural development of the American workers, can best be explained by the fact that on this continent, once the land of opportunity where it was possible for energetic workers to escape from wage slavery owing to the existence of free lands and other natural resources, or by setting up in business, the chances of doing which in a rapidly growing country were many,—on this continent the traditions of the pioneer days, long past, dominate the minds of the workers even yet.

Evidence is not wanting that certain organizations of the working-class, regenerated by the "new tactics" and out to get "the goods," have adopted the stunt-Jazz method of drumming up an audience. A short time ago one of our prairie towns, where the churches every Sunday are comfortably filled by bourgeois-minded proletarians,—Mencken's "boobeoisie," who consider the unemployed a nuisance and the municipal support of them out of taxes assessed on decent citizens' lots and shacks a criminal

folly—received a visit from one of the advertising agents of the newest of these liberating organizations, the latest thing in saviours, owning the sole rights in the holy oil of emancipation guaranteed to cure the economic ills of the workers. To attract the necessary customers to the stall, and to enlist their sympathy once they were gathered round, there was a musical introduction featuring the rumbling of the revolutionary drum, the shrilling of the reformist piccolo, the bombilation of the insurrectionary trombone, the plaintive twanging of the palliative harp and the patter of the modern Messiah, introducing all the up-to-date catchwords: "Revolutionary tempo," "Doctrinaire Socialist," "Communist duty," "Concrete action," "The putsch," "Realms of reality," and many others.

After this performance, conducted by the advertising agent mentioned—a recent graduate of some Eastern school of "action"—the doctor proceeded to diagnose the ills of the workers, and to propose the remedy. The continued existence of wage-slavery in Canada, according to the representative of the new "reelist" school is due, mainly, to the woeful ignorance and lamentable inability ('truth!) of the local practitioners of the healing science, leading from the western seminary (S. P. of C.), relying, poor fools, on a regimen of education instead of, as their Eastern brethren did, prescribing the sovereign prophylactic, "action." "Action," you know, speaks louder than words. "By their deeds ye shall know them." The educationalists are of the opinion that the disease from which the plugs are to be delivered is of a cerebral nature, while the actionists, the wise men of the East—represented by our advance agent—hold strongly to the view that it is a matter of guts, or lack of guts rather, in which case the measures to be taken must be of a surgical character. The operation, however, is not to be performed immediately, the patients requiring to be properly anaesthetized with soup and slogans for the space, generally speaking, of two years, after which they should be in a fit condition for the operation.

During a lull in the barnstorming some of the despised educationists who were present ventured to belittle the Toronto diagnosis and to suggest that it was based upon a hypothesis that was untenable from the start. This was too much. No human equanimity could very well support with unruffled composure such an unmerited or foolish suggestion. These venturesome members of the S. P. of C. were promptly advised that they were "out of touch with the masses"; being dead already it was sheer obstinacy on their part to pretend that they were still alive.

Some of the new converts who showed signs of weakening were consoled by the prophet from the East, who told them that in the "Harrington Academy" there were only fifty students left, and that what the workers wanted was not education—which they got anyway—but action. The "dead ones," however, persisted in pointing to symptoms exhibited by the workers, tending to prove that the Western graduates were not altogether wrong when they maintained that what the workers most suffered from was Capitalist Ideology and hallucinations concerning property, and pointed out further that it

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The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

CHAPTER X.

THE SOLIDIFICATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

WHEN I was a very small boy I was taken to see Professor Anderson, "The Wizard of the North," and he did wonderful things. He borrowed a gentleman's tall hat from the audience, made a real plum pudding in the hat, and cooked it before our eyes on the stage. Then he broke the pudding up into small pieces, and threw them, all smoking hot, among the audience; and those who caught the pieces declared they were just splendid. It was a real plum- pudding. After doing all the cooking in the hat, he returned it to the owner in perfect condition, just as when he borrowed it.

I thought that was the most wonderful thing I had ever seen; and so it was in a sense, but it was all trickery. The quickness of the wizard's hands deceived the eyes of the onlookers. That was all!

When you come to think about the origin of the world, and the making of this plum- pudding we call the earth, you see something far more wonderful than anything Professor Anderson ever did. And the making of this world was a real thing. We have a real world made, out of real gas, and now we have real life on it, and real emotion; and it is as good a world as ever you like to think it. Some people say it is a bad world; but, as the song says:—

This world is not so bad a world
As some folks try to make it;
But whether good or whether bad
Depends on how you take it.

You saw how the sun and all the worlds grew out of fiery gas, and we left them whirling, cooling, and solidifying. But the puzzle is, How did the rocks grow out of gas? Yes, and how did water come from gas? I have tried to tell you how the two gases, oxygen and hydrogen, unite to form water. But there is the air we breathe! How did that come about? Well, that came just as the water did. The air we breathe is composed of oxygen and nitrogen, and if you were put into a room and shut close, so that no more air could get in, you would breathe the air, and your lungs would use up the oxygen, and when that was all gone you would be drowned in the nitrogen and the carbonic acid gas that you had produced by breathing.

We would say, when we found you, that "she has been suffocated." That would be right, too, for that is what would have happened. Nitrogen, by itself, drowns you. Oxygen, by itself, burns you up. But if you combine the two in proper quantities you get "fresh air." There are inventors at work now who are putting oxygen into big steel tubs, under enormous pressure, and supplying "fresh air" to houses. And we are going to have "fresh mountain air" supplied to city houses. That is all because we are finding out how the world was made, how it grew in response to the law. The world is what it is because it could not be anything else.

How many elements are there? There you have a question which once interested me very much. When I was a young man, studying geology and chemistry, I wanted to know how many elements there were; but the professor would never tell me. I was not used to the idea of a teacher being ignorant of the things he taught, so I wondered if the professor did not know. When I came to find out, nobody knows.

We say there are seventy or eighty "elements;" but if you will think it out, you will see that all the elements must have been in that gas which floated in the sky as a vast spiral nebula. In that gas there were the elements of the politicians and the strikers; the elements of the armies of men and the hosts of suffering women. In that gas there were the elements of the farm and the station, of the sheep and the wheat. In that gas there were all the ironclads and the torpedo boats, all the sin and sorrow and wickedness of earth. In that vast gaseous cloud which once floated in the death-cold realms of space

there were the elements of all that is. So the professor could not tell me how many elements there were. No, nobody could. All that is, all that was, all that ever will be, came from gas, and will return to gas!

What a lot of empty pride we have, and how conceited we are! But if people did as you do, and asked how the world came to be, they would be more humble and more considerate of each other. They would see that we are all poor human children in a flying world, and they would never submit to some of them starving while others had too much. They would want to abolish all human misery, and make the best of this little plum- pudding of a world, while they had the chance. But we do not know, and so we go on in misery and wickedness.

What is salt? There is an enormous amount of salt in the world, and salt is not an "element." No, salt is composed of two "elements"—i.e., chlorine and sodium. When I first learned that salt was "chloride of sodium" I thought I had learned a great deal, but I had not. I had only learned a name, and names are only tallies, clues, signs; they are not anything real. Thirty-five and a-half parts of chlorine and twenty-three of sodium form salt; and all the salt in the seas, all the salt in all the mines, is formed on that basis.

But do not ever think that you have had things explained to you when you have been told the names! You have got to think things out for yourself, and find out as much as you can; and when you have learned everything possible, you will find you are as far away from the end of things as ever. We are too small to be able to comprehend the vastness of the universe, or the making of this plum- pudding of a world. But we can learn quite a lot about it, and so come to enjoy life and see things as they are. Then we can have more wonderful things to talk about than hats or frocks or sheep or wool. We shall be able to see the miracle of the world we live in, and the glory of existence in this beautiful world of shadows and dreams.

The air is composed of two gases; so is water. The rocks and the stones are composed of gases; everything in the world is composed of gas; diamonds and brooks, men and mountains, grass and nutton. Everything was in that gas from which this world was developed. But how did the earth come from gas? It did. You can see that it must. Let me give you a little bit of philosophy. Herbert Spencer says that "the test of truth is the impossibility of conceiving of its negation." If you say that two and two are four, you realize that this is true, because you cannot think of two and two being five. If you say that the earth did not come from the nebular gas, then you have got to find the earth somewhere else, and you cannot do that. All the solid earth has crystallized out from gas. The water came from gas, and the air came from gas, and the rocks and trees came from gas that floated in the sky "once upon a time." How long since did the world consist of gas? Nobody can tell you that. Lord Kelvin used to say, as a great stretch, that the world must have taken thirty million years to grow to what it is; but other men said it must have taken a hundred million years. Then came the discovery of radium, and men say it must have taken a thousand million years; but what is the use of speculating with such a tiny measuring-rod as years? Time is not! Time is a human invention, and the story of how men invented calendars to measure time is very interesting, but I must not stop to explain that to you just now.

As the sun and the worlds kept whirling through space, they were gradually cooling; and as the temperature changed, the character of the elements appeared to change, and all things grew solid. The land appeared, and mountains rose in places, and deep seas developed, and stayed in one place for a long while; but the tides were savage, and the rains

were terrible, and the water carved the land, and frost and wind helped, and between them they gave us mountains and valleys, headlands and highlands, and all the diversities that to-day we think are "beautiful." The world grew hard and solid a long, long time ago, and it is almost fixed now; but if you watch the river on a rainy day, you will see that the high lands are being washed into the valleys, and the world is wearing down all the time. Nothing is fixed. Nothing endures for ever. All is change, and all things have their little hour and pass away.

Next Lesson: The Beginning of Life

In New Zealand

By J. A. McDonald

ON the eve of my departure from New Zealand it is perhaps fitting that I should briefly record my observations of this section of the world. Organizations and individuals, as in the case of my last article,* may not be entirely pleased with this summary, but it is not written for this purpose. If it were it would be vastly different, but, nevertheless, erroneous.

I have toured New Zealand for the past seven months, and in this time have addressed eighty-eight meetings in various parts of the Dominion. These meetings varied in numbers from audiences of several hundreds down to one diminutive gathering of five individuals.

It could hardly be expected that New Zealand should be in the forefront of revolutionary nations. The proper setting is not here to create the revolutionary atmosphere. The industrial development is much behind that of even the other colonial sections of the world. In the matter of wealth production and distribution, this country is in a class by itself.

The great national advantages of the country which make cattle and sheep raising possible to an extent unknown elsewhere, coupled with the geographical position and consequent distance from the world market, have tended to discourage manufacturing enterprise and fostered the interests of the primary producers.

All legislation is carried out with the end in view—will this prove of assistance to the farming and dairying interests? No government could long maintain its prestige that did not place uppermost the needs and requirements of the man on the land. The present Reform Government was elected by the rural population, and a glance over the legislative output suffices to show to what extent the agrarian interests are able to manipulate the political machinery.

It has long been the custom for New Zealand governments to finance budding agriculturists who possess no means of their own. The funds for such purposes are easily obtainable from the old land. The very conservative nature of the government appeals strongly to the timid financial investor, who here finds no reason to anticipate anything of a radical nature in the way of legal enactments.

The World War has effected sweeping changes in the ranks of the landed proprietors. Previous to the war small farming was the general rule. The great demand for farm and dairy produce during the period of hostilities gave to those in a favorable position an opportunity to extend their holdings, and to-day the two extremes—very large and very small owners of land—are more apparent than ever. With increasing wealth ever follows increasing influence in parliamentary channels, and the last few sessions have seen numerous bills, for the assistance of the large holders, passed into law, while the little fellows, as usual, are given every inducement to become smaller still.

On the industrial field nothing in the line of big industry is visible. In Australia there was always the "Broken Hill Proprietary Co." for one to refer to in order to explain the functions of modern industrial capital, but, in this country, the student of economics must be an adept at abstract thinking. Big industry does not exist. Even in the field of

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* See "Western Clarion," December 1, 1921.

Current Topics : the European Tangle

ARTICLE IV.— BY ROBERT KIRK

BEFORE we can straighten out the few remaining factors in this interesting economic problem, we must take the reader back for a moment to the days immediately preceding the war. It is necessary to do this if we are to understand the cause of the immense concentration which is taking place in German industries, in capital, and transportation, coincident with a period when the mark (paper) was never so cheap.

Like many more countries in 1914, Germany was by no means a self-supporting country. The rapid rise, in two generations, from a minor position among nations producing largely for export trade, must surely have been marked by an equally rapid decline in agriculture, in the production of food-stuffs. A deficiency, of course, which was easily met by increasing imports of such commodities from countries overseas, and adjacent Scandinavian communities, as well as from Russia.

It was this weak spot in the armour of the great Triple Alliance (Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey) which led to a crushing defeat of these countries in 1918. For the whole strategy of the war, so far as the Entente countries (Britain, France and Russia) were concerned, was to separate middle Europe from all her trade connections. The brunt of such a blockade would, very naturally, fall upon the strongest, in this instance Germany. This point has been illuminated by A. E. Zimmern in the "Century," April, 1922. The following excerpt is from his pen:

"Thus the siege, by cutting off central Europe from its overseas connections, upset the whole economy of the Continent, and the Armistice found the blockaded area, a region extending from the occupied district of France to the Baltic republics and Constantinople, not only strictly rationed in respect to foodstuffs, but what was far worse, denuded of the raw materials needed to recuperate her economic life and of the credit power needed to secure them."

In this condition of economic exhaustion Germany remained throughout 1919 and 1920, while the rest of the nations debated between them how much each should get of the spoils of war. With the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, and such steps taken to make it effective, Germany was stripped to the buff. Much of her livestock was taken as well as large quantities of rolling stock, nearly all of her merchant marine, along with available hoards of gold, and placed at the disposal of the Reparation Commission for distribution between the various claimants. And the threat of still more forcible measures, if she did not comply with the peremptory orders of the Allies to start the wheels of industry once more producing reparation goods was made, when Allied troops to the number of 1,600,000 (1920 figures) crossed the Rhine, for whose maintenance the German government became responsible.

To start industry going: Ah, there was the rub! There were little goods in the country which they could exchange for raw materials, and still less of the universal money, gold and silver, with which they could purchase the things they needed. There was but one course left to the German government—a course which all governments who have faced a more or less similar situation have resorted to,—they started the printing machines turning out billions of "promise-to-pay" bills. And in a little while every foreign money market was flooded with them.

If there is one thing in which the social organism of today excels, it is the vast number of suckers it produces. These sap-heads, ever on the look out for get-rich-quick schemes, were attracted by marks at 200 for a dollar, which formerly were worth 24 cents (or thereabouts) apiece. Two hundred for a dollar! If they were to rise in price, the suckers would get money for nothing. And so billions of marks were bought, and German "promises-to-pay" were soon converted into perfectly good American

dollars and British pounds, not to mention Japanese yen. German financiers soon had enough real, honest-to-gawd money to purchase all the material required for German manufactures, to produce the goods the have put British trade "on the bum."

The function of money, as economists have pointed out, and none so clearly as Marx, is to circulate commodities. The quicker the circulation of commodities under such conditions as have been stated here, the more rapid the rise in prices of such commodities. For example, the cost of living in Germany, in Feb. 1922, was 1,640 per cent above 1914 prices. The increase of paper money served to produce the same effect as an unusual demand for commodities. But, with this difference, the goods were not there to supply the demand. Because of this fact, the German government had to fix rents for German workers at 1914 rentals. For example, the home of a proletarian family in Germany, in 1914, was rented at 10 marks per week. In 1914, 10 marks were worth \$2.50, or 10 shillings. But in 1919 (and from this time onwards), 10 marks were not worth 10 cents. By fixing rents in this way, the manufacturers in Germany do not have to reckon shelter in the cost of labor-power. By eliminating this from the cost of production, the manufacturers in Germany are thus enabled to compete against their competitors, in other countries, on a much more favorable basis. While, too, taxes on capital are 40%, they do not feel this rate press so heavily upon them as would their competitors with a similar rate fixed on surplus values. For the manufacturer whose stock is on hand may be worth one million marks at the time taxes are fixed. At the time taxes are due, however, the mark may have dropped to half its former price. Instead of setting aside 40% of his stock of surplus values for the state he has only to set aside 20%. "Ah," you will say, "this is where I can nip this budding economist. If the mark has dropped in price the stock is also affected. Instead of values equal to a million marks at one period, they are now equal only to half that sum." True! but he does not sell them at the time they have fallen in price, he sells them when the mark goes back to a cent apiece, or maybe more, in which case he reaps an extra profit.

But let us turn for a moment's consideration to the development in capital, industry and transportation, which we mentioned in the first paragraph of this article.

In 1914, Germany had 4395 ships aggregating a registered tonnage of 5,240,000. Under the terms of the treaty, she was forced to surrender all ships over 1600 tons and one-half of those from 1000 to 1600. It meant that 5,000,000 tons passed from the German flag to the ownership of allied nations. In addition, she was compelled to produce 200,000 tons of shipping every year for five years for the benefit of her competitors. Understanding that without a merchant fleet, adequate to her industrial needs and output, Germany would be impotent, so all capital that could be diverted from not absolutely essential industries was so directed to ship construction.

One of the first steps was to acquire by purchase or lease 10 per cent of the total Swedish commercial fleet. This gave the Germans 20,000 tons at once; subsequently an additional 20,000 tons was secured. Dutch and Norwegian vessels were also annexed. The energetic Teutons went so far as to charter former German vessels allotted to the British under the Paris Treaty. With millions of British-owned ships lying idle, the English were not averse to making this kind of a deal. Incessant chartering of alien vessels enabled Germany to begin her export trade without much delay, and she resumed her commercial relations with South America and the Dutch East Indies during the Spring of 1919.

This performance, however, was incidental. Before 1919 ended the German shipyards were booming and they have resounded with activity and out-

put ever since. The effect of compliance with the treaty upon Germany was well put by Dr. Wilhelm Cuno, director-general of the Hamburg-American Line, who said:

"I venture to say that before another year passes many (this report was made in July, 1921) will not be building a single ship for the Allies. German ship construction is fatal to them, for it aims at their labor production. While the loss of our mercantile marine seemed staggering at first, it will be a good thing for us in the end. We are now capitalizing every advance made in shipbuilding since the beginning of the war, and the result will be that German shipping of the future will be the best in the world. Where our new merchant fleet will consist of highly efficient vessels, perfectly adapted to the needs of commerce, the Entente will be burdened with those formerly belonging to Germany, many of which are already obsolete."

In an article on "German Trade and Shipping," which appeared in the "Saturday Evening Post," Jan. 7, 1922, J. F. Marcossion writes, that:—

"German shipping construction has only received a check. Under the terms of the Shipowners' Agreement the Government subsidy is spread over a period of five years, with a definite allowance for each year. Four or five of the large ship-construction companies immediately entered into programs that have exceeded their annual quota, and some of the tonnage will have to be held in abeyance. German manufacture has increased at such a rate, however, and the necessity for shipping is therefore so much keener, that a readjustment of the endowment will probably be made. This will enable the yards to continue at full blast.

"German shipping naturally falls into two branches: one is actual construction, and the other is the freight and passenger business. Let us look at construction first. Today the thirty leading yards have a capacity of 750,000 tons a year, and it is expected that this total will be turned out in 1922. The army of employees has grown from 25,000 in 1914 to 125,000 at the present time. Every company has increased its capitalization. The case of Blohm and Voss at Hamburg, who built the 'Vaterland' and the 'Bismark,' the two largest ships yet constructed, will illustrate. In 1914 its capitalization was 20,000,000 marks; it is now 40,000,000 (this represents gold marks—not paper! R. K.). The German yard at Hamburg increased its capital from 10,000,000 marks to 70,000,000. So it goes.

"The real test of German shipping is to be found in the box office. The dividend rate has kept pace with an expanding capitalization. Blohm and Voss for example, have increased their rate from 5 to 7 per cent.; the immense Vulkan Works of Bremen, from 12 to 15 per cent.; Howald Yards at Kiel from 12 to 20 per cent. In no instance is a German shipyard paying a smaller return than in 1914.

The moment you poke into the organization of German shipyards you find the inevitable trust line-up. Practically every concern of consequence is linked with one of the great industrial groups. Here you have a further manifestation of the efficacy of the vertical trust, which provides insurance against curtailment in the supply of raw materials.

Little remains now of the problem but to show how, even with all these developments, it is impossible for Germany to pay the sum demanded by the Allies. Values equal to two billion dollars per year would have to be produced for 42 years over and above those necessary to balance imports. Never in her whole history was Germany able to do this. And it is less likely that she can do this now when all countries are endeavoring to increase their export trade. The world market can only absorb so much; and, because of the chaos ruling in production in all countries, the demand can never be regulated. This would have to be regulated in order to allow Germany to fulfill her obligations to the nations concerned with reparations.

But those nations who are not concerned, and those who are but slightly concerned, together with those who would be most hurt by full compliance with the terms of the treaty, will have something to say against such a proposition. The lesson which I have tried to make clear to "Clarion" readers is the incompetency of the present ruling class to rule without hurt to society as a whole; nay, their very impotency in this way is obvious to those who un-

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Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.
Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor Ewen MacLeod

Subscription:

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

870 If this number is on your address label your
subscription expires with next issue. Renew
promptly.

VANCOUVER, B. C., JUNE 16, 1922.

UNITY FOR WHAT?

AT the fearful risk of being called by all the horrible names now in common use among our earnest fellow men, we make bold to say that there appears to be more humbug than truth and usefulness in all the palaver about Unity—The United Front—we hear so much about nowadays. It is not surprising that the immediate programme for a united front outlined at Berlin some two months ago (see Clarion May 1st) has already been abandoned, for the plain reason that elements which do not agree together can not unite and stay united.

We have been under the impression heretofore that according to the Marxian dictum the workers of the world should unite in order to end their slavery, not to crowd round a free milk bottle or an unemployed relief dole, nor to jointly promote any lengthy programme covering everything from free milk for babies to free burial for the dead. But no; it appears we have been in error and our interpretation is at fault. Working class unity in all things is to the fore, and locally, hereabouts, the emancipation prescription takes the form of a baseball coupon dispensed by former rivals in trade, now however happily united, in peaceful contentment in that Marx's dictum is toward fulfilment and (lest we forget) that the office safe is of some use once more.

"Workers of the World, Unite!" we have held to as a rallying cry to an enslaved class toward emancipation through the abolition of capitalism, but an imitative jargon has tumbled upon working class ears these days and "unity" in the commanded scramble for a soup bone now provides the leaven of working class aspiration.

To make an inventory of the accomplishments of the campaign for working class unity as it affects us here in Canada we need not go to Berlin, nor elsewhere in Europe for that matter, though that is undoubtedly the popular route. Its sponsors here have in some measure cultivated the mannerism and have attempted to imitate the scholarship of Marxism, with consequences calamitous to themselves. Each week these triflers find new and changed conditions to be conformed to, new parties to be endorsed and allied to, new policies to be followed, new mistakes to be acknowledged. Day by day they court expediency and abandon principle, yet they cry for unity with those who stand upon principle and have abandoned expediency. They have yielded to and have given unthinking devotion to an idea that had no validity, that was not of wholesome growth, that was not the outcome of their own reasoning from observable facts surrounding them here and at hand—namely, that leadership could engineer events to its own control—and they have been undone by their own conceit. Even this, in their last forsaken hour of tribulation has fallen under their own suspicion, and, forever cowering before that accusing finger of scorn—haunting them and so much dreaded—pointed by those terrible "scientific Socialists," they find themselves convicted and condemned in the court of their own inquiry.

We want none of this unity that parades form for substance. Our purpose is to make Socialists and to that task we welcome all recruits. But we cannot join hands with those who are crippled on the highway of illusion, lighted by the flickering

candle of reform. Let all such go join the labor party. Better some never had left it.

COURTESY MONTH

JUNE being "Courtesy Month" it would be shameful to let it pass on unnoticed by us. The idea, according to the Rotary Club, the Elks, the Moose, the Gyros, the retail merchants and the B. C. Electric is that you pay up promptly and expect thanks on delivery. When the landlord calls around this month you don't tell him gruffly that you've already paid enough in rent to buy the (adjective) house or that you've got no money and won't stand any worrying. You profess your impecunious sorrow and implore him to call around in a week or so to be ready to grab what you may get in case you surrender to riotous living. When you ask the grocer if he can't wait 'till payday he's supposed (this being June) to refuse you politely, but it must not rile you that you are refused; that alone is no breach of politeness, so long as he doesn't swear in addition and order you out. Same with the butcher, the dairyman, the shoemaker; they're all supposed to refuse you politely.

When you ask for a job anywhere and it happens that you're the one hundred and eleventh man that has asked for a job that doesn't exist there, the boss is supposed to express regret that he can't employ you. There's reason in it too when you think of it, because if he can't employ anybody he won't be a boss very long. When, full of confidence in June, you board a street car and find you can't furnish the fare, the conductor is not supposed to accuse you of trying to wheedle a free ride, he's supposed to be polite while he puts you off at the next corner. All this is the community spirit. It helps us to tolerate one another's company. Carried to its limit it means that if you'll enter into it wholeheartedly and bear your troubles politely you'll starve to death politely and when you're dead you'll be buried politely. They might even send up a cheer at the funeral.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

COMRADE P. T. Leckie's article on "Money", serving as an introduction to a consideration of the subject "Price," suffers in consequence of the admirable scramble for Clarion space this issue and will appear in the next. Comrade Lestor, last heard of, was in Quebec heading west, and will speak at points on the way. We hear also that Comrade John A. McDonald is again in 'Frisco. See articles in this issue by Lestor and John A.

We intended to print a letter from Comrade (Mrs.) Director of Prince Rupert, B. C., in this issue, registering a friendly kick against Comrade Kirk's phrase, used in May 1st issue, in which France is represented as the Jew of Europe. This will serve to notify Comrade Director that next issue will find a corner for it.

IN NEW ZEALAND.

(Continued from page 2)

mining, the largest single branch of industry in the land, the method of production is of a crude, antique character.

The trust or monopoly stage in industry has not materialized in New Zealand, but a lack of development in industrial technique here does not prevent the resources of the country from falling under the influence of world capitalism. The productive methods in vogue in the congested centres of population must inevitably make themselves felt even in backward colonial areas.

The cattle and sheep raisers have a mortal antipathy to anything in the nature of trusts or combines. For a number of years Armour & Co. and Vesty Bros. have made strenuous attempts to secure a foothold in New Zealand trade. Repeatedly their efforts were baffled by the local producers, who were themselves forced to resort to combination in order to defeat the encroachments of their big competitors. In the struggle it became ever more apparent that the small, traditional, obsolete methods must give way to, and be replaced by, a mode that is more in harmony with changed world conditions.

Armour and Vesty have come to stay. Even were it possible to deport these concerns from this country, the mere fact that they and others of their kind have control of the British market, where N.Z. produce is disposed of, suffices to show how futile and unavailing would be the endeavors of local beef and mutton exporters to exclude them from this dominion.

On the political field, the Reform Government in power represents the large landed and industrial interests. The opposition comprises the Liberal and Labor parties, who cater to the requirements of the small producers, shop-keepers, and everything else that possesses votes without understanding what to do with them.

In the ranks of the Labor Party are several individuals who lay claim to being Marxians. No intelligent tribunal would ever endorse the claim. If Marx was a feeble minded, inconsistent, opportunistic old woman, then, those labor leaders would, indeed, make fitting disciples. But, according to what evidence we have Marx was the opposite to such a description, and obviously our local Solons are entitled to reconsider their choice of a patron saint.

The platform of the Labor Party includes all the old family remedies. The Nationalization of Industry, State Banks, Motherhood Endowment, Workman's Compensation, and the Right to Work, can all be discovered in their accustomed places. Anything that is conducive to increasing the labor cross on the ballot paper is always guaranteed a position among the conglomeration of reforms.

The Communist Party is very small, both numerically and intellectually. As is usual with hero-worshipping aggregations, the intelligent stock-in-trade is confined to a wearisome repetition of "Lenin says," etc.

Among the coal miners, of both the North and South Islands, is to be found the real revolutionary movement of N.Z. The workers, here, are receptive to Socialist propaganda, and show a genuine desire to study the philosophy and assist in its dissemination. In no other country have I seen, in a given area, the same revolutionary potentialities as exist among the workers in the mining districts here. This welcome change from the ordinary can be attributed primarily to the dangerous and difficult nature of the miners' work, taken in conjunction with the fact that so great a number have similar occupations, recreations, prospects in life, and general living conditions.

The awakening of the miners here is further accentuated by the fact that the mining areas are pretty well grouped together, making possible social intercourse to an extent unknown elsewhere. The migratory proclivities of the miners, too, have been of assistance in this respect. The majority being of other nationalities, they took their ideas with them from the lands they were forced to leave.

Socialist students from Australia, Canada, and England, have for a number of years done effective work in study classes on history and economics. At the present time there are classes at work in most of the mining camps, and the progress being made is quite satisfactory. The serious study of working class economics may not appear so spectacular as frothy declamations about "long live the class struggle," etc., but the results are infinitely better, and results alone count.

Revolutionary lecturers have not frequently visited N. Z. Most of the places at which I have spoken were virgin soil in this regard. A couple of years ago Moses Baritz gave a series of Marxian lectures in the City of Wellington. These were not appreciated by the Party officials, a fact which leads me to the conclusion that the lectures must have been all right. Outside of Baritz, the visiting propagandists seem to have registered low.

To any Marxian speaker, who has the time to spare, and the wherewithal to travel, who would like to spend a holiday in assisting the revolutionary movement among a bunch of fellows who will do all in their power to further his efforts and make his tour a success, I can heartily recommend the coal mining districts of New Zealand.

On Theosophy

BY J. HARRINGTON

THEOSOPHY is but one of the many mediums through which humanity seeks to escape from the actual facts of life. It arose, characteristically enough, at a time when the Christian religion had been driven to its last extremity through the revelations of Darwin, Lyall, Spencer, Haeckel and other mighty minds of the nineteenth century.

Its founder, Madam Blavatsky, belonged to that group of Russian state officials of whose mentality the Russian novelists give us a pitiful and, withal, terrible picture; father, mother and husband were all members of the bureaucracy. An Indian prince revealed the great secret to her and informed her what she was required to do, that the materialism which was sweeping the world might be halted. A number of years spent in India completed the education and, in conjunction with Colonel Olcott, an American army official, she formed the Theosophical Society in 1875. He seems to have been an excellent organizer, and Madam had a genius for mysticism and never lacked courage.

This influential couple, in 1889, had the good fortune to acquire the assistance of Annie Besant, already famous in the radical and secular movement and thus known to militants everywhere. Her association with Charles Bradlaugh in his attacks upon religion and her three nights' debate with G. W. Foote on "Is Socialism Sound?" she taking the affirmative, had established for her a premier place among advanced thinkers. She had few equals in the movement as an eloquent advocate and was equally effective with tongue or pen. After Olcott's death, in 1907, she became President of the Society and has been ever since.

Through her influence, scientific thought to some extent, and scientific terms to a larger extent are prevalent in the literature and on the platforms through which Theosophists speak. It is an insidious doctrine in consequence, and offers a substitute to those honest minds which cannot consistently reconcile the creed of ancient desert barbarians and their war god with modern science. Its Brotherhood of Man philosophy also, makes it particularly appealing to Socialists who lack an understanding of Marx—and to some who don't.

Notwithstanding the evidence of the telescope, the microscope, the spectroscope, the chemist's balance, those mechanical extensions of man's vision with which he has explored beyond Sirius, Orion and the Pleiades, and gazed into every nook and corner of the smallest grain of matter, man has yet found no spot whereon to lay his immortal soul, after his foolish body has stormed the trench impregnable, looked down the empty gun barrel, or advocated freedom in the land of the free. Notwithstanding this evidence man still hopes that somewhere in the infinite void is another world wherein happiness and life everlasting will reward his brief sojourn here. Some religions haste the fleeting soul with tempestuous speed to the blest abodes, and some have assigned a receiving depot, an actual haven from whose bounds the earth is somehow visible and might be visited.

Modern science plays havoc with these fond and foolish fancies. Theosophy is absolved from the need of finding this improbable haven. It conceives of all the earth, that is of all the things upon the earth, as being made up of two elements: the form, or material; the life, or spiritual element. Our sense perceptions reveal to us only half (if even half) of what actually exists in the universe. And as science merely records what can be conceived by an extension of our sense perceptions its findings are not important in the premises. Beyond the reach of even the instruments of science is much "finely attenuated matter partaking of the nature of gases but infinitely finer subtles. Some of this matter acts as ether, some as the covering or envelope in which our body lives and acts." Man also lives, actually lives, on a number of different planes, some of which are so pure and holy that but few men have ever

succeeded thereto. These planes are states of nature; they have definite names such as astral, mental, buddhic. On these planes exist and endure different aspects or conditions of life; on the physical plane, gross forms and corresponding gross manners; on the astral, finer forms and manners, and so on. The higher forms are hidden from the lower, but creatures on the lower planes are endowed with power with which, under the tutorship of frequenters of higher planes they may have revealed the higher wisdom. The learner is called a Chelas, the teacher a Guru. A Chelas need not be a mere beginner; his most profound highness one of the Mahatmas (the great masters) might be Chelas to a still higher Guru.

It will therefore be clearly understood that knowledge, or rather wisdom (for Theosophy means the Divine Wisdom), does not come by observation, is not developed, is not progressive but already exists, is already known and only requires to be revealed by the Guru to his Chelas. Various means of obtaining the revelations are recommended; meditation is one. The best method is to forget everything we ever knew, at first for five minutes, then for ten and so on. This is called banishing the physical world.

I would not recommend this method to anyone desiring to become an "adept" in the art of digging coal, or who desires to master the science of botany, but—the Divine Wisdom—that is different. Having become proficient in forgetting we are now open to revelation. Then, having worn out one physical form, after we have "passed over" we come right back here—

"Back with the friends I used to know,
For oh: I was so happy there,"

Some comfort in that; no primitive hell; no dreary heaven. According to our deeds or misdeeds we ascend or descend. I think a suicide or murdered person has to hang around awhile on some plane 'till his proper span on the physical plane has matured. However, we go on from plane to plane, either up or down; this is called working out our Karma. It must be borne in mind that animals, insects, and, I fancy, minerals are all included in this Karma, and we might return as one of them. Besides these there is quite an assortment of fairies, goblins, satyrs, and such like companions of our childhood which, for some reason, cannot abide modern learning and generally depart by the time we achieve Long Division, sometimes returning late in life, as in the case of Conan Doyle and other dotards.

We are affected by the Karma law in relation to our own acts, to the acts of our family, our nation and our world. The Karma law is administered by the Lords of Karma. I do not know who they are; nor can I say if anyone does. So we come back and work out our Karma, rising higher and higher or sinking lower and lower. I don't know in which direction a nice warm climate with coco-nut trees lies, up or down, but I've heard many humans sigh for monkey land; I believe this shows good judgment. Between being a real monkey and making a figurative monkey of ourselves a choice of the former would indicate good sense.

The story C. W. Leadbeater tells of his first experience with the master KH is positively idiotic. It is too long to tell here, but part of it contains a scene where Madam Blavatsky had an honest-to-goodness letter delivered her in London, in the form of a white mist, solidifying into a paper envelope, despatched by psychic agency from India. This Divine Wisdom is supposed to have been brought from the planet Venus millions of years ago. As a matter of fact the whole business is an ungainly attempt to graft the Buddhist philosophy and all its additions due to its passage through Egyptian and other near eastern ancient civilizations, prolific in misery and mysticism. Buddha, unquestionably the greatest moral teacher we have any knowledge of,

five hundred years before Christ lead a revolt against the Hindu religion and its unalterable caste system. In that age of ignorance and despair, as also in the early days of Christianity, there was indeed reason for man to delude himself, if delusion can apply to such conditions as then existed. But in the practical affairs of life we today seek the latest information upon which to determine our course. What perversity, then, prompts us to thumb over the pages of ancient lore in search of the hereafter? But as to that, Buddha, while lacking the knowledge of steam or electrical energy had all the knowledge we possess or possibly ever can possess concerning abstract wisdom. And so far as the "hereafter" is concerned, "nature, red with tooth and claw" spoke as plainly to him as she does to us.

One thing we do know: The Divine Wisdom, nor any God within the ken of man has never solved one practical problem nor added one single item of information to our knowledge of this world. When a Saracen desired to know something about his own bodily structure he went to Aristotle, not to Mahomet. When a Theosophist desires information on the structure and nature of the electron he goes to Rutherford, not to his Guru.

Notwithstanding this very significant fact we are likely to have Mahomedan and Theosophist for many years. That is the real riddle of the universe, not how we came here and why, but how and why we believe such nonsense as that which has been always and everywhere associated with the utterances of our gods; and particularly why it is so with the man who possesses electrical energy and has achieved the conquest of the air.

I don't know of any books which expose or criticize Theosophy. No doubt there are many and a glance through any bookseller's catalogue should supply the information.

CURRENT TOPICS

(Continued from page 3)

Understand but even a little of the science of sociology. The knowledge which we apply to the land, from which society gets its living, in order to take from it the things we need, is the product of no single mind, but is instead the sum-total of human experience throughout ages of endeavor. All inventions, then, which lead to an increase of wealth are social by nature. While, too, every branch of industrial activity is collective in character. The problem of enjoying to the full the fruits of labor is simple: produce for use instead of for profit.

Manitoba Provincial Election, 1922

Local (Winnipeg) No. 109, S. P. of C. has nominated Comrades George Armstrong and Sidney J. Rose as candidates. Contributions are needed to meet deposit (Provincial Govt.) fees. These may be sent to the secretary of Winnipeg Local:—

PETER L. DAVIDSON,
P. O. BOX 2354,
WINNIPEG, MAN.

Socialist Party of Canada

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

Sunday June 18th.

Speaker: W. A. PRITCHARD.

Subject: "Spiritualism"

(Being the second of a series of two lectures on this subject).

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

Questions. Discussion.

Dreaming

WE are told quite commonly, in the nature of a reproach, that we are dreamers, floating on the tide of events, waiting softly, like Micawber, for "something to turn up." 'Tis easy to drift. It requires no effort, no thought, no initiative, no courage; and it leaves us free to dream, like opium eaters, of vicarious triumph. Thus humbly are we discovered in the checkered drama of change.

Well let us hope we are dreamers. More or less we are all dreamers. If we did not dream dreams, we could hardly live life. And the world owes much to its dreamers. Robert Burns and Percy Shelley looked deep in the heart of the world, and in glorious song poured forth their visions of its future greatness. William Shakespeare dreamt of things that were not now, but would yet be. John Tyndal and Grant Allen, Morgan, the Ward's—looked backward into deep darkness and forward into brightening day. Robert Owen imaged the misery of existence and linked it to the bright stars. Marx, Engels, Dietzgen patiently garnered the harvest of reality, and dreamed the dream of man. But all of them dreamed open-eyed. Their gaze was but little on the gaudy pageantry of appearance, but much on the dark substance of reality. They stood on enduring fact. They thrilled with the life around them. They probed the tides of progress; grasped at the nature of things. From the founts of life and truth they drew the inspiration which crowns life with hope, and hope with realisation. Each of them clothed the child of his vision in the garments of his particular individuality. But each of them added to the slow growing temple of human happiness, and each of them knew, with the minute precision of understanding. That is why they were "great". Why they saw—where to us there is but darkness—the flying shuttles of time, weaving the pattern of the new world. Weaving it, not through the fragile wool of the ideal, but on the loom of throbbing reality.

Nevertheless, to dream is not to drift. Indeed, there is no such thing as "drifting." Throughout the whole universe, from the tiniest atom to the mightiest star; from the first faint pulsing of chemical reaction to the furthest co-ordination of vibrant sentience there is but the movement of "must." Man and his society is not isolated in this comprehensive scheme of things. We choose—in appearance, we do—by compulsion. We wrap conduct in the vestments of illusion, but act on the fundament of fact. Always, everywhere, we move on the determinants of inevitable necessity; and live as the standards of time shall decree. There is no ideal that does not rest on need; no thought that does not draw sustenance from condition; no act unrelated to the variants of interaction. Nothing is accident, yet nothing is design. There is but the majesty of law, dominant, through matter, in motion.

But matter in motion means change. Not change of law—which is eternal—but change of expression, which is ephemeral. Change itself is but the manifest of a new necessity of movement; and in that movement is outlined both the orbit and pattern of progress. Always is that orbit wider; always is the pattern new; always it carries with it the potential of the new order.

But also it carries with it the time spirit of its condition; the abstract of accumulated knowledge. This is the measure of progress, the hallmark of human attainments, stamped on human society. With it we cut away the ideation of yesterday, and generalize the concepts of tomorrow. With it we reclothe the passions and aspirations of the ancient years; discard their fallacies of accepted truth; and in the fleeting today lay the foundations for new development on the firm basis of established fact. So it comes there is no ideal that does not weep with change; no illusion that does not wither with progress; no sanction that does not grow wan with time. There is no thought that does not take on the char-

acteristics of the present, and no act which does not wear the impress of environing necessity. The abstracts of time are the abstracts of experience. They are the arbiters of mortal destiny, and it is not in human power to violate, either the movement of their growth or the force of their intensity. Thus it comes we think in the terms of contemporary time; live in the ethic of contemporary society. What that time gives we must take; what that ethic avows we must accept. Like death, there is no turning it aside. We may neither believe it nor cherish it—we may even challenge its sanction—but we cannot gainsay its existing supremacy. With the custom of the past we may linger, but we cannot exist; with the life of the future we may dream, but we cannot make it our own. As Paul puts it, "We are members one of another," and no nation, no community, no individual can realise the golden age of promise until omnipotent circumstance has forced society to shatter the tyranny of existing things.

All societies are organised on a definite basis. In that basis lives the spirit of its being, potential in its every movement. It is this thing, this spirit, which we call the economic of society. And in harmony with that economic, the overgrowing society must develop. Savage society was organised on kinship, and it produced the comradeship of the commune. Political society is organized on territorial acquisition (direct at first—and then financial) and it has blackened the world with the horrors of slavery. Savage society decayed because the technique of progress was not sufficiently advanced to enable it to support itself, and political society is dying because it can no longer sustain the masses it has subjugated. The wealth of the former was freedom—access to life's necessities; the wealth of the latter subjugated labor—the cause of its disruption. And until labor recognises its subjugation and abolishes capitalist exploitation, it must remain poor, miserable, degraded, a prostitute to all pleasures of the ruling class.

With Henry asleep, this abolition is not yet. With Henry awake, it might happen tomorrow. Clearly our work is to awaken Henry. Being members of the proletariat, we try to point out both the cause of its misery and the reason for the change. But being dreamers we realise that the task is one for a giant, the giant of social necessity. There are those of us who yearn for action, for something now. There is neither blame nor wonder to that; we know the weariness of waiting, and the fiery pangs that leap in fitful fever through the heart of impotent poverty. But wait we must, for progress is not to be hastened, nor yet hindered. It flowers and fruits in perfect accord with the forces of production. When the forces of production are spent in their old forms, society must change its form also and begin its new cycle of development. This is the revolution. But revolutions are not made, nor engineered. They come. They are the ripened fruit of social class antagonisms, and so coming they are invincible. But to force the pace is in vain. Long years ago the slaves of Sicily held the Roman armies at bay for 10 years. They failed in the end; because neither the world nor its industry nor its method were developed and organised on the only basis on which freedom can flourish—the socialisation of resource and production; its social ownership and administration, and the consequent elimination of class distinction. That is the point we must come to before we can be free. For the past five years Soviet Russia has held organised capital in check. That the struggle has been so tragic, so bitter and so prolonged, is mainly because the western proletariat looks askance at its Soviet brethren—simply that the western slave does not yet see his captivity, and therefore feels no need for freedom.

While capitalist exploitation shall find a market for the sale of its goods, dull though the market be, while capitalist government can juggle with finance

and charm with reform; while a large section of society can maintain even a precarious livelihood; while by monopoly and efficiency capitalist industry can extract profits sufficient to cover its limited charities; although wages may fall and the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie grow thin; and the standards of living decline and unemployment assume fresh bulk; still, the capitalist class, by its political power and greater sense of class-cohesion can retain its possession against a proletariat—turbulent perhaps—but hopeful of opportunity, partly benumbed with philanthropy and blind to its social relationship. For let it not be forgotten, although a minority controls society, it first receives and now retains its sanction of force from the mass of society. It acquired dominance on the tides of social interest and while that tide exists, i.e., while the social mind sees social interest in industrial profits, in financial ventures and in individual initiative, no minority however intelligent can prevail against it. And no intelligent minority would attempt it. Only when the market shall be dissipated, when monopoly has co-ordinated technique and production; and the forces of production and the consciousness of social necessity press irresistibly against the barrier of private possession, then will the power of the capitalist class fail, and the proletarian founders of the new society be compelled to make a breach in the citadel of authority.

Our business, our function, is education; to spread the knowledge, as well as we may, of social organisation, of social classes and their interacting relationships. To the end that when the class struggle culminates decisively, confusion may be a minus quantity. The spreading of that knowledge, in co-operation with the gathering antagonism of social production and private possession is the action that counts; its acceptance the union that matters. If our fellow slaves will listen—good. We can achieve all. If they will not listen—also good. But do not mistake the significance of refusal. Do not imagine that revolutionary ardor or dauntless enthusiasm can be substituted for class vision and class consciousness, or that they can ever lead the proletariat to the shining frontiers of success. To the clear verge of fact the proletariat must go. It may go of its own volition, or it may be driven. But it will never be led. Because to get there it must pass the substance of experience through the thinking mind of consciousness. Unity, to be strength, must be real. And the only interest which can make it real is the vision of our common slavery. We must all wear the "red cap" of understanding.

Nevertheless, we are the keepers of no man's opinions. To urge—or to oppose—are matters of personal taste—and experience. In the nature of things we cannot but cherish the fires of our own hearth. From social evolution we have derived socialist philosophy, and in the light of that philosophy we interpret social events and measure their significance. It takes value from the shimmering ideal, and places it on the more wonderful fact; it takes it from man and invests it in society: But it does so in order that, in the final term, man "may reach up to the stars." We ask none to accept; all to seek and for all, and from all, we demand a reason. For we are persuaded that whoso will begin to ask effect for its cause and assign specific reasons to specific things, will begin at the same time to dream the dream of the ages, and put his strength to the task of triumph.

R.

BASKET PICNIC

To be held at Second Beach, Vancouver, B. C.

SUNDAY 25th JUNE

Under S. P. of C. Auspices.

Directions: Assemble at 2nd Beach, Stanley Park, at 1 p.m. Bachelors are requested to bring fruit. The family baskets will carry whatever else is necessary to the grub supply for an enjoyable day's outing. COME ALL!

"BURN YOUR BOOKS?"

(Continued from page 1)

was hardly a "lack of guts" that won the great war for Democracy, the workers having manured three continents with those very organs when the masters called on them for protection not very long ago. One of the "fifty wilful men" cited the case of the last Dominion elections (December 6, 1921), when the workers of Canada as a whole, and Nova Scotia in particular, although suffering from the miseries attendant upon the most unexampled unemployment, gave a mandate to their masters by returning them to power—not one "yellow" labor man being sent to Ottawa from that province in the East, where conditions were most acute.

These arguments tending to show that the education of the workers badly requires attending to were sneeringly spoken of by the apostle of action as shining examples of Menshevik quackery and Social Democratic piffle, his reply to them being the assurance that the workers were betrayed into the war by their "leaders," and were forced to vote for Capitalism through the power of the Capitalist press. We learned, also, that the working class could not be educated to the point where the ballot would act as the thermometer to register their political maturity. The revolution will be on "us" before there is time for education.

Misunderstanding could go no further. It makes one wonder if action is being prescribed in despair. It is certain, at any rate, that in the new school intelligence won't carry one very far.

A lecture given by Comrade Harrington on "Revolution and Counter Revolution in Peru" (a synopsis of which was printed in the "Clarion"), came in for severe manhandling. In that lecture it was proved that a coup-d'etat does not necessarily imply a social revolution or a change in existing property relations, even if it should take on the violent form of civil war. Addresses of this kind in a revolutionary period like the present are clearly counter revolutionary.

So spake our Messianic agent. One of the soundest and brightest exponents of Marxian Economics in Western Canada, Comrade Tree, a worker who devotes all his leisure time to the preparation and delivery of scientific lectures to working class audiences, was interrupted when conducting an economic class and denounced as an "ignoramus" by the apostle of action. Another worker who refused to embrace the new faith was vehemently denounced as a "White Guardist" and agent of the bourgeoisie.

The entertainment ended in a display of rhetorical jazz and an impassioned exhortation to "bore from within." This exhibition of the "new leadership" convinced those workers present who were not to be overwhelmed by mere sound and fury that the warning recently printed in the "Clarion," "Watch your Leaders," merits the careful heeding of all the class-conscious toilers of this country.

The new tactics (or is it an old one) that starts off by degrading education and glorifying action (for the sake of acting!) is being propagated by those who imagine that society can be manoeuvred into Socialism whether the workers want it or not. A consideration of existing facts, not of revolutionary desires—should be the basis on which to build tactics to govern the Socialist movement in North America, and foremost among these facts of the present situation is the very patent one that where they are not actively hostile the workers, for the most part, are apathetic—to say the least—not only towards Socialism, but even towards Unionism. Yet the workers want food, clothing, shelter, leisure (not the "leisure" enjoyed by the unemployed), the ending of wage-slavery, in short they want economic security. And what the workers want is the Socialist objective. So that whether they want Socialism or not—the workers undoubtedly need it. But between their wants and their needs stands an ideological barrier, based on customs, beliefs, and traditions reaching far back into ancient times, changed to suit changed conditions, and finally fostered and tended with unremitting care in the interests of the present dominant class in society. It is that which makes our gains, when viewed in the large, appear

so small. The ideology of the workers is the strength of Capitalism. The task of the masters is to cherish it; ours is to change it. The workers are not held in subjection by force alone; their mental slavery keeps them in subjection as surely, perhaps, as all the other instruments of coercion together.

During the period of the war, under the stress of abnormal conditions, the development of the machinery of production was enormous: if the consequent increased producing capacity of society affords ground for judgment, then we may say that economically the times are ripe for Socialism. Not only were the requirements of the people met by a comparatively small number of workers, but wealth untold was poured for years into the devouring belly of the war god. Economically ripe the times may be, but that does not settle the question. There is something lacking and that something is not "guts." What is lacking is the desire, the will to Socialism, and that will come under the stress of circumstance, produced primarily by the contradictions inherent in the system of capitalism, furthered by the imparting to the workers of a knowledge of their slave status in society.

Misery and suffering will not of themselves make Socialists. If they would then the Lazarus-layers of capitalist society, the slum proletarians, would be revolutionists. We conclude therefore, that—the

psychology of the North American workers being what it is—the only tactics capable of producing good results in this country is that which emphasizes the educational needs of the workers, and endeavors to supply those needs by issuing books, pamphlets, papers, by organizing classes, by sending out lecturers—all with the aim of bringing home to the workers a competent realization of the society in which they live, their relations in that society, their sufferings arising from those relations, and the way to end them.

The study of Socialism by the workers leads to their organizing for emancipation, to struggle for freedom being the last right left to them and the only task worthy of class-conscious slaves.

In this connection it may be fitting to close with a quotation from Engels—not because of Engels' name but for the good of the movement and because the words in this place will be apposite. He says:

"To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the Proletarian movement, scientific socialism."
"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (Whitehead Edn., p. 95)

Exchange Rates

By C. LESTOR

WHEN we speak of the rate of exchange with any country, we are merely discussing the present value of the £ sterling in the currency of that country; or, to put it more simply, the question of how many American dollars, French francs, or German marks, etc., we can get for the Treasury Note which, since the war has usurped the place of the British sovereign. The £ sterling is, however, not the Treasury Note or even the sovereign, but the credit note of Britain.

Before explaining the factors that produce disparity in exchange, it is desirable to know exactly what is meant by the "par" of exchange, and how it is arrived at.

Par of Exchange

The currency of the principle countries of the world is on a gold basis, that it to say, the measure of value is represented by a gold coin, to which the silver, copper or other coins have a fixed but artificial ratio of value decreed by law.

It is the relative quantity of pure gold in these respective gold coins that establishes the "par" or parity of exchange, i.e., the normal relationship of one to the other. There is in the sovereign 1.32238 grammes of pure gold. The amount of pure gold in the American dollar is 1.50464 grammes. Dividing this latter figure into the former we find that there is 4.8665 times as much gold in the sovereign as there is in the dollar. Hence the par of exchange between Great Britain and the U. S. A. is one sovereign equals \$4.86. Other parities are arrived at in the same manner.

In the event that sufficient gold coins were available in the respective countries to supply the needs of trade, the rates of exchange would normally never fluctuate very seriously. It is clear that if you had to pay, say \$100,000 dollars to New Orleans in settlement of a purchase of cotton, you would not pay a larger sum in sterling for these dollars than it would cost to ship over to America the requisite amount of gold (bullion) for exchange into dollars at par.

Specie Point

In the case of gold currency countries, therefore, the normal limit to fluctuation in the rate of exchange is the specie point, the point at which it pays better to import or export gold (specie) than to buy or sell currency through the medium of a broker or banker.

The causes of international fluctuation are many and include balance of trade, the amount of loans to foreign countries, the political situation or condition of the country in question, the nature of the

currencies in the exchanging countries, and speculation, based on the divergent views taken of the position in respect of one or more of these factors.

Bills of Exchange

Before examining these in turn it must be understood that the mutual indebtedness of trading nations is regulated by means of bills of exchange, which documents are, to all intents and purposes, cheques (for goods or services rendered) in the form of an order to a bank or other third party to pay to the person named a sum of money, either at sight or at some future date—usually three or six months hence. Bills of exchange are used as being a more convenient method of payment than that provided by the import and export of bullion, as thereby much expense in insurance and freight is avoided.

Bills of exchange are negotiable instruments and change hands freely, and in much the same manner as a cheque which you may receive, endorse and pass on to some one else for cash. Let us take it, for example, that E and E2 are English merchants, and that F and F2 are French merchants, and that the position between them is as follows. E owes money to F. E2 is owed money by F2.

It is clear that the double transmission of bullion from E to F and from F2 to E2 will be avoided if E pays E2, while F2 pays F. This is practically effected by the use of Bills of Exchange. F, for example, may have a "Bill" on E for the amount owing, and through the medium of a banker or bill-broker will sell this bill to F2, who will send it to E2, by whom in turn it will be presented to E for payment. Thus the position of all four parties will have been settled by means of the transfer from one to another of a single piece of paper.

Balance of Trade

Now let us assume that France is importing from Great Britain enormous quantities of manufactured articles, and grain and other commodities from America, while her exports of wine, silk, motorcars, etc., etc., are for some reason steadily diminishing. This will mean that France, instead of paying for her imports with her exports, is getting seriously into debt, and when a nation does that other nations will look just as much askance at her promises to pay (i.e., her bills of exchange) as you would regard those of a man who, while he owed you money, was spending more than he earned. He might bear every appearance of being prosperous, but if you thought or knew that he was earning very little you would suspect (in the absence of any windfall that

(Continued on page 8)

EXCHANGE RATES

(Continued from page 7)

might account for it) that he was living on borrowed money, and you would if you could sell your I.O.U. for less than its face value.

Confidence, or the lack of it, is similarly the fundamental factor governing the price paid for bills of exchange—which thus becomes the concrete expression of a nation's credit. Actually, the rate is regulated by supply and demand. In the circumstances above mentioned New York and London will be full of French I.O.U.'s and in the absence of a demand for these documents, which were normally purchased to pay for goods bought from France, they will be a glut on the market, and nobody wanting them, these I.O.U.'s (i.e. Bills of Exchange) will fall in price. As the farmer puts it: "When I go to the market with two pigs and there is only one buyer, pigs is cheap; but when I go with one pig and there are two buyers, pigs is dear."

Thus, there being at present far more owed by France to Great Britain than Great Britain owes to France, and consequently a poor demand for French bills, a Frenchman who buys a consignment of, say English boots, has to pay over 50 francs (instead of about 25 francs only as in pre-war days) for every sovereign's worth. The financial position of France is a matter of grave concern to the capitalist nations. She owes enormous sums to the Allies, and as a result of the war is not able to manufacture and export goods to anything like the extent she formerly did. It therefore becomes a debatable question if she will in fact be able to pay her debts. This means that her traders' promises to pay are discredited, and this accounts for her attitude regarding indemnities and her stand at Genoa.

Similarly, England is under a disability in trading with America, for she is importing more goods than she exports to the U. S., added to which, the British Government owes America £860,000,000 sterling.

There are floating around in the U. S. more British bills of exchange (or orders to pay pounds sterling in London to the credit of American merchants) than they need for the purpose of meeting their obligations to Britain. Consequently, the English pound does not now buy \$4.86, but only \$4 or, in other words, it is 3s 4d below par. England cannot get out of the difficulty by shipping gold as it does not exist in sufficient quantities, and there is as a result a premium upon that metal. Great Britain's promises to pay are being regarded as in a way open to question, and the facts justify the differentiation against her that exists in the U. S. Is it not a fact that her capitalists hardly know how to pay for the upkeep of the country, loaded as they are with debt and still spending money at an enormous rate?

Loans and Investments

It is impossible in the space at my disposal to do more than touch upon the various other factors that influence the exchanges but it is desirable to understand that loans to other countries are equivalent in their effect upon exchange rates to exports from the borrowing country; for the borrowing country has exported securities and is a creditor until it receives the proceeds. The sale of investments in foreign countries will also tend to improve exchange. The political outlook is another and very important influence upon a country's credit and exchange rate.

If there be any doubt concerning the integrity, from the capitalist standpoint, of any party likely to come into power, e.g., as to whether it will (as Russia has done) repudiate the obligations entered into by the preceding government, the risks attaching to trading will be regarded as formidable by the bourgeoisie, and this affects the exchange, as note the fall of the rouble.

Paper Currencies

Formerly, rates of exchange were markedly unfavorable to those countries where the currency consisted of paper not convertible into gold. Gold stood and still stands at a premium in paper currency countries—for the trader wants gold or paper that can ultimately be exchanged for gold for his

goods. In the case of paper currency countries where there is no gold in the country, the limit to the adverse movement of the exchange is "commodity" point, or the point at which it would pay better to take payment in goods (i.e., barter) than to negotiate a bill of exchange.

But during and since the war paper money has been created in such quantities that this factor does not operate to the extent it did, as the pound has been superseded by a piece of paper known as a "Bradbury," the purchasing power of which is less than a gold sovereign. In other words England is now only nominally a gold currency country. Whereas the value of the currency formerly rested on its gold contents plus British credit, which was high, it now rests practically upon credit only, and that is not so good as it was. The rebellious attitude of the slaves is doing much to undermine capitalism, and anyone in Britain who looks below the surface can see that the system is doomed.

The Russian delegates at Genoa are likely to be able to advance the economic programme of that country much further than the most sanguine of us anticipated. (*) The complications due to the exchanges will assist them. The refusal to pay the debts of their predecessors will enable them to make a fresh start, as it were, and build on a foundation while their enemies are wallowing in the intricacies of the web the downfall of capitalism has caused them to spin.

The British slave is the last thing in ignorance, but he is compelled now to move or die and signs are appearing on every hand that indicate he is getting steam up. The Russian revolution was a sort of preliminary. The main bout is going to commence. It will take more than one round to knock capitalism out, but the muddle of the exchanges, the fiasco of Genoa, and the general situation causes one to say to the class-conscious proletariat:

Stand by!

(*) This article was written before the Genoa Conference adjourned.—Editor.

HERE AND NOW

WELL never let up on the art of grumbling, for the reason that the figures won't let us.

While these figures continue to present so sorry an appearance as is shown Here and Now, in view of the job to be done with their aid they register about as much efficiency as a logger with a wrist watch or a miner with a top hat. Their total, viewed among items of importance on the order sheet of human interest, present about as attractive an appearance as the record of a lecture on the food values allegedly contained in soft drinks or a dissertation on the nature of the holy trinity.

Loggers, miners, wrist watches, top hats, soft drinks and Biblical mysticism don't look quite right to us viewed all at once. But the figures! Look at 'em! They're as right as the figures. Fix them and forget the rest.

Which means to say: We need the money—Here and now—and if this plaintive cry falls on deaf ears then for sure we are undone.

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