

STUPIDUS AND SAPIENS

(Continued from page 1)

"Yet, as long ages rolled he learned
From beaver, ape and ant to build
Shelter for sire and dam and brood,
From blast and blaze that hurt and killed."

Age by age, we can trace the march of our fathers towards us, ever, as they come, proving painfully and slowly by the accumulated experience of past generations; growing in knowledge, growing greater in brain, and less brutish in body. Ever impelled by the stern necessity of obtaining a better hold upon the means of life. Improving their dwellings, their boats, their clothing, their tools and weapons. Discarding the rough stone weapon for the polished, that for the flint, thence to copper, to bronze, to iron.

Free, wandering, warring, hunting, lawless, propertyless, "ignorant" savages. Living thus for nigh three hundred thousand years before the first dawn of barbarism even. Then, finding a new source of food supply in the cultivation of the soil, swinging open the gates of Eden and passing out on the way that led to labor and to slavery, to progress and to civilization.

That ancient forbear of ours, the child of the man-ape, the scientists call "homo stupidus"—stupid man. Us they call "homo sapiens"—wise man. Oh, fond conceit! Wise man! We, who revere the antiquity of a civilization barely ten thousand years old, and that with lapses. Who invest with a

halo of heaven-born sanctity a mushroom system of property of little better than a century's growth. Who bow before the altars of "eternal" deities discovered but yesterday. Who crystallize our miserable modern characteristics as "human nature"—as it was in the beginning and always shall be. Who elevate to the ludicrous dignity of divine law an upstart moral code co-eval with shop-keeping. Who conceitedly plume ourselves upon the possession of a higher ethical sense than our rude forbears, and daily and habitually stoop to practices which the most untutored savage would abhor. Who lie, and cheat, and thieve, and prey upon one another. Who rob, ravish and oppress the weak and cringe before the strong; who pander to lust and prostitute for a pittance; who traffic, traffic, traffic in all things—in manly "honor," in womanly "virtue," in childish defencelessness, in the flesh and blood of kith and kin, in the holiest of holies or in the abomination of abominations; and who crown our achievements by pouring over the festering heap of our iniquities the leprous, foetid slime of hypocrisy.

Wise man! Wonderful creature! Lord of creation! Hub of the universe! For whose uses all things, the quick and the dead, were especially created; the stars and the planets, the sun by day and the moon by night to light him; the earth, the seasons, the winds, the rain, the waters, the lightning, the metals, the mountains, the plains, the valleys, the forests, the fruits, the beasts, the fishes, the birds, the bees, the fleas and the flies and the corned beef and cabbage.

A Glance Back---And a Forecast

By C. STEPHENSON

AS A CONTRIBUTOR to the columns of the Clarion, I have been asked to moralize in this its final issue. The Clarion passes, but the cause abides. So our last note shall ring of defiance to reaction. There are elements who hate education designed to develop a knowledgeable and thinking labor movement. They hated the Clarion. "The common rabble, they sneer privately, have no capacity to know, they can only feel; therefore, educate only to feed the flames of impulse and prejudice. The few elect are the saviours of society." So runs, in effect, the reactionary concert. Spread abroad, its fruits are havoc. It slows up thinking, dries up the springs of intellectual power, leaves labor a creature of moods, unstable, futile. The point of view of reaction, rationalized as progress, was frankly put recently by a Vancouver labor journal. Announcing its first issue as opening a new epoch in labor journalism, it told us that, "the antiquated stereotyped brand of labor journalism which served our movement well enough in its infancy" (meaning, of course, studies of social theory and technical treatment of social problems) this, it continues, "has grown obsolete and today is more of a fetter than a champion of those who toil" Issues of that journal so far, show the "new journalism" proposes to educate us with scraps of news and tidbits of comment. What brass, though, to say "it marks a new epoch in labor journalism!" Find a labor movement counting for something in its community and it will be found its press lays itself out to furnish discussions on theory and other technical matters. How otherwise can our minds be really informed and latent intellectual powers developed for the service of the movement? There is no stint of journals of the master class point of view, and the universities still function. However, some day the tide will turn and a group, having a proper sense of values on education, will launch a scientific and technical journal for socialism and labor. Speed the day.

Socialism, reform and revolutionary, once an active movement, has suffered a decline on the whole North American continent. I have been told the S. P. of C. once contested twenty-three seats in a B. C. election. In my own time, since 1911 or '12, the

party had branches in almost every city from coast to coast, and in smaller places in mining and agricultural districts. The Social Democratic Party with "Cotton's Weekly" as its organ, was also active. Organizers were constantly on the road. Propaganda meetings in halls and at street corners were regular features. An enormous mass of literature circulated. The "Appeal to Reason" had a greater circulation in Canada than the combined labor press today. Yet that glory has dimmed everywhere, and practically departed from the Canadian scene.

Experience teaches, it is said, if mind gets to work upon experience. The following explanation for the decline is given for what it is worth. Many factors operated. These are often cited, the war, revival of nationalism, breakdown of socialist prognostications, Russian revolution, press propaganda, shattered socialist preconceptions, split in the movement, industrial depression and working class defeats, fools and traitors, etc. Yet, I think, those factors merely hastened on what was, even if they had been absent, inevitable. That they operated in other countries without similar results points that way. The primary cause of the decline, a set of conditions, is as follows: The fact is, the North American scene, including Canada, is one hostile to socialism, as yet. It is the scene of a young, vigorous and developing capitalism. The psychology and ideals of the people are highly individualistic. Whereas, socialism, with its implications of group psychology and ideals, is a product of European historical conditions, stratified group life, class struggles and consciousness of class. It came to America from Europe with emigrant urban peoples, affected with socialist ideas, streaming in since 1848. But the descendants of emigrant socialists have shown little disposition to hold the faith. It has been maintained and nurtured mainly by the succession of newcomers and those who were resistant to the American environment. This is in general, of course. Americans of old stock have taken up with socialism, but are singular in the mass. When the stream of emigrants reached flood-tide, then socialism waxed in prosperity. But there are limits to the rate a country can absorb new population. In time a point of absolute saturation may be reached, to

go beyond which promotes vicious problems as, for example, unemployment on such a scale as to menace the standard of living. The government curtails or stops expenditures for emigration, qualifications for entry are raised, the war comes and the stream falls to a trickle for some years. The war over, quota rulings are enforced. All this time the population grows by natural increase. Thus the restricted European emigration is less and less able to contaminate the mass of American born and new elements who are taking on, by force of habituation, the individualistic and competitive habits of life and thought of the American environment. And so, socialism declines—the habitudes of the environment prevail against it. Our other factors but hastened the process of decline.

The following ventures a forecast in regard to the future of socialism on the North American continent. In the light of modern science, the place and function of habit and habit forming environments in social change, is sketched in. For an adequate discussion of the psychology of habits, read Dewey's "Human Nature and Conduct," as an introduction to social psychology.

"Social progress, is at bottom, a matter of the evolution of habits accompanied by technical changes." (American Journal of Sociology). A hundred years ago it was taught that man was a purely rational animal. And even today social theorizing unwittingly works with that assumption of an exaggerated role of rationality in controlling conduct. Yet all conduct is a matter of habit, and we often act contrary to the dictates of reason. Theorizing with that old psychology, the idealists of the French revolution believed they were inaugurating the reigns of reason, justice and universal brotherhood. That was magic. A sounder science today says that men are bundles of propensities, impulses and habits, as well as reasoning beings, conduct guided more by the former than intellect. The wave of the French revolution rose high, impulse overflowed the channels of habit momentarily, but it settled down at last nearer where habits had evolved with the tools and techniques of livelihood. In a study of Russia, a writer, a supporter of the Soviet, says that perhaps the most hopeful thing in that country today is the Russian Co-operative Movement. Aside from its value economically, it is a technical advance, within its area of influence developing group activities and thinking in terms of the interest and welfare of the groups. It is a habit breaking, habit forming factor in the environment of peasant and urban peoples. "We have to go back," said Lenin at the height of the Communist programme of nationalization. Routine minds protested, but Lenin sensed the peasant man's psychology. Men do not change their habits under the spur of words and doctrines or decrees; in the mass, they learn by habituation rather than by reflection. Political revolution may sweep custom and institution away, but the habits of mind shaped to their pattern persist until new environmental conditions of life have operated to break them down and form others. To a large extent, what we do makes us what we are.

The core of socialism is the age-long, never-dying desire for a co-operative social life. It finds its objective support in the modern world from an environment in which the machine process demands a social life. Socialism will advance again. The coming socialism will learn much from Russia and from twentieth century science that the socialism of the nineteenth did not know. It will rise this time native to the soil of America and its developing conditions, technical, economic, political and psychological. It will evolve a strategy of change promoting education and political struggle for environmental changes. It will estimate reforms not only by their economic values, but also ask: Will this reform reduce the area of competition, or make for group co-operation where individual activity prevails and build up habit and disposition for the social life the machinery process demands?

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The Curtain Call

By W. A. P.

IT would seem that the working class movement progresses, as it were, in a series of waves: flood tides and backwashes; periods of intense activity followed by periods of reaction and pessimism.

At anyrate this is what happened during and following the revolutionary year of '48 in Europe; during and following the Paris Commune of '71; and, coming down to strictly modern days, during and following the post-armistice period of 1918-20. Reservations might be made respecting the last-named, not the least of which would take account of Russia from 1917 forward.

This apart, however, considered as a generalization, the proposition holds good. Furthermore, in the writer's opinion, it also can be considered acceptable that just so soon as the period of reaction sets in the gods of master class society, being extremely jealous gods, call for vengeance, bloody and dire.

Thus Europe's mad '48, the blood-bath of the Commune and the still current staggering reaction of the "after-the-war" reconstruction era from Horthy and Mussolini to the Palmer raids and the Nova Scotia of Besco.

These few rambling and probably not altogether precisely scientific thoughts are prompted by a request from ye editor that I write (a business I confess myself rusty at) a short screed for the valedictory issue of what we have come to regard somewhat in the light of an institution that should be with us always. Despite the repressions of the hysterical war period and the many vicissitudes of prior times the "Clarion" always managed to weather the storm, and although justifiable criticism at this late hour on errors of omission and commission might exist, nevertheless it functioned to the working class movement (of this continent particularly) like a beacon light to the storm-buffed mariner.

And now it pronounces its *adieu* at a time when reaction stalks rampant, and the whips of capitalism's offended gods are cracking from the Balkans to the China coast. At a time, indeed, when conservatism makes a grand rally against pervasive influence of new ideas and the new marshalling of facts in the hands of science.

Have we not had the ludicrous spectacle of a sov-

ereign state in the greatest republic of the world conducting a persecution against a young school teacher who sought to tell the story of "The Triumph of Life" to the natural confounding of the other story of a talking serpent, standing on the tip of his tail and cajoling the first woman with a morsel of spicy fruit? Or of still another state of the same republic instituting an almost similar prosecution against the use of an elementary chemistry text book, because, forsooth, therein the processes of distillation (without a knowledge of which pure water is impossible!) and fermentation are described? Or even of the great republic itself screeching its lamentable intolerance from the fanatical proponents of the Volstead Act to the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion?

It is in this reeking atmosphere that the "Clarion" takes its curtain call. As to its usefulness in times past no student of the proletarian movement, however he may have disagreed upon occasion, will have any doubts. One also is of the opinion that if ever it were needed it is now. What is to take its place? And what shall be the successor of the group which produced and maintained it? At the moment the answer is difficult and speculation more or less holds sway.

Certain it is that in any previous period of reaction and pessimism the working class movement has proceeded slowly but surely to repair its battered defenses and restore its demolished institutions. Not always in accordance with the edicts of its high priests or the visions of its seers; but according to time, place and condition it has hammered out new weapons, has beaten new trails through the forests of ignorance and has moved—because it had to—nearer and yet nearer to the day when man's economic agencies shall be his servant and not his master.

Master class jubilation has even risen with all reactions, a jubilation coupled with jeers for an enemy considered eternally vanquished, a jubilation always perversely shortlived.

Whatever it may be that shall rise to succeed the "Clarion"—a working class theoretical finger-post for some twenty years—the work performed by it shall surely not be forgotten, for its harvest ripens even now on every hand.

The Final Formation

EVER since the Russian revolution failed to materialize its supposed promise of a speedy triumph for the working class, attention has been steadily turning away from the single aim and steadfast principles of socialism to the dubious means of reform and the specious ways of compromise. Communism and its "International" yielded to the pressure of world events. Across war stricken Europe their romantic uprisings were suppressed, red and ruthless, by the patriot bands of Empire. Their very immaturity clearing the rough ways of hoary tradition for the new shibboleths of the same ruling class. Everywhere rings the clash of war, striving for autocratic Imperialism. Everywhere the march of armed men, widening the frontiers of Empire. Everywhere the call of the nations, bending the world to their "law." Everywhere labor, under its chosen "leaders," roused and beguiled by the metaphoric illusions that gild the yoke of its slavery. And everywhere the false prophets, preaching the expediency of time that is already the exigency of Capital, preaching the United Front amidst unexampled diversities of antagonism; preaching the panaceas of necessity despite the lessons of their inevitable futility, and shouting from the house-tops the inefficiency and failure of Marxian Socialism amidst the daily witness of its truth. Truly, "Lo here, an' lo there" have found their teeming worshippers.

Nevertheless, Marxian analysis of society stands unshaken. And because it is unshaken, hated and feared by sect and party. Clearly, the means of life

are in the possession of the few, for the advantage of the few. And the few, by the very necessities of possession can and will maintain and control that possession against every fashion of reform. Always reform is the interest of property. Never the interest of slaves. Obviously, the great laboring mass of society is poverty stricken and confined, because class possession of the means of life must always work for private gain. By no possibility can social advantage be derived from capitalist property. For as the wealth of capital is the possession of labor, only at the instancy of social understanding will capital surrender its privilege of exploitation. Only dreamers expect miracles; only the romantic believe them. Daily we see the progressive concentration of capital. Daily we feel its increased centralization. Everywhere is the pinch of a moneyless market. Everywhere calculated production curbs human endeavor; everywhere restricted capacity militates against social welfare. Everywhere the increase of gaunt unemployment and steady fall of the social standards of life and living. Wherever we turn the philosophy of Marx is vindicated in the facts of world events. Vindicated with a triumph, whose completeness is manifest in the deep silence of those who would benefit by its demonstrated falsity.

Thus, although capital drags out its term in gathering misery and deprivation, in a hectic weariness of monotony whose solace is the "thrill" of vice, although interest in socialism wanes and the

commodities of time-service make substitute for its principle, still "we mourn not as those who have no hope." For we know that beneath the appearance of things the march of social progress matures the process of emancipating labor from the throes of capital. The economic restrictions of production find reflex in the intolerable conditions of social life. The new ideation of new cycles of development weaves its new pattern of reality, ever more accurate, from the garnered increment of social experience. The old fable, the old tradition, the old conditions are not disproved. They simply vanish before gathered facts, like the mists of morning. The very immensity of the social complex — its insupportable wars; its deadening finance, its crushing monopolies curb man with privation. But they also rouse society to understanding. The ripening progress of material conditions—the "Jove that nods to Jove behind our backs"—by the continued dispossession of property must awaken society to the futility of property. Inexorably, access to the blind caves of revisionism closes, forcing the social complex of interests to the single issue of society. Even now the multifarious programmes of the political have narrowed down to forestalling immediacy—the conservative against the menace of Bolshevism; Liberalism against an Imperialism that imposes its chains, even on the "freedom of contract," and labor, for existence itself. Thus are the lines of the class war drawn, clear and imperative.

At the moment we can point to no definite sign of triumph. For the present circumstances are against us. But only for the present. The class struggle is the final formation of "interest," and it can neither flag nor stay until the society of class has been swept away. Socialism is not a shuttlecock of time and expediency, but the fundamental issue of man and his life. Today we yield to necessity; but the necessity of the social movement continues. Tomorrow the struggle will still be on. And other hands and hopes, keen, vigorous and indomitable to cope with the broad issues of society, will spring from a living magna of human endeavor, and carry the banner of the social commune before the rising ranks of dawning understanding.

That understanding is born of the narrowing down of the problems of existence, and its accompanying concomitant, the knowledge of the stubborn fact. It is not the fruit of verbal education—alone. Nor the result of misery and its expediences. Amidst all the dread portents of change and decay, amidst the confusions of temporisation and party interests, amidst the chaos of current history and the time service of the "lion's providers" (the labor party), the futility of bypaths to socialism and the necessity of proletarian class consciousness stands out like a rock in the midst of the waters, above the rolling wastes of "practical politics." The lesson is clear. To appreciate socialism we must know. To have we must desire. To maintain we must be class conscious. No appeal to unity; no abbreviation of reality; no sentiment of fraternity; no anarchy of the strong arm; no subterranean communism of "preparedness" can even substitute knowledge and understanding. Clear cut and grim, the antics of those antiquities confirm the invincibility of socialist aim and principle. And strengthen us for the struggle anew. On that understanding alone can there be unity and fraternity. For, beyond all contention, we are as we know, and we act as we see.

The cumulative effect of the progressive conditioning of social existence will mature and clarify that issue, and make the message of the "fanatic" vanguard ring like edged steel on the ears of the listening crowd. By the necessities of social existence, that progress cannot be slow, cannot stagnate or be reactionary. Out of that progress advances the appreciation of the social commonwealth. In its dim and seething depths is nurtured the "fiery cross" that will rouse society to social perception. And its stern vicissitudes and inescapable ironies will inspire its bowed but unbroken humanity of slaves with the glorious import of that neglected vision of a neglected genius — "Workers of the world: Unite! Ye have nothing to lose but your chains: A world to gain." R.

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EXIT.

FOR SOME time it has been apparent that the end has been in sight and now it is here. With this issue we write Amen. If there is a surprising feature in it at all it lies not in the fact of our exit at this time but in that we have survived until now after twenty-odd years of opinionatedness vehemently expressed and modified, when at all, very reluctantly under pressure from time and events.

In the early years of the party's history we laid down our attitude in very positive terms to a somewhat obedient if rather uncritical audience, our geographical position and the state of development of the country we found ourselves in helping us along encouragingly. The outside world laid its claims lightly upon us as far as concerned the sores of its everyday life and we were able to develop propaganda of a general nature and application, cultivating, meanwhile, as suited our circumstances, a flirting acquaintance with theory in the field of sociology through the well known works of, mainly, Marx and Engels and others whose work had found incitement from them.

Whereas in other countries socialist propaganda endeavor in our time was identified mainly as a sort of aggressive politics ours, as befitted the circumstances, frankly assumed the educational role discovering the importance of economics, the all-important lesson of which to the working class lay in uncovering the process of exploitation at the point of production—all other working-class ills being dependent upon that while they lasted. In passing it will do no harm to emphasize the pressing need for a little more application of that doctrine here and elsewhere. The world has turned its attention to practical problems and the working-class has gone with it. The current carrying human affairs needs a little more attention than it receives if it is to be ridden successfully. We have given it too much attention, they say, but if so we have doubtless been encouraged by those who have given it too little.

Our party story is variously set forth throughout this issue by others of us who have been actively identified with the party's history in past years. As befits the uncertain attitude we have confessedly voiced in recent years as a political party we have surrendered whatever intolerance may remain to such of our friends as may lay claim to it. As befits that attitude also it is appropriate that we should express individual points of view concerning our demise and other things. One thing we would wish to say is that no one in particular is responsible. Our friend "C" (C. Stephenson, "by the way," a former "Clarion" editor and editor also of "The Red Flag" and of "The Indicator," the two last mentioned having succeeded one another following the suspension at Censor's orders of the "Clarion" in the troublous late war years)—our friend "C" is widely claimed as the culprit, whereas he is simply doing his best to cultivate a receptive habit of mind and has become a trifle overemphatic in recommending like effort to others. In any case, whereas he wrote a mile of manuscript, responsibility for its printing rests upon him who descends from this cross with this last issue. Besides, the Family Journal had quit paying its way before "C" bought his gallon of ink.

Enough of such like interpretations of our own history anyway. The popular course was never open to us; how could it be with such as ourselves whose impulse is to hunt for causes and not to register grief over their ill effects? If we have in our old age somewhat diversified the causes we have only responded to the modern habit of specialization and we are not even to be numbered with the chorus.

There is with us still loyalty to our old attitudes even if, for various reasons real and apparent, our traditional air of learning has been stirred. But since the Russian revolution of 1917 the modern socialist movement has had a chance to rediscover itself, even if it has suffered discomfort in the process, and in saying that it is well, if uncommon, to include Russia itself. It might be said now almost with hope of recruiting an encouraging listener that there is no "only way" and never has been, and that theoretical considerations in any body of doctrine economic or political, or both, are subject to object lessons wherever they apply. Some years, however, had to pass to recruit that listener who, likely as not, is now and probably for some time shall be indifferent because, being human, his former hopes remain unrealized and he finds it difficult—as do we all—to lend hospitality to any threatened change of mind.

In days gone by our existence has been threatened by one wave of enthusiasm and another from time to time. Any political party of the working class depends upon enthusiasts whose energies and zeal may be invoiced at all times in the party interest. But in those days gone by, when all is said and done, our membership or that portion of it which lent itself to wider activities among the working class—trades and industrial unionism of one sort or another—simply sought an outlet for its energies and an avenue of escape for its enthusiasm which we could not provide. Many members left us later over the Third International affair to join another party, as much—though some of them may not have known it—as much because they saw or thought they saw a chance to be active in disposing of their energy as for any other reason. We simply could not provide an outlet for them; we could not order them around and most of them craved a chance to obey somebody. For ourselves, in spite of much argument, spoken and written, it was a foregone conclusion that we could not surrender our judgment to any body, international or otherwise, and a split was inevitable and occurred. It followed naturally that since for the working class the world over the centre of attraction as the active stage was Russia, cool judgment and examination took second place to enthusiasm, to the point almost of expiral.

It is too much experience the world has had crammed into a few short years for it to understand its full import in the same space of time. The world-wide socialist movement is today quite unlike what it was ten or twelve years ago; its problems are discussed in different terms and the course of its development in that time has made it so. It has had more advertisement for good or ill in that space of time than in the past fifty years. Its identity is almost lost now, in spite of the tenacity of its still remaining small but vigorous warring sects, as the isolated and exclusive custodian of its own precepts. Any healthy set of precepts is bound to come into its own some day and the fibre of Marxism nowadays appears in a literature widely spread and that not alone in academic bowers. Indeed, a materialist interpretation of current history is to be found in the foreign correspondence columns of any half decently dressed newspaper these days, and people are about at the stage where they are used to it, though they would give it a wide berth as a suggested substitute for their own pet theories, mostly inherited. The ways of the world in time temper all pet notions and we must not be surprised when our turn comes round. Nevertheless, the Socialists have arrived, but at that point where their identity is almost lost in the crowd, even though the crowd's responses to the same or similar circumstances may express themselves at times at cross purposes with the rote. The crowd has a great deal to learn from us and we too have a great deal to learn from the crowd. Looking

backward, we seem to have been strangers not knowing one another's ways.

So we pass out. They say the Family Journal will be missed, but the number of those who may miss it will not be legion. So far as we are able to judge no resurrection is possible, and certainly no resurrection is possible on any uncertain basis of political expression.

If a personal note might be forgiven by the hard-shelled ones who very properly hold all sentimental expression in disdain, we would record our admiration for the kind tolerance of our brother writers whose work we have appreciated and respected. The Socialist movement has always contrived the journals of its expression under difficulty and the "Clarion" has been no exception to the rule. Our writers have had to mix their writings with the fears and joys of work and wages, and have given up many a much needed idle hour to the claims of the "Clarion" readers in which they have been, one and all, as able as they have been willing. To our readers then, we say farewell, having performed our task as long as circumstances would allow and as well as we were able.

BRYAN

THE obituary notices concerning the late Wm. Jennings Bryan, have been almost contemptuous in the daily press. Not often are the dead at once subject to outspoken criticism. His last marquerade in Tennessee seems to have been taken seriously only by the court judge in Dayton, who, by the way, was not called upon by virtue of his office to weigh the respective claims and merits of science and religion but merely to set forth his findings in state law—which he did, against Stopes who was perfectly well aware that he could not avoid breaking that law even had he been willing, which he was not.

Concerning Bryan at Dayton, Joseph Wood Krutch in "The Nation" (N.Y.) has this to say following the speech of Malone in defence:—

"A dormant sense of fair play had turned even the fundamentalists for an instant against their leader, and the applause which broke forth, twice as great in volume and duration as that which had greeted Bryan, showed conclusively that in this particular duel Mr. Bryan had lost even in the midst of his own camp. It seemed almost true that, as Mr. Mencken, seated behind me, excitedly exclaimed, 'Tennessee needs only fifteen minutes of free speech to become civilized.'

"For a moment one was almost sorry for the great leader who had fallen, so low. Driven from politics and journalism because of obvious intellectual incompetence, become ballyhoo for boom-town real estate in his search for lucrative employment, and forced into religion as the only quasi-intellectual field in which mental backwardness and complete insensibility to ideas can be used as an advantage, he already knows that he is compelled to seek in the most remote rural regions for the applause so necessary to his contentment. Yet even in Dayton, as choice a stronghold of ignorance and bigotry as one could hope to find, he goes down in defeat in the only contest where he has met his antagonists face to face. For a moment, as I said, one pities him and yet such pity is, of course, not really called for. Even as he loses he wins; no argument and real victory was needed."

A GLANCE BACK—AND A FORECAST

(Continued from page 2)

Its vision of the future will be used to make present activity significant. It will concentrate on the crucial points of its contemporary life, on that living zone where the present is passing into the future. There is the region where thought and action count. Too far ahead there is nothing but your dream, just behind there is nothing but your memory. But in the unfolding present man can be creative if his vision is gathered from the promise of actual things."

Well, good-bye, old Clarion! Old unique! Its company of readers, good-bye! The Demos disbands us!

Comrades: If our cause seems set back, the brave voice of Leigh Hunt inspires from another era of reaction and laissez-faire;

"In such an age as this the world requires the example of a spirit not so prostrate as its own, to make it believe that all hearts are not alike kept under, and that the hope of reformation is not every where given up."

Twenty-five Years

By "GEORDIE."

THE last quarter of a century, during the greater part of which the "Western Clarion" has been in circulation, was a period characterized by vast economic changes and scientific discoveries. Concurrently with these there have occurred far-reaching changes in the body of scientific thought which during the latter half of last century had attained almost dogmatic solidity and dignity. No scientist now speaks with nearly so much confidence, on almost any subject, as he would have done 25 years ago. Particularly is this true in regard to those sciences in which the human element is a predominant or, at least, a considerable factor. This is due to the general acceptance of those teachings now referred to as the "New Psychology" and the consequent repudiation of the old "utilitarianism" and of the doctrine of "laissez faire." It is now seen that man, instead of being a rational animal who, guided by intelligent self-interest, regulates his conduct according to a careful balancing of pains and pleasures, of actualities and possibilities, is really a creature whose conduct is governed by instincts, impulses, custom, tradition and suggestion and in whose life group motives, as distinct from individual motives, are much more powerful than has been supposed. All of this had a profound effect on the science of sociology and political economy cutting, as it did, right at the root of some of the most cherished dogmas in those sciences. Particularly was this true of the current theory of value which, for reasons which will appear, had a purely psychological basis.

When Adam Smith and Ricardo built up the classical economics in the early years of the capitalist-era the emphasis was on production: the production of more goods and still more goods. Towards the end of last century, however, the main problem was how to dispose of the goods which men in the machine age had learned to produce in such profusion. This was the reason that the classical economists laid so much stress on the productive factors and why Value, for them, was generated in the act of production. For Marx, of course, the same held true. Labriola, it will be remembered, makes the remark that "Marx did not write the prologue to a new system of political economy; he wrote the epilogue to the old economics." The fact, however, that production had outrun the means of disposal brought the question of Price into prominence. Now, the prices of commodities emerge in the field of circulation and are very largely, if not altogether, determined by factors peculiar to that field. This led to an increased interest in the so-called law of Supply and Demand and particularly the Demand end of it, since, for people who wish to sell, the demand for goods is all-important. Now, the demand for goods is a psychological phenomenon, or it might be better to say that the various physical and psychical needs express themselves as wants and desires. The marginal concept, which had been so brilliantly employed by Ricardo and Marx in the formulation of the theory of Rent, was pressed into service and so we got the theories of Diminishing and Marginal Utility, and all the subtleties and perversions of which such a theory was capable. The whole thing had the glamour of a new discovery, and led to what Prof. Ely admits, in his recent book, was an "over-emphasis of the factor of demand." In a couple a recent articles I explained and, in so doing, demonstrated the utter futility of this theory. Incidentally I had an object lesson in how easy it is to over-estimate the intelligence of one's audience since at least one simple enthusiast mistook a reductio ad absurdum for a serious argument. It is no accident, by the way, that this theory, or

group of theories should have been developed in Germany and finally petered out in America which, as recent happenings in Tennessee would indicate, is the true "home of lost causes and dead issues." I am not forgetting Stanley Jevons because, as a matter of fact, the marginalist theories never really caught on in England, the economic thought of that country having been long dominated by the compromising position adopted by Marshall. What contributed more than anything else to the acceptance of the marginalist theories was the extraordinary delusion that, in some way or other, they were in conflict with the Marxian position. The Marxists themselves were largely responsible for this. With the exception of some few, like Aveling and Belfort Bax, they, one and all, from writers like Boudin in his "Theoretical System" down to Wotsername's "Backhouse Conversations for Stiffs," insisted that Value and Exchange Value were terms meaning the same thing. If this be granted, then there is a conflict and, what is worse, the marginalists, in spite of the vulnerability of their position, have the best of the argument so far as the theory of Value is concerned. Thus there resulted an acrimonious controversy extending over half a century which not only hindered the progress of the science of economics but accounts for the tardy recognition of Marx as a great economist and a profound thinker who made enduring contributions to economics and sociology. This acknowledgement is now quite generally made but, on the other hand, we have to face the fact that Marxism, as a definite body of doctrine, is bound to disappear in the precise ratio in which it is incorporated in the general body of current thought.

Similarly we may expect the various socialist sects to disintegrate as Socialism becomes a matter of practical politics. It is not, in this connection, a matter of what we regard as Socialism, it is what is commonly so regarded. Years ago we should have gone in for practical politics or else thrown in our lot with the Communists to whom it up for Soviet Russia. Neither of these courses appealed to us, largely, I suppose, because of early training. The course we did take, that of posing as a purely educational body could not possibly ensure success or even continued existence. Ordinary observation would indicate that enthusiasm is in an inverse ratio to education and enthusiasm is the life-blood of any movement. Philosophers make poor Socialists and still worse Communists. Not, of course, that a philosopher, of the stove-pipe or any other variety, may not be a radical, but he will certainly not be an enthusiastic one. These considerations may or may not account for the demise of the "Clarion."

So far as I am concerned, I have always written to please myself, and have had an audience in the "Clarion" readers. If some of these have benefited by my remarks then we are quits. Nothing now remains except to close this phase of our activities with due decorum, "and so to bed."

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LEUKIE

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THE REAL CAUSES OF THE CHINESE DISTURBANCES

TWENTY years ago there were two modern cotton mills in China: today there are 115, 46 of which are in Shanghai."

This statement from the Chinese Information Bureau in London gives some idea of the enormous industrial development in China within the last twenty years. Further it must be borne in mind that little more than a generation ago "the present foreign sections of Shanghai were mud flats and rice fields. Today the city has over 1,000,000 population, and is one of the great ports of the world. Hankow with 1,500,000 is in the centre of the iron and coal region. Canton has a population of 950,000 and Peking of 811,566." In the Yangtze Valley alone there have sprung up within the last three or four years 53 factories, 26 electric plants, 18 transportation companies, 16 cotton mills, 12 mining companies, and many other miscellaneous companies; and there are few foreign-type articles of domestic consumption that are not now manufactured by China on modern lines. Although 80 per cent. of the population of China are still engaged in agriculture, probably over a million are now employed in modern and semi-modern factories. The conventional estimate of the population of China is 400,000,000, so that it will be evident that there is plenty of room for industrial development by drawing upon the almost limitless reserves of the rural population which, as is well known, lives close to the starvation line, and must therefore welcome opportunities of sending their children into the cities even if the wages earned by them are the merest pittance. Modern industrialism going ahead with great rapidity, and a gigantic population with deep-rooted traditions of obedience to authority, and with extremely low standards of living—these are the difficulties which the Chinese Labor Movement has to face. The Chinese Labor Movement has already made a beginning with its colossal task of improving the standard of living of the workers, and converting them from oppressed wage-slaves into self-respecting class-conscious workers. The movement of today was not planned overnight.

The war led to a world-wide awakening; there was agitation among professors and students, the press was stirred, the great masses of Chinese Labor began to show faint signs of stirring.

As early as 1920 there was a successful strike of engineers in the district of Canton; and from that time onwards there was great labor activity in all trades, which took the forms of: (1) the outbreak of strikes; (2) the establishment of trade unions. In May, 1922, there was a general labor congress at Canton, at which about 160 delegates were present. But the event of outstanding importance was the seamen's strike at Hong Kong in 1922, which ended in a signal victory for the workers. The seamen fought against harsh treatment, a 14-hour day, and a standard of living which was close to the starvation line. As their petition received no attention, 15,000 men struck; whereupon the British Government of Hong Kong declared their union to be an illegal society. Then a sympathetic strike broke out, comprising 50,000 coolies, domestic servants, and other unskilled workers. The strike lasted nearly three months, and enabled the strikers to secure wage rises of 15 to 30 per cent.

Another important strike was that of the cotton mills of Shanghai in February, 1925, which later extended to the transport workers, the dockers, the waterworks employees and the workers of the British-American tobacco industry. Impartial reports show unmistakably that this strike was the direct result of inhuman exploitation of the Chinese workers. In this case the Japanese capitalists were the principal offenders; and, as on previous occasions, the chief complaints were that working hours were exorbitantly long, and that the workers were beaten and otherwise ill-treated in the factories.

Although the strike of February, 1923, was mainly due to Japanese capitalists, other strikes

(Continued on page 6)

The Birth of Modern Capitalism

By F. W. MOORE

(Concluded from last issue.)

Bishop Churchianity: I admit your surmise is correct provided you substitute for the word "subjugation" the words "beneficial moulding." I don't think I ever did, or ever shall see any works of man that couldn't be improved upon, and our attempts to function as financiers for Terrestrial humanity, are no exception to the rule. What we really need according to opinions made public by His Royal Highness, Beelzebub, is a closer alliance between certain heads of our infernal research and broad-casting departments, namely between Mr. Arch. Financier and the Misses Kashion, Credit, Churchianity, and Newspress. We must arrange our marriages in Hades according to the demands of economic expediency. Polygamy, therefore, under certain circumstances, is not only correct, but is essential to such success as present conditions allow us to achieve. There is a time coming, however, when the people will not only forbid such marriages, but will compel those already married polygamously, to obtain divorces since there are forces at work even now amongst Terrestrials shaping their destiny in a manner that cannot be frustrated even by our own apparently unlimited power.

In the meantime we must try and arrange this marriage as soon as possible; furthermore, we must not allow our collaborators to waste time in descending to the absurdities of lovemaking as witnessed amongst the incarnate members of the unsophisticated terrestrial herds. The ladies themselves are philosophers, and are therefore amenable to reason. Let us arrange a meeting to be addressed by Mr. Financier. It will be, perhaps, an innovation in lovemaking, but then lovemaking is so closely connected with money-making, now-a-days, that such a meeting will be merely an acknowledgment of a well-known condition. I see you ladies have been listening. What do you think of our plans?

Ladies in Chorus: Let us have the meeting.

Miss Kashion: Yes, let us have the meeting; if it does not turn out profitably, at least we shall have plenty of fun.

Exit Omnes.

Act III. Next day

Public discussion on marriages of convenience; audience assembles in Satan's throne room.

Beelzebub: Ladies and gentlemen, as you are well aware, this meeting has materialized under most extraordinary circumstances yet under circumstances that are fraught with very far-reaching consequences. We live, as you all know, under a system of Capitalism which might appropriately be termed "nascent"; since it is so far from being mature; indeed, to a very great extent, it is still under the influence of its mother, Feudalism; and although, it is the instrument by which men must climb the heights that separate them from an international hive, to a great extent, usurped the functions of the government in reference to the control of coinage.

Yet we know of no law by means of which we could compute the time that must elapse before such achievement becomes possible. The desire to make money will impel the manufacture to improve machinery, but the same desire will impel him to keep his fellow-men in subjection, and it is on this trait of his character that we propose to act. There is no excuse needed for following such a course. It is the duty of the denizens of the nether world to lead men astray. Perhaps we like it, but what honourable man does not like his duty? Let us therefore, come to the point: we must inspire the financier to use the wealth of the world in retarding progress amongst the masses of the people, and at the same time suggest the blackest lie that ever was invented—that he himself is casting out the anthropoid in his nature. We must urge persistence in this course of action by every means in our power, since the workers are not fit for a higher plane of existence until stern necessity sharpens

their wits sufficiently to enable them to comprehend the motives for our machinations; and in the meantime there is no reason why our faithful allies, the financiers, should not benefit by conditions as they exist.

Having thus prefaced my remarks I have now reached the real question at issue which is this: If the financier is to succeed in monopolizing the natural resources of the world in the interests of the few, he must form an indissoluble alliance with those nether-world princesses to whom is confided the task of moulding public opinion on the planet Terra. There are at least four such ladies present at our meeting tonight: the Misses Kashion, Credit, Newspress, and Churchianity. These ladies, the princes of the powers of darkness are willing to treat with on terms of absolute equality. We shall therefore maintain no false attitude of gallantry such as is assumed on Terra by the husbands of women who are weaklings. We openly confess: that there is no romance about the present proceedings; that the grandest function of our lives is to corrupt humanity by gaining control of the minds of the masses; and that in order to gain this control we must bring about a matrimonial alliance between Mr. Financier and the four ladies mentioned above. Of course, that might be called bigamy, but what of it? Are we not a law unto ourselves? I am sure we shall all be delighted to hear what the ladies themselves have to say on the subject.

Miss Kashion: In replying to the remarks of His Royal Highness I might say that I appreciate the standing that he is willing to concede to women. Believing him honest I know that he will tolerate any answer that I choose honestly to give. Very well then, I strongly object to be one of the wives of Mr. Financier, but as the money he controls, places in his power agents, who can according to circumstances bestow splendid success or ignoble failure on the individual teacher, it behoves me on the part of the profession to accede to the overtures of Mr. Financier, but I warn him that as time elapses, he will find in me a rebellious helpmate, to whose curtain lectures he shall finally succumb, and in the meantime I would advise him when seeking an educational staff, to pick his choice from those millions of Terrestrials who are still unaware of the class nature of society; under these circumstances, if Mr. Financier is satisfied I shall accept his proposal.

Miss Churchianity: Ladies and gentlemen, as a broadcasting representative of the nether world, a fountain of inspiration for reactionary churches, and a relative of our noble king, Beelzebub, I rise to give my opinion of the offer of Mr. Financier. I must say I admire his courage. I take it for granted he knows I am a very old maid, and of course, having a wide experience of the world I might add, a wily old maid. I too, with Miss Kashion not only realize the tremendous power of money, but also the utter futility of trying too suddenly to get away from its influence. Under the circumstances I submit myself lowly and reverently to be one of the wives of Mr. Financier.

Miss Newspress: Ladies and gentlemen, I rise to tell you tonight that of all the women of the universe I am the greatest slave, and that, not less so, because I appear as a truculent virago fighting for justice and right. I am compelled to be an abject sycophant, mentally swayed by the cheap trinkets of commerce to say or imply what I know to be the most slanderous and misleading falsehoods, especially in the case of those who advocate the economic consolidation of the world in an international industrial parliament. The advocacy of brotherhood is quite in good form, provided it is supposed to be founded on sentiment, but of what avail is sentiment in the face of rivalry that means commercial life or death? I am virtually a mental prostitute, yet I am not a bad woman. The highest lady in the

land born in my environment would necessarily follow the occupation since self preservation is the first law of nature: in a word I might say that my whole clientele eats out of the hand of Mr. Financier. We live on his advertisements. I shall gladly marry him if he is willing, but I warn him that my rightful husband ought to be the people and that some day they may compel a divorce since, in the nature of the case, I am more fitted for a polyandrian than for a polygamous marriage. In the meantime I place myself wholly in the care of Mr. Financier; if he is content, so am I.

Miss Credit: Ladies and gentlemen, I can deduce quite logically from the statements of the other ladies that I am the only independent member of the group. My delight is to serve those who understand me, and whether my collaborators are plutocrats or proletaires, is none of my business: nevertheless, although I ought to belong to all mankind as a body, I am now completely owned by a powerful and rapacious few who have arrogated to themselves the most profitable monopoly known to man, namely, the virtual creation of money and consequently the inflation and deflation of its value to suit their own convenience.

If you will allow me I shall present you with information copied from a paper published on the planet Mars where capitalism has reached a state of development that we Terrestrials are gradually approximating: "Bankers," the Martian editor tells us, "will accept the note and security of a borrower and give him credit for a deposit which he can turn into money by using a cheque, but the money itself, which is usually of the paper variety, is also bank credit."

The report of the comptroller of the Consolidated States of Martian Ammurika, shows that 99% of our entire medium of exchange is bank credit " . . . we speak of borrowing money from a bank, but in reality we do not borrow money—we borrow the bank's credit, or rather we exchange our private and less-known credit for the bank's better-known credit."—Statesman, Ap. 24. In the same article are quoted these significant words by Mr. Goodward a well known Martian labour member of parliament: "We have on our statute books old laws that make coining one of the worst crimes imaginable, and yet, to all intents and purposes, the banks of today are doing government. They have taken out of the hands of the government the power of issuing the great part of our money. We have here in Mars the steady concentration of capital in the hands of a few: in recent years we had merger after merger. Why should not the government control automatically this money situation rather than allow a group of a dozen men, who are not responsible to the people to do so." That, ladies and gentlemen, is the situation all over the planet Mars. It exists on the earth too, but in a nascent state, hence the prospect for financiers is bound to be brilliant. Why should not I, therefore, be delighted at being forced into the service that I love? That is why I say, that in a way, I am absolutely independent, since I shall function as a great force in the evolution of humanity regardless altogether of what section of it I am serving temporarily. That is the other fellow's business, not mine. Mr. Financier has taken possession of me already; if the people who ought to love me don't do so, we must take it for granted that they know their own business best. I too, under these circumstances, shall be delighted to marry Mr. Financier.

Mr. Financier's Reply: Ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly say that I feel overwhelmed with a sense of gratitude at being supported so loyally by four such charming partners.

Their support is all the more gratifying since it is founded on common sense and reason as applied to modern social conditions which compel me no less than them, to assume temporarily the leading

Reflections

By J. H. B.

role in the development of the human race.

Nevertheless, it is far from my purpose to consider the development of man as a whole; that is their business; mine is to manipulate the world's wealth in the interests of those for whom, owing to their class consciousness it is more expedient to act. I might add that the paramount scheme used by exploiters in the arrogation of concentrated wealth, is the appropriation of surplus values created by the workers in mines, mills, and factories after they have expended sufficient energy to pay for running expenses of the particular plant in which they are employed.

It behoves us, therefore, if we would retain our supremacy for any length of time to see that the surplus value appears to the producer as a just recompense for management, or for the use of capital which was, from our point of view, justifiably filched from his class.

Of course such a claim could not be substantiated since the managers and superintendents themselves are usually hired men and the capital a concrete expression of the surplus value mentioned above. The trouble is, that labourers, impelled to think by the growing hardships of their existence, are beginning to see the light. Their educational leagues and labour unions, are damnable institutions, whose great object is to combat our claims to omniscience, with which many of the proletariat credit us.

Then there are disloyal students in our universities who imagine that no monarch or plutocrat has a right to put the smallest restriction on their methods of thought. These claim absolute mental freedom, and this is all to the good, provided they don't clash with our plans, but that is precisely what they do, and for that reason we must remorselessly suppress the activities of such and destroy their power by every means known to the master-mind of the great Satan himself. It is absolutely essential to control the minds of these people, and in order to do so we must control the fountains of information, and that is where my noble fiancées as wives are going to render first aid to the exploiters, as our class is facetiously called.

How miserable would existence be without that mutual assistance involved in a union that is now within reach of all! It is questionable if any one of us could fare well alone.

True, Miss Kashion, if circumstances made her association with me impossible, would soon control the lives of the whole world, but unfortunately for Miss Kashion the masses of mankind, who will some day be her retainers, must at the present moment depend on my permission for a chance to earn their daily livelihood; needless to say my advice as to their studies is paramount; moreover, it is followed in a manner called by earth folks "conscientiously." It is from the children of those whom I have thus indirectly moulded that teachers are recruited. Is it any wonder then that most of them never recognise that I represent a phase of evolution merely? Consequently, they are an indispensable aid in protracting to the limit the miserable condition of those on whom we batten, and those on whom we batten need a stimulus to thought; so you see, my friends, that we are, after all, philanthropists, and that what I said of Miss Kashion, applies with equal force to the Misses Newspress and Churchianity.

Believe me when I say that my dear friend Satan has expressed his personal appreciation of your genius in reactionary scheming when you worked as individuals, but how much more must he value your services in the future; organised, as they will be, in a consolidated and ultra-profitable whole.

And now ladies I wish to say in conclusion that I intentionally omitted one of your names until the last moment because I wished to particularly stress the magnificence of our good fortune in enabling us to gain the consent of Miss Credit to join our matrimonial and exploitative alliance.

Did it ever strike you ladies, that the power of dispensing credit is tantamount to the golden touch of the fabled mythical millionaire king Midas? Indeed, as Miss Credit herself said in her speech to-

LONG with other comrades who have occupied the position of editor of the "Clarion," I have been invited to make my contribution to what is apparently expected to be the valedictory issue of a periodical which has, in its time, achieved an enviable position in the front rank of journals devoted to the exposition of revolutionary working class aspirations.

As to whether it is fated to be the valedictory issue, time will show. I am not convinced on that point. It will not be the first time publication has been suspended, and although the paper has not been a consistent revenue producer, neither has it been a consistent financial sinkhole. True, conditions today show a marked difference to those which forced a suspension in times past. Lack of revenue due to hard times can be properly accepted as a fitting explanation for those temporary disappearances from circulation. The split due to the appearance in some strength of reform sentiment in the party and the resulting defection of many to the S.D.P. did the paper no harm. On the contrary, the party and the paper alike appeared to benefit from the elimination of a quantity of indigestible material and the Clarion continued to maintain and extend the support it had always received in its unaltered policy of advocacy and explanation of an uncompromising class struggle.

The world war, the Russian Revolution and the rejection by the party generally of the impossible "Twenty-one Points" as a condition of affiliation with the Third International—these elements in the present crisis were absent, and had no counterpart in the past as elements in the problem of continued publication. The explanation of the world war and the attitude of the party and its organ through the period of the war in the face of war hysteria and deliberately provoked hostility were beyond criticism, and the paper flourished, in defiance of censorship, without sacrificing revolutionary principles to expediency.

The process of decline seems to date from the party's rejection of the "Twenty-one Points"—a stand which was emphatically endorsed by Lenin himself in a subsequent criticism based on the obvious fact that they were drawn up with Russian

night we shall virtually function as coiners of money.

I therefore welcome Miss Credit into, what I feel justified in calling, our future happy family.

Princes of the Powers of Darkness, ladies and gentlemen, I heartily thank you for your rapt attention, which in itself gives me no small delight as showing that you too understand, as I know that our beloved king Satan does, that at length has arrived the golden, or capitalistic age of human exploitation. Let us hope we can protract its duration to the limit since its downfall will mean ours also. Waiters, bring in the boiling beer. Ladies and gentlemen let us drink to the capitalistic harem. Here's that Satan may send us showers of blessings.

Peroration by Madame Eve O'Lution, dressed in an asbestos-robe: Princes of the infernal regions, Ladies and gentlemen, knowing full well that your position is temporarily impregnable I venture to trust to your indulgence for permission to pass a few remarks by way of criticism. I have been listening to your speeches and confess that although I am not in love with your remarks neither am I actually disgusted. You are to me temporary inconveniences merely. You are a metaphorical step on

conditions solely in mind, and were impossible of application in other countries. Carried away with enthusiasm, many comrades construed the party's attitude in this particular as a hostile gesture towards the revolution, in which belief they were encouraged by some who knew better, but apparently were swayed by less creditable motives. Time and the Workers' Party activities, to say nothing of Lenin's criticism, referred to above, proved the correctness of the party's position on the Twenty-one Points, but have not resulted in the return of those who withdrew their support on that issue. Why? In the writer's opinion the explanation lies in the space the Clarion devoted to reform propaganda per the articles under the heading "By the Way," by "C.," and the equivocal attitude of the Clarion in criticism of the struggles and forced expedients of the Bolshevik government in period of reconstruction following the cessation of armed intervention by counter-revolutionary forces. While many party members might be induced to listen, though unwillingly, to a hyper-criticism of the activities of the Soviet revolution, it was too much to expect that along with it they would submit to a diet of a propaganda of reform, class collaboration and "community points of view," ad libitum, ad nauseum, for months on end. Small blame to them if they considered the accusation proved, that the party had "gone Menshevik." Having found the Workers' Party but a reform outfit, mouthing revolutionary platitudes and slogans, accompanied by a bewildering series of flops in "tactics" and "policies," many of our previous supporters have left that aggregation in disgusted disillusionment, but they see no opportunity for self-expression in revolutionary activity in the S. P. of C., nor any reason for pushing the circulation of its paper. The party has taken in no new members, the majority of the old ones have dropped out, and the handful that is left is incapable of attracting new blood and training it in the revolutionary education that made the S. P. of C. a force to be reckoned with in the past.

The organization is dying of anaemia, and the sources which could provide an infusion of new life have been alienated. Can these sources be tapped again, and the party and its organ once more resume their old position in the forefront of the revolutionary, uncompromising class struggle? I believe it can be done. How or when I don't know.

In any event, with or without the S. P. of C. and the Western Clarion, the revolution will proceed, and forge its own weapons in the process. That, in the final analysis, is all that matters.

the road of evolution, and notwithstanding your various remarks, which were not altogether immodest, you remind one who has sufficient imagination to look down the long vista of time, of a series of bubbles sparkling in the sunshine, that give delight to the fancy of immature children. You too will meet destruction as automatically and as inevitably as they, and into your places, as inheritors of the earth, shall step the meek and lowly like a sentinel sleeping at his post on being awakened by the sting of a hornet, brushes the insect aside, and stimulated by the pain, proceeds all the more earnestly with the real work of the moment.

Comparing your prospects for the future of progressive evolution that are working you, I cannot escape the conviction that your office is very limited. You are, as rapidly sible, taking steps to prolong it, and that from your point of view, is only natural. I would graciously accept a hint from you, say in the words of the poet:

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old time is still a-flying,
And this same flower that blooms
Tomorrow may be dying."

The Wisdom of the East

OLD-TIME residents of Western America grow more or less accustomed to continually meeting people of more or less radical views on matters political, economic or religious. It is so commonplace that one thinks it a natural state of affairs which must by now obtain everywhere. Particularly is this true of men who have associated almost exclusively with revolutionists for years.

Back in 1909-10, up till the war in fact, it was an ordinary experience to be assured that the revolution might come any day, as so many people were now saturated with socialistic views that an economic or political crisis from any cause would see the hungry millions seething to the Red Standard of Revolt.

But, come East, young man, come East!

Seven years after the Last-of Wars. It is Empire Day in Toronto, Ontario. University Avenue, over half a mile long, and plenty of space on it, leading to the Parliament Buildings in Queens Park, which at this writing presents a lovely spring picture of green grass and flowers, is filled with uniforms. Children from 10 to 18 or so, and about 11,000 of them, in either red or khaki, some with real rifles, the most with wooden guns. Bugles blare, drums beat, the old flag waves, the 25,000 spectators are surcharged with patriotic emotion. Especially so, 3,000 young girls in sailor dress parade with wreaths to be laid on the altars of departed gods, whose statues encumber the earth.

Frock coated business men remove their toppers and lay the flowers with touching reverence even at the foot of "Tommy's" statue, which should the while drip blood at this base treason perpetrated o'er it. The Crown, the Church, Capital, are strongly represented at the saluting base. All appear mostly pleased at the display, at themselves, and, no doubt, at the prospects for the future.

The kids may think differently when Fate unrolls the bloody screen at some future date, when the need of saving the Empire from some other breed of "Huns" becomes apparent.

Reaction is rampant in this East.

See Toronto on the coming "glorious 12th", its scores of fife and drum bands, its amazing King Billy worship after these centuries. And this Orange tradition is strong all through Ontario. Just as strong, and aggressive, as is French Catholicism in Quebec, a province you could handpick for a Red outside Montreal, and find none. Churches everywhere in Toronto, all in the pink of condition, and blooming. By some mysterious act of God, a couple were gutted by fire this winter, but they are being fixed up once more, the congregation apparently believing that it couldn't have been God, as no gentleman would do such a thing. Paradoxically, until rebuilt, a sign stands outside: "Danger, keep away." Unfortunately, it will be removed, with the return of the sanctified.

While Toronto is used as an example here, it is worse outside in the smaller towns. Labor organization is negligible outside favored trades. Interest in matters revolutionary is faint outside the Jewish and Russian workers, of whom there are many in this city. The mass of workers are interested mainly in sport, and in the sport of kings particularly. There is more excitement today over who will win the King's Plate than any political possibility of the future near or far. Also, have we not now got what we hear!

But, I should judge the Canadians of English descent a more steady, dependable social emergencies, than Americans as I have tarding prof. But that point can be labored over by end at the. I have lived with both, know them more ever was invt. and, who care to go into the matter the anthropoid sistence in this. in the West gathers his impressions of our power, since the "Worker" published in Toronto, er plane of existenc.

surface enthusiasm to indicate a here. "The Worker" is given us habit as "headlining," that

is, the shrieking type of the Yellow Press, is copied too much. A little more critical thoughtfulness and philosophic impersonality, would be a welcome change from an unvaried diet of denunciation of the bloated plute.

For after all, the bourgeoisie is not a distinct biological species immeasurably inferior in every way to our proletarian class, as one is lead to think at times from distriber. Experience shows us often enough that all humans acquire a different psychology as they progress up or down the ladder of life. An ignorant proletarian suddenly placed in authority would not be as fitted a person to supervise administrative work as some cultured bourgeois, broadminded and consequently tolerant and adaptive. There is a danger in this worship of labor as being all right, if not so oppressed and downtrodden. When one sees them glorying in their uniforms, and basking in their master's smiles, one can only conclude they hug their chains. And their chains are mental slothfulness, inertia, and plain damned ignorance.

Trotsky's little book, "Problems of Life," show done in Russia, to make a people fit for self-governus clearly enough what a weight of work has to be ment. No amount of shouting will hurry any revolt, and this spade work must go on both before and after an overturn.

So, why not now?

F. S. F.

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THE REAL CAUSES OF THE CHINESE DISTURBANCES

(Continued from page 5)

broke out among the workers employed by British and American industrialists. As China has no social legislation, foreign capitalists look upon her as especially well-suited for their purposes; and they are backed up in their exploitation by the governments of the Great Powers, who have not always done all they might to promote the formation of a solvent and efficient government in China.

Looking back over recent events (namely the strikes, the rebellion against foreign capitalists, the demand for social legislation, etc.), it must be admitted that this is no sudden movement, but that Chinese labor has reached a new stage in a process of development of which it is impossible to foretell the end.

The statement of the non-labor press, which is inclined to regard the events in China as little else than manifestations of Chinese nationalism, must be denied that there is evidence of growing national feeling, such as has been observed in other nations who have endeavored to throw off the yoke of foreign powers or foreign capitalists.

Within living memory Japan too was in a similar state of subordination to foreign powers; but Japan has succeeded in throwing off the foreign yoke, and she now ranks as an equal of the Great Powers, a fact which is of great significance. Attempts to suppress the present disturbances in China may for the moment be crowned with success, but it is inevitable that the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement should in the near future make rapid progress in the Far East.—I.F.T.C.

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 cleaved. 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 power 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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