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FIVE CENTS

Our Declining Standard of Living

A Pointer for Pre-Election Audiences

THE statement quoted below shows a progressive decline from 1896 to 1920 in the standard of living of the American wage-working class. Nevertheless, during that period society's productive capacity increased enormously, yet, both in relation to the 1896 standard and to the increasing productive capacity, less and less of the products of labor have gone to the working class as its recompense for toil.

And readers! During that period, the Capitalist politicians fed your imagination with sounding phrases and glorious promises!

But Capitalism is no "Land o' Dreams." Long ago, chronic industrial depression settled on our industrial system because it is too productive (an unprecedented war market providing the only break of consequence). The curtailment of production, the operation of industry short of its capacity, the part time idleness of men and the material equipment of production has become a necessity, a considered and habitual policy in industry—this, for the business-like purpose of obtaining profitable prices in the interest of the owners of industrial plants.

Industry is not operated to its full capacity, as it would be if the livelihood of the communities were the first consideration, because it is in the control of business men who have the market in view, and at whose command output is regulated. Profits are the first and last consideration in business, which is to

say, that industry is operated solely with a view to such prices on the market as will yield a surplus over and above production cost—the surplus goes to various capitalist interests in the form of rent, interest, and industrial and commercial profit.

The output of industry is produced, not to supply the consumption capacity of the communities, but to supply the demand of the market, the limit of which is its purchasing capacity; that is to say, production is for sale for profit, and not for use.

We do not know the limits of the consumption capacity of the communities. Neither do we know the limits of the productive capacity of modern industrial powers. As straight scientific engineering propositions, the problem of reaching the limits of one or the other capacity has never been considered, much less attempted. A profit system, needless to say, is no fit laboratory for such a social experiment.

But we do know the limits of the purchasing capacity of the market. For the market becomes glutted with commodities, and, in consequence, the productive capacity of the communities has to be curtailed that is to say, the well-being of the communities has to be sabotaged—all to serve the ends of good, safe and sound, and, since the 18th century, time-honored business principles.

The productive capacity of the communities has to be sabotaged by the business interests, because the purchasing capacity of the market does not keep

pace with the increasing productivity of modern industry. As the market capacity, with the passing of time, lags more and more behind productive capacity, more and more must the business interests practice sabotage on the communities, in the interest of profitable prices for themselves. Not for nothing are they called "the interests."

And so, the army of the unemployed whom industry can not absorb, grows larger. The standard of living (of the workers) has been declining since 1896, because there has been a permanently overstocked labor market. There is a permanently overstocked labor market because the market for commodities can not absorb all the commodities that industry is capable of turning out—a chain of economic facts inherent in the capitalist system of production for sale for profit. The standard of living declines, because modern industrial processes are too productive—what a paradox!

Competition between the sellers of the commodity labor-power on an overstocked labor-market, has operated like an over-riding law of nature to defeat all efforts to even maintain the level of 1896, not to speak of raising that level in keeping with the progress of the arts of production since that time. Even the intense activities of the organized labor movement during 1918 and 1919, with conditions abnor-

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The Great Illusion

IF one happens to suggest to the average "intelligence" that he is a slave he usually resents the soft impeachment—sometimes with great heat—and proceeds to disprove the assertion. Invariably his "disproofs" are more emphatic than convincing, and are subject to considerable modification. Where for the time we will leave him.

What constitutes "freedom?" What does it mean to be free? "Freedom" is to fulfil, in a normal manner, the necessities of natural life, to be able to comply with and satisfy rationally the laws of individual being. To be "free" is to be in the condition where the normal being can exercise fully and naturally the laws of constituted being and is therefore enabled to live a full, rounded and complete life. Whoever or whatever is prevented from functioning as the common, healthy and natural processes of constituted being demand, is not free.

Freedom has nothing to do with the special pleadings of self-interest, with the ideation derived from political necessity, fortified by political success, distorted and pale with political vicissitude. Such "freedom" is of secondary significance, implying class distinctions, and wherever class distinctions arise freedom declines. Class concepts of freedom are contradictions in terms, of relative bearing, necessarily indicating particular interest, and although conditionally social in character are by no means social in nature. For primarily, class involves sub-

jugation and individualism—the antithesis of social freedom. A full and complete life can be secured only on condition of full freedom, and freedom is the normal satisfaction of natural wants. What then are the "natural wants?" Of man, fundamentally, food and reproduction and from that basis development proceeds.

Man emerges from the darkness of the past in the likeness of the wild. Short and squat, deep-chested, girthed like a beast, with curved limbs and drooping arm, strong muscled and wide of jaw, flat-headed and feeble brained. Roving in bands through the gloomy forests, feeding, breeding, living and dying like the wild around him, yet throbbing, pantingly, fearfully, with the potentialities of humanity.

Physically weaker than the wild things around him, he was driven to cunning and resource for protection. By craft he maintained the struggle for existence, and craft favored him, lifted him to new advances, awarded him victory. He left his arboreal hut and became a cave dwelling plainsman, conquered the beasts of the field and flourished; invented fire and produced a new impulse of progress; acquired new food supplies, extended his habitat; increased his numbers; and for thousands upon thousands of years existed in the wild hunting packs of early savagery.

But growth and development urged him ceaselessly on. New discoveries were made, tools of stone

and bone carried his social organization to a higher plane, his thought to a wider comprehension, his conduct to a new unity. Misunderstanding the forces of nature, he began a tortuous direction to human development. He made gods in his own image and grovelled in fear at their feet. His curiosity and greed were the forerunners of science and trade; his patience and courage, the foundations of our highest culture. And each of such simple beginnings gave impetus and direction to further development and undreamed of consequence.

Yet, stern and crude as savage life and society was, here was freedom. Outside of natural calamities, man found satisfaction of his normal wants. Free, he knew nothing of civilization, its comparative culture, precarious amenities and doubtful protection. He could not exist apart from the tribe; he dared not set foot on the territory of another tribe; for the benefit of the commune (and himself) he had to conform to the will of the commune.

Nevertheless, to wander over the face of the earth is not freedom, nor is compliance with social welfare slavery. This man did not starve in the midst of plenty, nor did he go naked and shelterless in abundance. He was not broken with fruitless and incessant toil, his life was not held at the dictation of another. His society knew neither poverty nor wealth, theft nor prostitution, plunder nor

(Continued on page 3)

The Rainmakers

THE credulity of men is proverbial and displays itself in a multi-variety of ways making it a state common to all. There is a story told about a people who lived on an Island, Medischon, in the sea of Alkali, which emphasizes this quality in an unmistakable manner.

They were simple folk, the story says, who used the most primitive methods in gaining a livelihood. Primitive in this they were equally backward in their notions, customs, and habits of thought—unaffected by the tremendous strides of Science, especially Meteorology—remarkable at this particular time in the land of Great People. From which they were cast adrift in a moment of spleen by Nature.

The folklore of these simple people relates how the land at one time was rich, fertile, and generously watered—just when and where it was most needed—and was thickly covered with long, lush grass on which their stock grew fat and sleek.

In those days everyone fared sumptuously on tender steaks and juicy entrees rounded out with wholesome bread and delicious Mocha.

Came a time, though, when the rain ceased to visit them. For some unknown cause, the atmospheric conditions changed and were opposed to them. Consequently their lands were parched; great cracks, into which their stock did fall and die, were seen everywhere.

Like all simple folk harrassed by fear and worry, they opened their "josh" (!) houses and prayed long and earnestly to Tosh and Bosh to bring back again the gentle, life-giving rains.

From the Isle of Medischon to the land of Great People came a traveller who told to one wise-acre this strange phenomenon. The latter listened attentively and, afterwards, meditated long and seriously. Then he, next, did pack a suitcase, some trunks and boxes, filling all with queer contrivances, much chemicals and many books. He did buy, too, a ticket from Steamboat Bill who carried him to Medischon.

The distressed people who met him, their minds immediately captivated by his sparkling wit and charming manners; the womenfolk, seduced at once by his modish clothes, his bohemian character; they did all agree that he was IT.

Having then established himself, he did undo his trunks and boxes. And one day when the heavens were heavy with dark grey cumulae he set up his Marvellous Machinery.

The wondering people gathered around and watched intently his every movement. Turning to the crowd, he said: "With this machine and the chemicals, which you see me mix, I can bring back to you the rains you need so much."

"For so many golden shekels I can give you so many inches of rain. Measured by the wealth in crops and stock that will accrue to you, the price is but a trifle."

The machine whirred; a cloud of stellar dust was disturbed. And, fast on the heels of this event, there came one man from a nearby village, much excited, gesticulating wildly, crying—"Rain is falling on Nougull lake."

The now agitated people looked at the stranger from the land of Great People. Wearing a dejected mien, a tremor of the lip, and with a note of grief in his voice, he addressed his audience, saying:

"I am sorry: I shot too much with the result, as you have heard, the rain was sent too far."

That night the wise-one received a deputation from the anxious people of Medischon. They would pay his price. A week afterwards, according to the story, rain came. Everybody rejoiced—none more so than the Rainmaker of Great People.

This somewhat crude synopsis will give the reader a useful analogy which can be applied to the rain makers at work in modern society. And nowhere more sedulously employed than in Canada.

Mackenzie King is the chief rainmaker for the Liberal Party. The seductive but contradictory utterances of this honored gentleman awaken hope in the tormented minds of the agrarian and industrial elements of this community.

In brief and in substance this is what his message to the people amounts to: By taking off such tariffs as prevent the farmers from acquiring cheaper agricultural implements from American producers enabling Canadian farmers to produce grain at less cost while competing with their kind in other countries.

On the other hand by placing tariffs on such products as enter here from other countries, and especially those that can be produced as cheaply here (given the industrial developments), "Mac" thinks he can aid the merchants and the workers of this country.

He forgets, if he ever knew, that shifting tariffs from here to there does not affect the general economic situation but simply removes the burden from one shoulder to the other of the body politic.

And so, too, we find the honorable Meighen jupiter-pluvi-ing for Wall St. Canadian exploiters never did possess much capital of their own, and to keep industry running even in normal times they had to borrow.

To carry out local, provincial, and dominion improvements, the governments have had to borrow. And Wall St. is the most convenient place just now to borrow from.

"Art" is not so ambitious as "Mac," he proposes to keep tariffs just as they are, or a little higher. Which, in either case, suits the usurers of Wall St.

But what neither of these potential statesmen understands is this: Canada in company with all other countries needs a market. And so great is the pile of national debts; so many the claims on property that cheap as we can produce there is not in the pile of surplus values, which is appropriated by the capitalists, enough to pay these bills, keep industry running, and still have a margin of profit to themselves.

Yet Imperialism has not ceased to develop, the State, already large, is but an infant prodigy, whose maw will soon drip red again in the task of carving out another market. More debts, rainmakers; what then!

So far I have been dealing more or less specifically with the credulity of the exploiting class. From here on I want to make a few comments on the credulity of the workers and the methods of the rainmakers who play upon them.

It is on record that a certain professor of Chemistry approached his class one day with the purpose of determining the power of suggestion. "I have here," he said, "a small bottle containing a colorless fluid which throws off a pungent odor. Members of this class can help me determine the strength of the liquid in this way."

"The moment I withdraw the cork, start exercising your olfactory organs. And the first to perceive the odor let him raise and keep raised his hand. I will keep my eyes on the clock, in order to see how long it takes the smell to travel throughout the class, until the last one of you has raised his hand."

The ticking of the clock was marked by the professor, each stroke was counted. A few seconds passed and the first hand was stretched high; two minutes elapsed before the last member of the class had his hand raised in line with the rest.

The professor, with twinkling eyes, remarked, "It's the first time to my knowledge that distilled water carried such a powerful odor."

This power of suggestion is much in use by the rainmakers operating among workers in the Socialist movement. Sometimes with the best intentions and, then again, often with the worst.

For instance east and west of the Rockies, the

Socialist Party of Canada is—and has been for a long time—considered a bar to further revolutionary organization in the part of class-conscious workers. If a member of this Party walks in the Market Place or is invited to a Social gathering, it may be when he is asked to speak at some demonstration, a public meeting, then instantly one sees the malevolent custom of the East (long since dead) come to life in the West.

The Scribes and Pharisees shake their skirts; close their eyes disdainfully; spit contemptuously as the member passes by. They whisper in the alleys; make mysterious signs in the open. And the workers' interest in the Party, easily diverted as it is, is turned aside. Never pausing for a moment to consider why these tactics are employed—or in whose interest—he teeters at the practice. Not knowing, and caring less, whether the function of a Socialist Party is to make socialists or work up a religious enthusiasm for the purpose of furthering the "SOCIAL REVOLUTION" (heavy on the ink Mr. Printer—please, and for heaven's sake don't forget the inverted commas).

These victims of an "infantile disorder" (small "d" and a little "i"; "Mac," and don't cuss!) fondly imagine they are organizing for a Political Revolution.—In whose interests—Rainmakers?

Those who study Marx, and understand the forces operating in Society, the antagonisms which are generated within the capitalist class, must understand that there is one numerically powerful group who, shouldering the burden of a colossal State, fearing the outcome of future Imperialism, and, feeling the depreciation of their portion of surplus values, they must seek to throw off this yoke. And the worker who understands this cries—Speed the day!

OUR DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING (Continued from Page 1)

mally in its favor, failed to bring the workers back to the pre-war standard.

Capitalism is no "Land o' Dreams," but one of grim realities. And, but one of many grim realities it has brought and will continue to bring, to a wage-working class is—A Declining Standard of Living.

The following is from "The Nation" (New York), October 12th.

"As a matter of fact the American standard of living has been declining since 1896—for the first decade so slowly as to be almost imperceptible, then, after the crisis of 1907, more rapidly, and in the early years of the war with almost catastrophic speed. The rises in wages forced by the workers during the fat years of 1918 and 1919 did not bring them back even to the pre-war standard. We make these statements with some positiveness, for they are based upon the careful study of Professor Paul Douglas, of the University of Chicago, and of Frances Lamberson, as published in the September number of the "American Economic Review." This study continues the authoritative work of Dr. I. M. Rubinow before the war. It is a commonplace of political as of household economy that money wages give a fallacious criterion of real values. What matters is not the number of dollars in the weekly pay envelope, but the amount of rent those dollars will pay, or of coal, or potatoes, or shoes and shirts that they will buy. Comparing the trend of average full-time earnings in fifteen standard industries with the purchasing power of money as measured by the retail prices of food, these economists conclude that the real value of average wages had fallen about 6 per cent. between 1896 and 1907, but that by 1913 the average worker was getting 17 per cent. less, and in 1917—the amazing rise of prices occurring before the workers succeeded in forcing up wages at all—37 per cent. In other words in 1917 the standard of living of workers in the woollen, cotton, shoe, building, baking, stonemasonry, printing, and machine-shop industries in the United States had fallen off one-third between 1896 and 1917. The wage increases of 1918 boosted the level from 63 per cent. of the 1896 standard to 67 per cent.; and the increases in 1919 and in the early part of 1920 also may more than have kept pace with rising costs. At the high point, wages hardly returned to better than three-quarters of the 1896 level."

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History of the Art of Writing

In Three Parts, Part 2.
BY KATHERINE SMITH.

Phonograms — The next advancement appeared in the form of rebus or image writing, in which several objects were combined. The form of conundrum called rebus is the simplest form of phonograms. In the rebus the picture of an object is taken to denote any word or part of word which has the same sound as the name of the thing pictured. It is likely that the reason that children like rebus writing is that at about a certain age they, too, as the race has done, pass through this stage of development. If, like the ancient Egyptians, we were to adopt a circle with a central dot as our ordinary symbol of the sun, then we would have a pure ideogram, but if we were to go on and, after the manner of the Egyptians or Chinese, were to use the same symbol to represent the word "son," we would have a phonogram of that primitive type which has repeatedly served to bridge the gap between picture ideograms and phonetic characters. It is thought probable that the adopting of this important step by which the advance was made from ideograms to phonograms arose out of the necessity to express proper names. Phonograms are the graphic symbols of sounds. As a usual thing they have arisen out of conventionalized ideograms which have been taken to represent sounds instead of things. In the case of Chinese characters, we find the most notable instance of a graphic system which has never succeeded in advancing beyond the most rudimentary stage of conventionalized picture-writing. It has been found that when the intricate and queer Chinese characters are traced back to their earliest forms or types, they are found to be conventionalized forms descended from rude pictures to which they now bear little or no resemblance. The Chinese language is a language of roots; it has no terminations to denote easy tense, mood or person; the same word with change of form may be used as a noun, verb, adjective, adverb or participle. It is a monosyllabic language consisting almost entirely of homophones, i.e., the same articulation has to do duty for several widely different words. Hence the use of "key" words, otherwise called radicals or primitive. In the Egyptian and Cuneiform these "keys" are called determinatives. In English one learns which meaning is to be conveyed by the aid of variant spelling, e.g., right, rite, wright, write. In order to be able to write an ordinary business letter in Chinese one would have to commit to memory some six or seven thousand of these groups of characters, hence in China and in the countries not possessing an alphabet few people learn to read and write, and these few are known as the learned caste.

Syllabism — The stage in the progress of writing finds its best illustration in the development of the Japanese out of the Chinese. About the third century, A.D., at about the time of the great eastern extension of the Buddhist faith, the Japanese came into contact with the civilization of China and obtained a knowledge of the characters in which the Chinese literature was written. The Japanese language was polysyllabic, and the Chinese characters, which are verbal phonograms, could only be used for the expression of the polysyllabic Japanese words by being treated as syllable signs. A number of characters sufficient to constitute a syllabary having been selected, it was found that the whole apparatus of "keys" might be rejected. Here, however, the development has stopped. It might seem strange that a people as ingenious as the Japanese would not, during the one thousand years that have elapsed since the introduction of the Chinese characters, develop their syllabary into an alphabet, but we must remember that it is only within the present century that the Japanese have been a trading nation. The fact that such a development has not taken place is sufficient to show that the working out of an alphabetic principle is not as easy or obvious a matter as might be supposed. It might be

noted in passing that now that the Japanese have come in contact with Western civilization and have discovered how convenient and simple the Roman alphabet is, a movement to substitute it for the native syllabary has sprung up.

Authorities who have studied the matter have come to the conclusion that there is a general law governing the advance from one stage in the development of writing to the next. A next higher stage is only attained by transmission of the graphic system from one nation to another. In addition to the example just cited, the transmission of the Aztec to the Mayas of Yucatan, of the Egyptian to the Semites, and the thrice repeated transmission of the Semitic alphabet to the Aryan nations—to the Greeks, to the Persians and the Indians, are facts confirming this general rule. The best example of this general law is found in the case of the repeated transmission of the cuneiform writing. It was invented by the Turanian people, and transmitted to Semitic Aryans and Babylonians, while out of the Semitic cuneiform arose, on one hand, the Turanian Proto-Medic syllabary, and on the other the cuneiform alphabet of the Aryan Persians.

Alphabetic signs or letters represent the elementary sounds into which the syllables can be resolved. The earliest extant inscription in the world is the tablet in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. M. Matreillis places the date at about 4,700 B.C. It was erected by a king of the second dynasty, and is considered proof that even at that date the hieroglyphic writing was already an extremely ancient graphic system with long ages of previous development stretching out behind it. The Egyptian picture-writing, like every other primitive method of writing, began with picture ideograms, many of which continued to be used the very last. Abstract ideas which could be directly represented, were expressed by means of symbolic pictures, e.g., the battle of two arms, one holding a shield the other a javelin. The next stage must have been that the primitive ideogram gave place to the verbal phonogram and then later these verbal phonograms came to be used as syllabic signs; finally these syllabic signs were continued so as to form compound phonograms, on the principle of the rebus. Egyptian writing also contained alphabetical symbols out of which our alphabet has grown. Alphabetic symbols on the Egyptian monuments go to show that the letters of the alphabet are older than the pyramids, older probably than any other existing monuments of human civilization with the possible exception of the zodiac.

The Babylonian, Assyrians, Medes and the Japanese succeeded in passing only through the syllabic stage which the hieroglyphic records of the Egyptians had already advanced to the great conception of the alphabetic writing.

Symbols for vowel sounds are found in the syllabaries of these nations, but the more difficult conception of the consonant, was not even approached. The notion of a consonant, a sound that cannot be sounded except in conjunction with some other sound, different from itself, is very difficult; it involves the analysis of the syllable into its ultimate phonetic elements. Canon Taylor states, "All that remained to be done was to sweep away the superfluous lumber." This step they never took, but continued to use eye-pictures side by side with that of ear-pictures instead of advancing to the use of fixed signs for certain sounds. Even at the present time we continue to use phonographic and ideographic signs to a considerable extent. The Roman numerals I, II, III, may be regarded as pictures of fingers, and it is probable that V. was at first the picture of the fork of the hand, the fingers collected and the thumb apart so that VV. or X. represents two hands, while IV. and VI. would be a picture of the hand with the subtraction or addition of a finger. Many of the symbols used in technical writing survive to show that even in the midst of the highest European civilization the spirit of the earliest and rudest forms of writing are not extinct.

The Zodiacal and planetary signs used by astronomers are also ideograms. Other ideograms used by us are the crown and broad arrow, sundry trade-marks and armorial bearings, together with several printers' signs. Certain shop signs as the barber pole with its spiral bandage, which is a significant sign of blood letting; the three golden balls of the pawnbroker is a curious survival of the boluses (large pills) which denoted the ancestral calling of the Florentine family of the Medici. In £ s. d. we have characters of alphabetical origin used simply as convenient phonograms standing for the words pounds, shillings and pence. Most of the Arabic numerals are degraded from Semitic letters.

(To be concluded next issue)

THE GREAT ILLUSION.

(Continued from page 1)

its corruption. All that the community had to offer was common right; to all the requirements of life; in all respects a free society.

With barbarism came property right and its corollary, slavery. Came organized religion, organized militarism, organized political society. (for the subjugation of man.) The savage was vanquished by the merchant; the commune broken up by trade. The natural patriotism of the tribesman for his hunting grounds became a weapon for political aggression; the reverence of ancestor-worship became obedience to god ordained rulers; traditional custom, transmitted to individual interest.

In such a society man is a slave. He has no access to the necessities of life. He toils only at the will of another and for the benefit of another. He is bartered—with all his potentialities for gain, and out of all the wealth he created he is thrown a scrap to support his miserable existence for further exploitation. Denied access to the means of life is to be denied satisfaction of the natural functions of life, and the accrued advantages of progress and enlightenment. Hence, as exploitation inevitably entails poverty, so dwarfed natural relations produce vice and depravity, invariably. Whoever holds the means of man's life holds man in bondage. Therefore, so long as political society shall persist, so long must man be enslaved.

From primal necessity comes secondary consequence. Development had to be—it was, (is,) the law of the cosmos—and, taking place, produced class distinctions. But class distinctions are class interests, differing and opposite, and the interest which happens to be dominant can, for a time, regulate the forces of social and ethical progress to its own advantage. But to the disadvantage of others. Hence the class struggle, and revolution. And hence also the confusing variety of interlacing ideas, the overlapping of ancient tradition with modern thought, and the struggle of conflicting philosophies, representing conflicting interests, which, by and through such interests baffles us in our immediate aim, and blind us to fundamental cause.

And truly, we are wedded to strange illusions. We call our shackles "home"; the penury of continuous toil "prosperity"; spoliation, enterprise; greed, incentive; impecunious necessity, thrift.

We call political domination, democracy; exploitation "eternal right"; war, "holy"; our civilization "enlightened." In the densest of ignorance we boast of culture, of virtue, amidst the most appalling corruption. We dub ourselves searchers for truth—and we daily crucify it. With dainty conceit we lay claim to reason—that is no more than self interest; to intelligence—that rises no higher than the impulse, of emotion; to wisdom—unable to distinguish fact from fancy. With silver tongue we preach equality—and practice law; honesty, and accumulate riches; fraternity, and advocate "preparedness." We call commerce, "foreign relations"; lying, "diplomacy"; hypocrisy, "statesmanship"; gnile, "law"; piracy, "glory"; robbery, "success" and the ethic overspreading this festering slough of pollution we call "divine will."

But surely, the illusion of "freedom" is the most astounding of them all. R.

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VANCOUVER, B.C., NOVEMBER 1, 1921

SECRETARIAL NOTES.

Comrades D. MacPherson and W. Erwin, both of
Wimborne, Alberta, now that the full significance
and sad realisation of a slim harvest has rewarded
their season's labor, have acquired or appropriated
some kind of a contraption that moves on wheels,
filled it full of socialist literature, and have departed
for parts unknown but somewhere adjacent, to sow
the seed of wisdom among the farmers. Should this
perchance meet the eye of some farmer comrade
upon whom they may with design or intention de-
scend for help, encouragement, or an argument, that
comrade is accordingly commended!

The case of "The B. C. Federationist Ltd.," and
A. S. Wells, manager, at this moment of writing
stands adjourned until Monday October 31st, when
it will again be presented at the Police Court, Van-
couver, for hearing. The magistrate requires time
to read the book ("Left Wing Communism"). Legal
defence is an essential matter and in this case an
appeal is made for funds to that end. All moneys
received at this office for defence in this case will
be acknowledged in the names of the contributors
in the columns of the "Federationist."

"Geordie's" series will, we hope be continued in
next issue. We promised continuation in this issue,
it is true, but we can't help being at fault once in a
while, and the punishment, if there be any, must be
meted out to us and not to "Geordie."

The following item is sent by the Manitoba Pro-
vincial Executive Committee.

"F. Kaplan, member of Local No. 3, Winnipeg,
has been suspended from the Party for six months
for a breach of Party discipline, in that he attempt-
ed to form a political compromise with persons out-
side the Party, contrary to the Constitution. Since
his suspension he has sent his resignation to Local
No. 3.

Comrade Frank Cassidy is roaming around New
Brunswick educating the folk in that region. He
reports good meetings en route from Alberta and
the way points, including Winnipeg, Toronto and
Ottawa. Frank says he is likely to be around the
Maritime Provinces for months to come and for the
sake of the innocent political consciousness of the
workers there we hope he will.

The case of Robert Walker, of Cumberland, B. C.,
suspended from Party membership for 30 days, is
not yet definitely decided upon but is still under
investigation. Announcement will be made in due
course.

A letter to us from the Secretary of Local Vic-
toria concerning a communication from the Com-
munist Party of Canada advises us that Local Vic-
toria considers itself well able to look after its own
business without the aid of the unknown. This mes-
sage caused us to send to Victoria for a copy of the
communication, and here it is. It bears no address.
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
September 30, 1921.

To All Secretaries of the Socialist Party of Canada

Will you kindly read the following to your local at the
next meeting?

Comrades.—We have watched with interest the discus-
sion which has been carried on during the last few months
in your official organ.

The discussion shows that there is a large proportion of
your membership who feel that the interests of the revolu-
tionary movement demand international unity of the mil-
itants of the working class.

While we realize that all important questions of policy
require careful consideration, we feel that ample time
has been taken in this case for every viewpoint to be ex-
pressed, and for every member to take a definite stand.

Comrades; the time for action is here. We appeal to
you to demand a Party Convention at once to settle this
vital question. Should this demand be not complied with,
we hereby instruct all militants to leave the S. P. of C.
and align themselves with the International of the World
Revolution, through the Communist Party of Canada.

Central Executive Committee,

(Signed) T. JOHNSON,

Secretary.

Concerning the same communication we have the
following (dated Oct. 24) from Local Equity:—

E. MacLeod, Editor,

"Western Clarion."

Dear Comrade:

Enclosed typewritten communication from the
Communist Party of Canada was addressed to un-
dersigned and the request to secretary therein con-
tained was duly complied with. When a reply to
them direct is not possible for want of knowing
their whereabouts, as no address is given, I was in-
structed by the Local to send our answer to them
to the "Clarion" and have it published, if our Com-
rade Editor should see fit.

We are aware that such an organisation as the
Communist Party of Canada existed in "name,"
but we, the members of Local "Equity" have not
yet met any of the personell of that Party, nor have
we received any of their literature. So we are some-
what inclined to believe them trading upon a name,
with but little stock-in-trade, if any at all. We
hesitate to say anything derogatory to you until we
know more of you, but you somewhat arouse our re-
sentment and distrust when you proceed to "in-
struct" us militants of the S. P. of C. to leave that
Party if we fail to obtain a Party Convention de-
manded by you to settle the question of affiliation
with the Third International. All this you demand
without explanation either as to the benefit to be de-
rived from such a consummation of your own qual-
ification for making such a sweeping demand. And
if you, after having "watched with interest the dis-
cussion in our official organ on this question of af-
filiation" have come to the conclusion that we "mili-
tants" can be stamped by your appeal into the
Third International you are afflicted with hysteria.
We are not moved by impassioned appeals but by
the logic whereupon it is conditioned, though of
course only as far as our knowledge permits us to
judge.

Will you wonder, friend, that we consider your
method of doing business similar to the notorious
Kau-KluxKlan? We are "militants," but not to the
extent of using coercive methods towards our Com-
rades.

Now, we would like to know who "we" are that
make this appeal to us. What is the date and place
of your birth? Your record in the proletarian move-
ment? Justification for your existence—personell
and strength. Principles and program and mode of
procedure of putting these principles into practise?

You have our ear, and we are open to conviction.
We will respect your confidence if entrusted to us.
But we are not an object for dictation nor victims
of bombastic pretension. Friend, you will have to
come out into daylight for inspection, for nearly all
danger to the proletariat is to be found reared in
hidden places, so we eschew it. If you are a giant
of the right quality you may depend on us. If you
are not—though you be a giant we shall disown
you.

Yours for Socialism,

Local Equity No. 87.

P. O. Seal, Alberta.

(Signed) H. H. Hanson,
Secy.

It appears that the Communists are worrying
much and plenty about our overwhelming calm, in

face of the fact that these same wise men of the east
have from time to time read our burial-service and
have consigned us and all our works to the oblivion
of the grave. With all the will in the world we give
the above document publicity, and we hereby regist-
er a "hunch" that there may be more reasons than
those alleged by its votaries for Psychology as an
increasingly popular study in Socialist ranks. The
Psychology of the East should constitute an allur-
ing chapter of itself. The Communists of the East
are looking for publicity and, unhappily (for them)
they are getting it. They have changed their minds
with changing winds, as witness "The Communist
Bulletin." "The Communist," and
now "The Workers' Guard." We shall see
more changes yet to come for if we mistake not
another tune has been called, and we have a notion
that this play-acting business behind the scenes of
everyday life is due for a realistic shock.

The heroics of self-imposed "illegality" is dis-
covered to be unsuccessful and unfruitful and to be
a wrongful interpretation of policy anyway, and
now that the interpretation as well as the policy
have come to hand the rudder of the Communist
ship goes over a point or two over to sanity. East-
ern Canada will come to its senses in time. Men
can't blind themselves to the realities and hard,
everyday facts of life forever, that is, provided they
come into contact with them.

As to us and the matter of the much discussed
question of affiliation with the Third International
and the referendum, we are not without appreciation
of the confidence and good sense expressed by these
Locals. It is worth noting in this connection that
Local Equity have already, in the course of discus-
sion of the question, declared themselves in the
Clarion columns as favoring affiliation. We have
this to say—that confidence will not be abused. And
we may say further, that efforts made to override
our judgment by the C. P. or its agents, real or al-
leged, in no way tend to drive us to hasty action.

As we go to press this issue we are somewhat
driven into a corner for time. Some matter on
"The Farmers' Policy—as laid down by Mr. Crerar"
by C. S., and a book review of "The Farmers in
Politics,"—the book by Wm. Irvine and the re-
view by Jack Harrington—are unfortunately crowd-
ed out. They will keep 'till next issue and our far-
mer readers may look for an issue wherein they and
their activities come in for special mention.

And O! Before we go—How about that sub-
you said (to yourself) you'd send? You know our
address.

TOWARDS THE NEXT WAR

The Tokio correspondent of London "Daily Ex-
press" on June 22, sent a sensational telegram en-
titled: "Rays of War on the Pacific Ocean."

He states that Japanese insurance companies have
been asked by their clients to accept insurance from
the risk of war between Japan and the U.S.A. dur-
ing the next twelve months. The correspondent adds
that the naval armament programmes of both coun-
tries is interpreted as a proof of preparation for war.

The correspondent states that an atmosphere of
war is already being felt in the East—"Common
Cause."

DOMINION ELECTIONS, 1921

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA CANDIDATES

B. C. CONTITUENCIES:

NANAIMO—W. A. Pritchard
VANCOUVER (3 Seats)—
Burrard: J. D. Harrington
Centre: T. O'Connor
South: J. Kavanagh

MANITOBA CONSTITUENCIES:

WINIPEG—
Centre: H. M. Bartholemew
North: R. B. Russell

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Ten-Minutes' Talks With New Students

DESTITUTION AND DISTRIBUTION

LAST month in discussing poverty we saw that so long as tools remained primitive, poverty was bound to be the common lot of man. We noticed, however, that although poverty was unavoidable in the early stages of man's history, just because his productive capacity was so low, such an explanation could not be true of today's poverty. It could not be true because of the wonderful machinery invented under the stimulus of capitalism.

Capitalism, through that wonderful machinery, has solved the problem of production, but it has left a great problem unsolved—the problem of distribution. It has shown us how to produce the goods, but not how to distribute them. And the fact that this problem is still unsolved is strikingly evident whenever we look around us today.

When we examine the activities of the capitalists, we find them actually destroying things that much labor has gone to produce and things of which great masses of the people are in dire need. You will have read of the fruit trust tumbling bananas into the sea to keep up prices; and of the rubber-growers cutting down production by 25 per cent. for the same reason. In Brazil, when the coffee harvest exceeds a certain amount, the surplus is by law automatically destroyed, despite the fact that there are millions who would be glad to get it. Obviously, there must be something far wrong with distribution when things like that occur regularly.

We are continually being told that millions of days of productive labor are lost every year through strikes. These strikes occur because the workers are not satisfied that they are getting their share of the goods produced—because they are not satisfied with the methods of distributing the goods. Here, again, we have evidence of the unsolved problem of distribution.

We have heard much recently about "ca' canny." We've been told that the workers do not work as hard as they could do. To whatever extent that is true, it is true because many of the present bad meth-

ods of distributing the products of their labor, working hard enriches not them, but the boss. In other words, the unsolved problem of distribution encourages ca' canny.

When we turn to the gigantic numbers of the unemployed, we find they are not unemployed because of lack of tools or raw material; because they can't produce things; or because the things they can produce are not required by the masses; but because these things cannot be distributed **at a profit!**

If production was the burning problem of the past, distribution is the burning problem of the present. It is this failure in distribution that is causing untold misery to the world's workers. Their situation reminds one of the equally desperate situation in which a chicken finds itself once in a lifetime. For the first three weeks of its life the chicken lives within the egg where it is very warm and comfortable, and where there is plenty of food. When the first three weeks of its life are up, it discovers that between it and the food outside is the hard wall of the egg-shell. Unless it breaks through, it starves to death. That is the position of the working class today. The problem of distribution is the wall that cuts them off from wealth, leisure and culture; and there is only one way out for them—and that is to **break down the wall.**

Production today is artificially strangled by the method of distribution. Goods are only distributed as long as a profit follows: "No profit, no distribution," say the capitalists. The result is idle machinery, destruction of goods, army corps of workless men. Profit fails as a regulator of distribution; a new regulator must be found, not individual profit, not the profit of a class, but **general need.**

The capitalist class will never attempt to bring about such a revolutionary change. That is the great task history has set the working class. It is a task that can only be solved by a working class that **understands** it. Hence, the need for the independent education of the working class.

J. P. M. MILLAR

"The Plebs."

DOMINION ELECTIONS

Registration Particulars for Vancouver, Burrard, Centre and South.

Registrars will sit from October 31 to November 5, from 9 a.m. till 9 p.m. with the exception of meal hours, and the returning officers appeal to the electors to make a point of seeing as soon as possible whether their names are on the list, and if not to have their names put on.

Persons who have moved from one polling division to another have the option either of going to the division in which they are registered in order to vote, or applying to the registrar in the division in which they are now resident to have their name put on the list for that division. If a name appears in two divisions the responsibility does not lie on the voter, but on the organization of the outside division, whose duty it will be to have the names erased in cases where the elector has registered elsewhere.

Three returning officers are C. Whittaker for Vancouver Centre, with central offices at 201 Rogers building; M. M. Marsden, for Burrard, with central offices at 334 Rogers Bldg., and Adam Barnes, for Vancouver South, with offices at 3938 Main Street.

The list of registrars polling divisions, and places of sitting of the registrars are as follows:

BURRARD

(Socialist Candidate: J. D. Harrington)

Burrard District takes in that part of Vancouver City south of False Creek, Hastings Park and from Burrard Inlet between Nanaimo street and the boundary of Burnaby as far south as Twenty-ninth avenue. It also takes in the whole of the North shore of Burrard Inlet, from Indian River to Britannia on Howe Sound.

Burrard polling divisions in Vancouver will be ninety in number, divided up among stations No. 1 to 40, Ward 6; No. 41 to 69, Ward 5; No. 70 to 78, Ward 8; No. 79 to 90, Ward 7.

Eight to 15, E. E. Long, 2296 Fourth avenue west.

Sixteen to 21, R. Leah, 2117 Yew street.
Twenty-two to 24, R. D. Davies, 1995 Fourth ave.
Twenty-five to 28, D. A. Imrie, 1503 Fourth ave.
Twenty-nine to 32, W. McDonald, 1427 Broadway West.

Thirty-three to 38, E. Johanson, 973 Broadway West.

Thirty-nine to 45, A. E. Lord, 553 Broadway West
Forty-six to 48, F. McRae, 105 Broadway East.
Forty-nine to 55, R. Forgie, south-west corner Kingsway and Broadway.

Fifty-six to 61, E. Pepler, 574 Broadway East.
Sixty-two, 63, 64, 77, and 178, A. M. Armstrong, 1121 Kingsway.

Sixty-five to 69, A. Butcher, 174 Broadway East.
Seventy-nine to 85, P. W. Pollack, northeast corner Hastings and Clinton street.

Eighty-six to 90, J. J. Robinson, 3000 twenty-second avenue east.
Seventy to 76, J. Watt, 3525 Fraser avenue, North Vancouver.

Ninety-three to 98, W. T. Cosgrove.
Ninety-nine to 106, R. W. Salter, Dundarave Bldg., Lonsdale Avenue, North Vancouver.

VANCOUVER CENTRE

(Socialist Candidate—T. O'Connor)

Ward One—Registrar, L. C. Ford; Polls 1 to 6, place of sitting, 625 Hornby street. Registrar W. A. Woodward, polls 7 to 15; place of sitting, 1033 Georgia street west. Registrar Jas. Bushell, polls 16 to 22; place of sitting, 1600 Georgia street west. Registrar J. F. Donnellan, polls 23 to 29; place of sitting, 814 Nicola street. Registrar A. H. Low, polls 30 to 35; place of sitting, 1750 Nelsons street.

Ward Two—Registrar C. R. Johnson, polls 1 to 6; place of sitting 533 Pender street west. Registrar A. P. McNair, polls 7 to 10; place of sitting, 768 Hamilton street. Registrar George Vernon, polls 11 to 15; place of sitting, Barron Hotel, 1006 Granville street.

Ward Three—Registrar Wm. R. Johnson, polls 1 to 5; place of sitting, 247 Hastings street east. Regis-

trar A. A. Jones, polls 6 to 10; place of sitting, 1897 Powell street.

Ward 4—J. F. Forbes (1-3), Woods Hotel, Hastings street east; Jos. Barlow (4-5), 526 Georgia street east; Chas. Mitchell (6-7), 800 Hastings street east; P. F. Scharschmidt (8-14), 1395 Keefer street; W. H. Brett (15-21), 2154 Williams street; A. L. Manuel (23-25), 1709 Cotton Drive.

VANCOUVER SOUTH

(Socialist Candidate—J. Kavanagh)

Area 1, comprising polling divisions 10, 11 and 12, registrar, J. E. T. Yewdall, corner of Granville and Seventieth avenue; area 2, polling divisions 1, 13 and 14, W. W. Crompton, 937 Seventeenth avenue west; area 3, polling divisions 2, 3, and 4, A. J. Paterson, 2131 Fifty-first avenue west; area 4, polling divisions 5, 6 and 15, J. A. Lindsay, corner twenty-ninth and Dunbar street; area 5, divisions 7, 8 and 9, Wm. Crane, 4055 Twelfth avenue west; area 6, polling divisions 16 to 26, inclusive. A. Williams, 4106 Main street; area 7, polling divisions 27 to 33, inclusive, R. Carruthers, 6486 Main street; area 8, polling divisions 34 to 43, inclusive, L. R. Taylor, 6434 Fraser avenue; area 9, polling divisions 44 to 51, inclusive, and 54, J. F. Lobb, 1617 Kingsway; area 10, polling divisions 52, 55, 61, 62 and 63, W. D. Grice, 5728 Victoria road; area 11, polling divisions 56 to 60, H. E. Adams, 386 Joyce road; area 12, polling divisions 53 to 64, J. B. Stoddard, 7129 Victoria road.

Here and Now.

A certain character, well (and once popularly) known in what we may call the annals of conjectural history is reputed to have said, "Cast your bread upon the waters and you may expect a bakery in return."—or an encouraging, cheerful and helpful word to some such effect.

Whether or not the allurements of paradise has a bearing on the case, now that the harvest days are over the fact has it that our "Here and Now" acknowledgments are due in the main (this issue) to the prairie provinces.

In making special mention of this fact we have no intention of copying the example set by those political windbags who would set town against country in antagonism these days. We mention it just in order to foster the anxiety for equality. That will, of course, bring the Clarion more subs. Anyway, we hope it will or we would not be so contentious about it.

Our sub totals this issue, while they may be nothing to brag about, are indicative of fair financial weather in the print-shop. Not that anybody will ever mistake our basement for a bank or any such-like institution, but we like our capacity for adding figures to be tested—not once, but often.

Behold the totals: Accord such-like totals a continuously conspicuous place in the procession of events. Start in next issue.

Following \$1 each: A. F. Harbaugh, H. Roberts, T. Sykes, Sam Much, J. Meldrum, J. Staples, A. Jordan, Jas. Dyce, P. Rafferty, A. Corlan, A. A. Strawbo, R. P. Miller, F. Isaacs, D. McTavish, N. C. Nelson, T. Hanwell, E. Waterson, J. Lavery, C. Butt, B. W. Sparks, W. Fleming, Abe Karne, J. J. Zender, J. A. Goodspeed, J. A. Beckman, C. C. Kennedy, J. Fisher, M. H. T. Alexander, W. Henderson, T. Shaw, Allan Clark, J. Marshall, R. Townsend, M. S. Grott, T. W. Dyer, R. C. Twist, E. Meek, P. Mytton, J. M. Brown, J. Skene, M. Carpendale, J. McDiarmid.

Following \$2 each: A. C. Pearson, P. L. Davidson, Sandy Fraser, J. Burton, S. J. B. Wood, Wm. Clarkson.

Following \$3 each: C. Crooks, Marshall Erwin, T. J. Davies, Roy Reid.

W. S. Matthews \$6; Sid Earp \$4.50; A. M. Bigelow \$5.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 14th to 27th October, inclusive, total \$81.50.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

C. McMahon Smith \$2; Gus Johnson \$2; A. Corlan \$1. Sandy Fraser \$8. Roy Reid \$7; Danee at Wimborne, Alberta, (per Donald MacPherson) \$15.

Above, C. M. F. contributions received from 14th to 27th October, inclusive, total \$35.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 22.

AFRICAN CONTINENT

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

IN examining the great development of Capitalist industry from about the '70's and '80's wherein Britain, France and Germany have carved out for themselves spheres of influence in Africa for the exploitation of African resources and native labor, to obtain raw material for their home industries, I will first give an outline of Africa previous to this carving-out process.

European trade on the West Coast and Arab trade on the East Coast is many centuries old. It was from the West Coast, too, the bulk of the slaves were taken, inter-tribal wars being encouraged by the slave traders, and the prisoners captured in the course of time were bought and carried overseas.

It is computed in American records that the British were responsible in the twenty years, 1680-1700 for importing 300,000 Africans into the West Indies and the mainland.

We noticed in an earlier lesson how the Spanish Imperialistic monopoly of the Americas broke down with the rising powers of France and Britain, when Britain secured the monopoly of the slave trade to supply the Spanish Colonies, shown in the Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

This monopoly was conferred by the British Government upon the South Sea Company.

The extension of the slave trade was regarded as a capital object of English commercial policy, and it became the main object of national policy to encourage kidnapping of tens of thousands of negroes and their consignment to slavery. Chatham boasted that his conquests in Africa had placed almost the whole slave trade in British hands. Even Pitt, after the war with France which broke French sea-power, went back upon the position he had previously assumed. The result was that in consequence of the British conquests and under the shelter of the British flag, the slave trade became more active and the English slave trade doubled under Pitt.

From 1666 to 1766 there were three million slaves imported by the British alone into British, French and Spanish-American colonies; one quarter of a million died on the voyage.

Between 1680-1786 slaves imported into British-American colonies numbered two million and one hundred and thirty thousand (2,130,000).

1716-1756 an average of 70,000 slaves per annum imported into the American colonies, or a total of 3,500,000.

1752-1762 Jamaica alone imported 71,115 slaves.

1776 to 1800 an average of 74,000 slaves per annum, or a total of 1,850,000 imported into all the American colonies.

The annual averages of the various countries were:

By the British	38,000
By the Portuguese	10,000
By the Dutch	4,000
By the French	20,000
By the Danes	2,000

The net return to Liverpool in the eleven (inclusive) years from 1783-1793 amounted to £12,294,116. Liverpool monopolized five eighths of the British slave trade and three-sevenths of the total slave trade of the world. There was the double profit of selling the articles of British manufacture, largely cotton goods, disposed of in Africa for the slaves' purchase and the profit from the sale of the slaves to America. Manchester merchants largely profited in these transactions. All opposition exhibited by the Colonists of the North was ignored.

Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1775 declared: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or to discourage in any degree a

traffic so beneficial to the nation." He was supported by the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the commercial world and ecclesiastism alike in the defence of the slave trade who all directly benefited financially therefrom.

The consensus of opinion is that the slave fared best under Portuguese, the Danes, the French, and the Spaniards, and worse under the Dutch and the British. The Dutch and British, having accepted the adoption of the religion of capitalism which is Protestantism, had not the same religious scruples about their slaves.

To the Portuguese belongs the credit of making the first attempt to explore the coasts of Africa early in the 15th century, and to trade with the natives in gold and spices. These efforts, prosecuted for some three centuries, resulted in the creation of numerous Portuguese settlements on the West and East Coasts. The British and others followed hard upon the heels of the Portuguese in the attraction of profits from gold and spices with the birth of the slave trade, contemporaneously with much zealous missionary work.

Through concern for India and to obtain a strategic point of importance, Britain was in political occupation of the Cape of Good Hope before the modern scramble for African territory began to protect the interests of her Indian Empire against the French. The desire to occupy Egypt was also influenced because of British interests in India.

The great scramble of European Powers in Africa started in the seventies because of the greatly extended development of capitalist industry. We had that ever recurring period of depression and unemployment, with falling prices. The factors which brought about a falling price was not only the stagnation of gold production, but also the improved means of transportation with the building of railways and oceanic liners opening up large tracts of land in Russia and America, causing a fall in the cost of production of foodstuffs and raw material. The same means of transportation brought into intimate proximity those lands over which, under the spur of gold production since 1851, the capitalistic industry had greatly extended its enormous forces of production in England, France, Germany and the Eastern portion of the United States of America. After the crisis of 1873 the wildest industrial competition broke out among them, which at times reduced prices below the cost of production, which ended in tariff wars to limit the competition of foreigners in the home market. Germany's tariffs of 1879; France 1891; and the U. S. A. McKinley tariff of 1890. The tariff, not being successful in staying off a world depression of prices, brought about a practical means of eliminating competition amongst themselves by the creation of Joint Stock Companies, Syndicates, etc. The machinery in production improved so much in 20 years' time that the trade of Europe reached millions of people more than previously.

Between 1885-1895 the emigration from Britain, Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy was alarming their home governments; anxious to keep this moving population under their own flag they became envious of the colonial expansion of their neighbors.

Therefore, to obtain a means of outlet for their people and manufacturers the eyes of European governments were turned to the Dark Continent. All their possession before 1870 were for the most part confined to seaport towns and adjacent territory, which were used as ports of call and trading centres, or coaling stations. British statesmen, alarmed at the progress of the French on the West Coast, took various measures to counteract it and to strike in while there was yet time. A charter was granted or conferred upon a body of merchants who, under the name of the Royal Niger Company made treaties with hundreds of potentates along the banks of

the Niger, and with other powerful tribes in Northern Nigeria.

The Imperial British East India Company was founded with the result that very large regions in the interior, right up to the great lakes, came under British suzerainty. In the South, the first serious conflict between the Boers and Britain ended, but the the discovery of diamonds and subsequently gold, and the advent of Cecil Rhodes, were destined to change the whole face of affairs.

A third great power, Germany, whose explorers had figured conspicuously in the geographical opening up of Africa, brought about a Colonial Party in Germany. This was opposed by Bismarck until the election of 1884, when Bismarck went over to the Colonial Party in order to be returned to the Reichstag. All this struggle over the dividing of Africa filled the diplomatic world of Europe with bitter quarrels, which were fought by the natives, urged on by the competing religious sects. Uganda ran red with native blood owing to the quarrels between the French Party, composed of French Catholic Fathers, and the British Party composed of Protestant missionaries. King Leopold II. of Belgium, who was attracted by Stanley's discovery of the course of the Congo, summoned the explorer to Brussels and despatched him on behalf of the Christianization Association the king had founded, to make treaties all along the banks of the Congo and its tributaries, expressing profound abhorrence at the exploits of half caste Arab slave traders, whose atrocities had been revealed by several explorers. He appealed to the philanthropists of Europe to applaud his initiative, which he declared to be the moral and material regeneration of sad-browed Africa. When Stanley returned with the treaties in his pocket, the king invited the world to recognize the Association as a free and independent African State.

Britain's chief object at this time was to keep France out of the Congo basin, owing to the differential tariffs by which France opposed British trade everywhere. Lord Granville did not trust Leopold II., and supported the Portuguese Government, which raised counter claims, based upon ancient historical achievements of her explorers. Portugal had claimed it for centuries, and because of French ambitions Portugal was supported by Britain. Although European powers had not contested Portuguese sovereignty, none recognized the claim, but agreed not to occupy this territory. Great Britain refused to recognize Portugal's claim, although the Lisbon Government initiated negotiation for such recognition every few years from 1846, but when France gave one of her explorers power to make treaties with the natives to advocate the French interest in this quarter, Portugal was then successful in obtaining Britain's recognition of her sovereignty.

An Anglo-Portuguese Convention, 1884, established a sort of joint control over the river. The French opposed vigorously with a outcry of opposition from Germany, Bismarck was now in the hands of the German Colonials. The German merchants were afraid the Anglo-Portuguese Convention would hurt their trade. The Woermann Line had a monthly service, and from 1883 to 1884 had sold 1,029,904 pounds of gunpowder, 2,254 tons of liquor, 555 tons of weapons. The traffic in intoxicants alone had increased from 76 tons in January, 1883, to 502 tons in March, 1884. there were also German sailing vessels trading in this region.

France also opposed the Anglo-Portuguese Convention because she knew the treaty was directed against her. When the French and German Governments approached each other to oppose Britain, Britain announced she had abandoned the treaty. Later on a conference was called at which Britain, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Spain, the U. S. A.

(Continued on page 8)

EDITOR'S NOTE
part of an introduction
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The Psychology of Marxian Socialism

By H. RAHIM

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article forms the main part of an introductory chapter to Book I. of a series of eight books now in course of preparation on this subject. Book I. is now ready—61 pp., with a Preface by W. A. Pritchard—single copies, price 50 cents, in lots of 20, 35 cents a copy post paid.

The relatively high cost is explained by Comrade Rahim as due to the fact that financial straits have permitted the printing of only a few hundred copies. An encouraging reception to Book I. will enable him to proceed at once with Book II. The subject is important and on it a considerable amount of discussion and controversy prevails in Socialist periodicals nowadays. Treated from a Materialist standpoint and shorn of a certain mysteriousness and mysticism that generally surrounds it, Psychology, from the standpoint of a Socialist investigator should prove a welcome and interesting addition to our studies.

The Marxian School of Socialism considers as valid certain laws and principles governing social phenomena and explanatory thereof.

The object of this work is to substantiate those laws and principles in such a manner that, in the data of social phenomena, the physical side of the life activities of human society as well as its psychological correlates and aspects, shall be treated as complementary to each other as they are naturally found to exist, and thus make the Marxian view of the social problem more fully comprehensive.

If one looks at the vast amount of literature on Marxian Socialism, such as the earlier and classical works of Marx, Engels, Lafargue, Labriola, and the later ones by Dietzgen, Kautsky, Bax, etc., one is liable to find the Socialist Philosophy as well as the problems of the Socialist Movement efficiently discussed.

A few capitalist apologists engaged in teaching Sociology and Psychology in the public schools and universities have written some works on Social Psychology, but such a bias intrudes into these works, due to the writers' interests in capitalist and ecclesiastical domination of social institutions that, for the working class, they are neither to their purpose nor in the promotion of their interests.

The principles dealing with the psychological aspects of Socialism have not been presented heretofore to the workers and general reading public in such a manner as would illuminate the social problem on its mental side and be of practical utility in furthering those social adjustments urged from the working class point of view.

In the time of Marx and Engels, Psychology was treated as a branch of philosophy and had no *locus standi* of its own.

Take for instance, Engels' classic polemic against Duerhing, already referred to. He therein reviews the Greek philosophers, Anaxgoras and Democritus; the British philosophers, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke and Hume; and the philosophies of the Germans, Kant, Hegel and Duerhing, as these were recognized as advanced philosophers at that time.

Psychology is not referred to in those works as of any importance, as it then stood as a branch of philosophy dealing with the subjectivity of mind by introspection, or objectively concerned with phrenology's bumps.

The Science of Psychology is regarded today as a study which subjects the states of human consciousness called mind and all their correlate human-life activities called behavior, to qualitative and quantitative analysis, experimentation, research and generalization, just as any other science proceeds to deal with material phenomena.

A considerable amount of experimentation on different forms of organic life from the simple unicellular amoeba to the more complex forms, such as we see in insects, ants, bees, cats, dogs, monkeys, etc., has been made in order to find out the simplest types of the psychological traits correlated to their behavior, or responses.

Still more interesting observations and experiments have been made on the infants of the human species for the purpose of discovering what continuity can be de-

terminately established between animal and human life through the similarity or difference of psychological elements in these forms of life.

By the time an infant becomes an adult it is found that so much of its experience is forgotten or eliminated by selection and otherwise so segregated into a background of mental content that the adult will not, or cannot, recognize or ordinarily recall into consciousness parts of his own mind, owing to its conflicts with what is an established consciousness standard and system. (See Book VII. abnormal Psychology.)

An adult often does not know parts of his own mind and, therefore, himself, owing to the peculiar constitutional method of the mind mentioned in last paragraph. A study of child psychology is, therefore, of no less, if not of greater, importance than a study, of adult psychology.

A branch of Psychology called Abnormal Psychology studies all phenomena of unconscious or subconscious, segregation and displacement of mind parts, subnormal and feeble-minded, and the so-called geniuses, to supply the data of psychology.

The cumulative data of psychology gathered from the study of animal life, child life, abnormal individuals (which, however, constitute an insignificant number in society), and the normal adult person as a social being, and of the groups and races, is now fairly sufficient and so organized as can be applied with benefit to the problems of Sociology.

The psychology of mind or consciousness as correlated to the life of human society is no more an undetermined, vague speculation, but a fairly determined, practical science, and of practical utility to life, as great as the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, mechanics, physics and the useful arts.

The Marxian school has reduced social science to a few fundamental laws and principles, thus simplifying the whole social problem, the controversial element being reduced to a negligible minimum. There are yet extant a variety of "socialisms" like "Christian Socialism," "Democratic Socialism," "Laborism," and other utopian types, products of social interests.

The thinkers of the working class today however, are in agreement as to the fundamentals, such as **The Law of Surplus Value, The Theory of Value, The Economic or Materialist Interpretation of History,** and the principle of social evolution through class struggles, wherein, eventually, the working class, by abolishing classes through their numerical strength and intelligence, would usher in a new social order: The Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Socialist Movement lays emphasis upon the necessity of developing class-consciousness amongst the world's workers and an intelligence in the social problem as conditions on their mental side, along with certain failing economic conditions which the contradictions of the capitalist system of production and distribution are fast generating, in order that a desirable social reconstruction can be accomplished.

We have now the psychological data on human behavior and consciousness, together with the methods and processes of intelligence in the human species, which comprises a very large percentage of producers (working men and women) and a very small propertyed, unsocial, owning and exploiting group.

The physical conditions, the economic situations, and the changes in the means, instruments and methods of production directly affect the *status quo* of the well being and standard of living of the members of society.

At the time of writing society is in the midst of a great economic crisis involving the non-employment of millions of workers, and a keen struggle is to the fore with the working classes to maintain their standards of living which are in jeopardy through falling wages, increase of the workingday, and by the "open-shop" tactics of the employing classes, evidencing a given change in the behavior of members of the social organism.

It is the purpose of this work to investigate the relationships of social conditions and the behavior of the

members of society, and reduce these relationships to general principles and laws.

The mode of reasoning and enquiry followed in this work is what is called **Dialectics** in contrast with the modes or reasoning found in metaphysics and formal logic. The **Dialectic** is now recognized as the most accurate mode of investigating social and material history, principles of which are the following:—

(1) **Dialectics** take into account the positive fact that there is an unceasing change in everything: nothing is, everything is becoming.

(2) When two necessary conditions of an object appear to be contradictory to each other, and if a synthetic view by taking them together reconciles the contradictions, the problem may be taken as solved. Thus a Thesis and an Antithesis may become a unity by a Synthesis of the two views. As an illustration we may take the story of the two knights who fought over a shield made of gold on the one side and of silver on the other side, one holding it was made of gold and the other asserting that it was made of silver, each knight looking only at one side of the shield.

(3) **Dialectics** does not say yea yea, nay nay; it collects all data and then proceeds to treat it genetically, through all its relationships, into a whole view. Engels has devoted a whole chapter to **Dialectics** in his book "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" (pp 76-reasoning in contrast with the defects of the metaphysical mode in a sentence (page 80) which I quote here: "the metaphysical mode of thought . . . becomes one sided, restricted, abstract—lost in abstract contradictions. In the contemplation of the individual things, it forgets the connections between them. In contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and the end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees."

A drop of water is at one time hydrogen and oxygen gases, at another time it is a fluid, still another time it is solid (ice) and it may exist as vapour. To understand it it must be viewed in all its relationships, and it is exactly the same with the problem of society. 16

Marx and Engels collected the data of history from the time of the primitive communes to the date of their career, that is the state of capitalist development then extant. By applying the Dialectics to this data they were able to formulate the laws of human society as we find them in their written works and which the best of the economists and the socialists of today take into consideration when the problem of society is discussed.

When the laws of the social conditions and human behavior are explained in Psychological terms under the guidance of the dialectical mode of analysis, the mental side of the social problem will have been described in as simple terms as the Marxian theories of the Law of Value, the Materialistic Interpretation of History and the Class struggle which are derived from the study of the life history of the social organism.

It is intended to distribute the subject matter of this work into 8 books, so written that each can be studied separately. It will be left to the discretion of the student to read the books on the basis of the particular phase of the psychological aspect of Socialism he feels inclined to follow independently of the order here laid down.

Book I. Introduction to the Psychology of Marxian Socialism. The principles of nerve energy and the human nervous system.

The efficiency of the brain process is supposed to be. Neurons in this part are correlated to the states of consciousness, and therefore to the adaptive behavior of the organism. We repeat that the relationship of the nervous system with consciousness, behavior and general psychological phenomena is so intimate that one does not exist without the other as far as human knowledge is concerned. But this branch of study is very extensive and one must refer to the works specializing with the subject if one wants to study it in detail. All that was necessary here was to give a cursory but essential account of the principles of nerve energy and the nervous system.

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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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MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

(Continued from Page 6)

were invited, and later Russia, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Turkey and Germany. They agreed on a "General Act of the Western African Conference." We were told the powers were to deal with humanitarian interests, and yet the General Act itself had only two out of 38 articles dealing with humanitarianism. In order to prevent conflicts between European powers it was agreed that all marking of new territories must be preceded by due notification to all the Powers. The Powers wish to prohibit the sale of booze and firearms, but this trade was too good a paying speculation for them to create machinery to deal with their prohibition. German booze traders prevented it in 1885 and an act of 1890 was not put into force until 1902, owing to the opposition of the traders of Holland, whose government feared the new regulations would seriously affect their trade in the Upper Congo.

In 1894 the Congo State and Britain signed a boundary convention exchanged for leaseholds. Britain receiving recognition in one part of the Sudan at the south-west corner of Lake Tanganyika and a narrow strip connecting Uganda with Lake Tanganyika. Germany aroused such lively protests that Britain was forced to give up the small piece of land which would have completed the Cape to Cairo route.

The Congo State was compelled by France to limit her territory on the north-east of the Congo. King Leopold II. let out districts to companies, but was careful to retain a large share of the capital stock. Trade increased from \$9,000,000 in 1897 to \$37,000,000 in 1907, while large fortunes were made by the king and other shareholders. It is estimated that King Leopold took \$20,000,000 (twenty millions) dollars out of the Congo.

The Congo Free State resulted from the Berlin Conference of 1885, which recognized the International African Association founded by King Leopold II. of Belgium, which is known since 1908 as the Belgian Congo. Native rights in nine-tenths of the Congo territory were declared non-existent; this took away the right of the natives from the plants and trees which yielded rubber, oil, resin, dyes, etc.; they had no right to any animal, vegetable or mineral, and any European endeavoring to purchase from the natives such produce were guilty of robbery. The natives were taxed for revenue and as they were alienated from the means of life were forced into slavery by the most brutal atrocities that have been recorded in history. The fabulous dividends in rubber, with nominal shares of 100 dollars at one time freely dealt in at 5,000 dollars and upwards, was too profitable a proposition to attend to humanitarian protests against the horrible mutilation of the natives.

The Congo system lasted 20 years, and in Stanley's time the population was dense, estimated at twenty to thirty millions. In 1911 an official census showed that only eight and one-half million people were left, the decrease being a result of the horrible butchery of the natives. Stanley was more impressed with the discovery of great stores of ivory, gums and oil than his finding of the lost missionary, Livingstone. In an interview with De Fontaine, at the time financial editor of the New York "Herald," Stanley dreams of the lovely mansion house with its lakes, etc., he was going to build when he had tapped the wealth and resources of Central Africa wherein to rest for the remainder of his days.

The natives of the Congo, paid for services in kind, had to trade the payments back again to the

Company's stores, so they received nothing for their lost land or their labor but a pitiable existence. The natives rebelled against work; forced labor was introduced 1893-1895 and the ill treatment of the natives was increased until European powers were forced to interfere, when the condition became publicly known. Belgium was forced to take control of the Congo and no longer leave it in the hands of the King and his company.

The Brussels correspondent of the London "Times," 22 August 1908, said: "Belgium leaders are anxious to share in the movement of colonization and commerce for it is essential to the economic progress of the Belgium nation."

(African Continent Continued in Next Issue.)

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