

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of
CURRENT
EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 930 TWENTY-FIRST YEAR, Twice a Month VANCOUVER, B. C., JANUARY 2, 1925.

FIVE CENTS

K. K. K.

BY JAMES CONLON.

K. K. K. are three initials that represent an American organization known throughout the world as the Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan is a most reactionary organization, whose general program and constitution is so skilfully woven that all reactionary elements outside of the clutches of the Church of Rome can and do easily find elbow room for full expression of their ideals and economic expressions within its ranks. The cunning method that has been used to gather such a reactionary mass into one organization and the success that has attended the efforts of its originators, bears silent but eloquent approval to those that had the training of these minds in their immature state.

The Ku Klux Klan may be likened to a huge American bouquet composed of flowers of different hues (except red) which have blossomed forth on plants raised in America's garden, and assiduously cultivated by the gardeners of capitalism, whose function is to produce such radiant blossoms so pleasing to the eye of those that pay the gardeners for such productive efforts. That is the capitalist class who own and control the garden wherein the human plants grow.

The gardeners so engaged in this all engrossing but most vitally necessary occupation are the parsons, priests, scribes and literary "geniuses," professors and teachers who derive their living by acquiescing in their master's requests.

The flora that we here speak of, are, therefore, not those that belong to the scientific classification termed "botany," but rather the product of the human fauna in its relationship to its environment. In other words, it is the mind product of the genus homo, and a most reactionary but skilfully cultivated social atmosphere.

Economically speaking, the Klan is composed of two different factors—petite bourgeois and workers. But though comprised of these two factors, it by no means follows that the organizations must function in the interest of all. True, for the time being, it will serve the interests of one of them, and this one is the petite bourgeois faction. The other—the working element—are the cat's paw to be used by the monkey part of the company to help draw some of the chestnuts out of an exceedingly hot social fire for the monkey's benefit.

However, this is usually the function of the working class. They create the commodities that cause the trouble, and then like Ulysses' brave comrades, they are easily made drunk by modern swine. But not all the reactionary blossoms of society are gathered into this bouquet. There are others of exactly the same hue, smelling equally as nauseating, and comprised of exactly the same economic groups, bunched together into other bouquets with different labels. Chief of these is the K. C., or Knights of Columbus, and the funny part of it is, that though identically the same in their composition and economic status; though both the product of the same garden; and though each is a valiant supporter of the self-same social system, yet they are antagonistic in the extreme, each towards the other.

The workers that provide the packing for the organization named after the discoverer of "our" country, are used in exactly the same manner as are their prototypes in the K. K. K., and their hatred of each other is mutual. Why? How comes it that these groups on the same economic relationship insofar as their being working class and petite bourgeois respectively find themselves split fifty-fifty, and fighting each other? Why is it not the cockroach capitalists in the one camp and the workers in the other? An answer to these questions might help us to mentally grasp the significant fact, that though they are fighting one another at the present time, both may and will be only too eager to fight a third party in the near or distant future at the behest of another faction that stands above them all.

We have previously stated that these two groups were the product of the same social garden. This garden is known as capitalism, and in it are flowers of a very different hue than those dealt with above. And all of them lumped together are the product of the antagonisms that must exist because of a far greater and more drastic antagonism which serves as the basis from which all others grow and flourish mightily. This basic antagonism is social production and private ownership of the things socially produced.

To clearly comprehend what is taking place in society, to understand why such antagonisms exist between individuals, groups and nations, we must keep firmly in mind the great division that exists in society, and we must at all times use it as a basic premise from which to reason if we wish to arrive at a sound and healthy conclusion, and consequently sound action. This great division is one that arises from the antagonism of private ownership of those things necessary for human welfare. With this fact firmly embedded in our minds, we are able to make a classification which no capitalist apologist has yet successfully denied. This classification is that of dividing society into workers and capitalists.

The productive activities of the workers leaves a vast surplus over and above the portion they receive as wages. This surplus is the bone of contention among the capitalists. Here is the cause of the antagonism among the capitalists.

In the general development of the productive forces of society we get accumulation, concentration and centralization. In a corresponding ratio we also get a grouping together of capitalist concerns into companies, combines and cartels. Each and all presenting a stage in the keen struggle that is going on for an ever larger share of the surplus values produced by the working class and the markets wherein they may be sold. It is due to this struggle that we can trace the reason for the small cockroach capitalist forming and entering into such organizations as the K. K. K. and the K. C.

Along with the continued evolution of capitalism the smaller and weaker capitalists are squeezed out of the privileged ring they formerly occupied. And the old shibboleth hath it that, "in unity there is strength."

But in order to preserve such a thing as class society, an institution known as the state is necessary. Hence in modern society we have a keen

struggle going on between the contending wealth owners for political expression. We also have a voting machine whereby enfranchised workers may express their desires. Hence the need of the petite bourgeoisie for these votes in order to get representatives of their class as part operators of the political machine. In the U. S. many of the cities have practically passed into the political control of the Knights of Columbus. This organization has its tentacles reaching throughout the entire aggregation known as the A. F. of L. By means of this they are able to keep a fairly sound grip on several of the offices of judicial institutions of the cities of the U. S. And it is most obvious as regards the police force in several large centers. The same is also true of many of the fire-fighters and other occupations.

The K. K. K. must of necessity, if it would be successful in its struggle for political elbow room make war on the enemy's base of supplies, namely the organized labor movement. Hence their plea for 100% Americans and the plank for the "open shop." This also explains why so many broken down or aspiring young lawyers are to be found in the organization. They think they see fame and glory ahead and probably some may even have visions of Big Bill Taft's job. Again the organization also serves to link up the cockroach capitalists into an economic combine for the purpose of a defensive operation on the economic field by means of a close trading agreement or boycott. Furthermore, it assures them of workers' trade who may happen to belong to the Klan.

But the competitive struggle is not only in existence among the members of the capitalist class. There are at all times more workers than jobs. And there is also a difference in those fleeting entities which the worker is continually choosing. So the workers in the Klan or the K. C. also have ulterior motives. And it is much better to be on the city's permanent staff than to be competing at the factory gate or around the slave market for the favors of a master. It is a base accusation but it fits nevertheless. Thus the K. K. K. is a veritable Klan indeed, and promises to all of its members something in the line of remuneration.

Viewed from another angle, we know that it is in the nature of things under this system for the small tradesman, the small property holder, and the small farmer to be in the grip of the money lender. Therefore, it is quite natural that such a class of people blessed with the reactionary ideology of individualism should be Anti-Semites. And the Ku Kluxers offer an haven of hope to all such.

Again the worker of the North, who has seen large droves of Negroes invade his territorial reserve since the war, and taking "his job," can be relied upon as good timber. The fact that he was brought North by his own kind Masters never seriously enters into the realms of his cognition.

In the South the slave owner who sees this emigration going on, cannot help but be favorable material for the Klan, and it goes without saying that the "poor white trash" due to ancient prejudices finds himself lined up solid for an organization that originally was born in the neck of the

(Continued on page 6)

Treaties and "Boes"

In Two Parts: Part Two.

THE pressure of credit on Europe: the struggle of finance for dominance: and its concrete effort to subdue Germany and Russia to its will involves an effort of expansion and concentration unparalleled. As a matter of fact, Germany is wiped off the map as an independent commercial, and its resources do but strengthen the economic advantages of her industrial rivals. To balance their budgets and stabilize their exchange, the nations have—by various means—tariffed off imports. But, as we have tried to show industrially, reduced imports, inevitably entail reduced exports and vice-versa, of course. Because commerce is international and purchasing power hinges on exchange. The pressure of finance on industry, and the pressure of Bolshevism on both has brought the nations to the verge of crises. To ward it off, to steady and impart some activity to industry there is the German loan. The modern "God of Bentham," Plainly, it is wholly inadequate for the purpose. Nevertheless in the application of it, the German proletariat, and with them the British—the whole world in fact—will find themselves in the tension of a struggle for existence, unequalled in all history. The machine will control us with draconian ruthlessness; living standards will be driven down; and clamoring need, chained to its necessity, by the power of a finance—i.e., the capitalist system—whose privilege is the measure of our ignorance. Moreover, if Britain is become dominant in central and south eastern Europe, it can only be at the expense of La Belle France. With La Belle on the edge of the abyss: the franc artificially maintained; with paper money on the limit of 40 b. Francs; with forced loans and unbalanced budgets: and burdened with "reparations"—we may say that such power is to be achieved only by force. Hence "our" feet appear to be quite firmly planted on the road that leads to war. Whether "agreement" can prevent war: whether the possession of oil may render it impossible; or whether social intelligence will drive it forever into oblivion, we cannot say. Our intent is to hasten the latter. Here we connect up with the main issue.

Walton Newbold says (supporting the Labor party) "I want a union with Soviet Russia to keep the Baltic and North Seas open for the security of the food ships. I want peace with France," "and co-operation with the states of Europe." Peace and co-operation with the states of Europe means the "peace" of exploitation. It means the reconstruction and readjustment of European chaos, for a common share in their common privilege of their common "justice," of exploiting the resource and peoples of the world, for their individual aggrandisement. Consequently, bourgeois "peace and co-operation" is not the problem and has no interest to the proletariat. Security, sea routes, good ships, are not the problems of socialism. Not yet. Nor can they be organized for the purpose—yet. Granted that industrial Britain cannot feed itself by 80%. It is not our problem to help the capitalist class to perpetuate "business." Nor to overcome its direct sequences. That is the problem of the capitalist class whose intensified exploitation has brought its miserable slaves to the verge of utter starvation. Let capital fear for its results. And let us open the eyes of the slaves to its cause. For, be assured, unless labor knows the cause, and controls the issue, then it will be the capitalist class by the power of its governments, that will control both the food ships and the sea routes, and the peace—by violence if necessary.

And despite the commonly expressed opinion of labor, that the Labor Government is a revolutionary government; despite Com. Harrington's remark that "the indications are sufficiently revolutionary to warrant admiration," despite Com. "C's" implication that the "drifter" is wrong: who sees in the Labor Government only the safe guarding of capital-

ist interests, we say expressly that such opinion is fallacious and confuses the issue at stake. "Drifting" is no policy of socialism. It is, on the contrary, the principle of the Labor Party,—borrowed from the "Manchester School." The Labor Government is neither a revolutionary government, nor the imitation of it. Nor ever will in its present form. And its whole business has been the "safeguarding" of capitalist interests. It has openly repudiated the very name of socialism. It has sought to sustain the prestige of British tradition. It has striven to alleviate the excesses of capitalist exigency. It has endeavored to negotiate a treaty with Russia, in the interests of bourgeois industry, on the specious plea of the capitalist class that commerce is beneficial to labor. Even against its own pledges, it has ratified the Versailles Treaty as no former government had ever done. It has accepted Dawes, thus banding Central Europe to finance—pleading the necessity of the Rhur evacuation in the interests of "peace and reconstruction." While to different capitalist ambitions, it has refused the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt—pleading the usual interests. It has offered no whisper of comment on Irak—for Irak is oil; nor on Turkey—the intermediary of diplomacy; nor the dictatorship of Italy—privilege; nor the insurrection in Georgia—against the Soviet. Truly, as Com. Harrington says, "Socrates may be a man one day, and a moon, the next." It has stood by while Kenya is being enslaved. It has forgotten the mandates and the slavery of the Pacific Isles. And it was as silent as a god in the day of trial, when the striking textile workers in India were shot down by government troops in the streets. Not to mention its domestic "naval ratings," etc. But never a word about the source of the profit; the reason of the 'deed'; the nature of the peace. Never a hint of the blood and tears, so lush in the cutting of the bond. Never a whisper of the class struggle; never an allusion to property right. Always it has veiled the issue in temporising expediency. Always occluded the fact, with the flying films of the omnipresent. Hence it has made the task of education more difficult; the cause of the conflict more obscure; the advent of socialism more distant. Its record is the record of a capitalist government. It has toiled obsequiously in the service of business. And of necessity, it has betrayed the working class and its freedom.

This idea of the more or less revolutionary indications of labour, and the practical need of conciliative associations, comes out once more in Com. MacLeod's editorial (Sept. 16) "The working out of a philosophy may occasion as much argument as the philosophy itself, but it is apparent that in Russia's case each is merged in the other. A rigid ideal may be set so high that pronouncement upon it becomes a very logical formalism. Altogether, without prejudice to those who hold by the tactical values of the latter position, with working class education in view, it is apparent that practice imposes its claims in work-a-day affairs, big and small."

Whence also, it is apparent that philosophers are not always philosophical. The working argument of the philosophy is occasioned, either by a false philosophy or a false interpretation of it. Its truth—or otherwise—rests on the test of experience: its principles formulated on that test. In other words, the philosophy is the incidence of fact; its principle the key to its service. In our case, that incidence is socialism, and although its philosophy is dialectic (consequential change) it does not follow that its principle is subject to the same process. If the philosophy is false, turn it; if it is misinterpreted, resolve it; if it is true, go forward with its enlightenment. For that enlightenment alone, can abate the "argument" of its working. That this philosophy and its working are merged in the case of Russia, is not only not apparent; but it isn't true. (1) The treaty with Russia was a trade treaty, in the interests solely of bourgeois commerce. It was

promulgated, long ago, at Genoa, by that wily opportunist Lloyd George, in the service of precisely the same commerce. Commerce is the consummation of necessity in Britain; Russia is a potential market for that necessity; and the treaty a potential opening for the possible capitalisation of Russia. A treaty with Russia on those terms is of no more value to the workers than a similar treaty with America or Nippon. And it facilitates the social intercourse of the peoples, no more than legislation facilitates sobriety. The one interest of the workers is to understand that philosophy: the one business of the philosopher is to help them to that end. Not to agitate organisations for purchase of a "right," that can never be for sale. The workings of exploitation have brought the working class to the degradation of near extinction. To resolve the sequence of that excess is the problem of the capitalist class. Not ours. Our problem is to forward the enlightenment which alone can abolish the system whose necessary sequence is the brilliant technology of the industrial arts and the awful degradation of the society which suffers its insolence of privilege. That is neither a rigid ideal, nor a logical formalism. On the contrary, it is pragmatic necessity. And the implication that socialist education may wait on the practical affairs of work-a-day life, is nothing more than the dangerous beginnings of the "aptitude" of labor politics for obscurantist tactics. And the only reason that practice imposes the specious claims of the dead past on living life, is the ignorance of our class—of all society—to the hoary superstitions of power and its "changing" justice, of "eternal truth," and if a tithe of the energy were directed to the destruction of the fantastic lie, that is now consumed in the "practical politics" of the blind leaders of the blind, our ideal would be realised today.

The class struggle—that is the real issue. In these days of a dying civilisation; with a hard pressed master class; with a short lived phase of finance, bonding, restricting, crushing the social forces on all sides; with markets dead and unemployment rampart; with debt irredeemable and taxes by default; with the clamoring of necessity more insistent, and the gathering of the forces of revolution more ominous, with the securing of life more precarious, and the precocities of destruction more appalling—these are the broad winged harbingers of revolution; the crimson eve of a social austerity whose morrow will awake to the destruction of its emperors. They are past all hope of reform; they are crushed by the armour of their own security; and they cry with the surging, swelling, thrilling clamancy of necessity, abolition, abolition of capitalist property.

(1) If this remark applies only to Russia, it still does not alter the case—much. The "philosophy" being worked out in Russia is not socialism, but the philosophy of the Soviet revolution. Not quite the same thing, is it? Nor does it lead to the same thing. The Soviet revolution appears as an attempt to force an issue other than the simpler intent of the Russian people. That intent being accomplished, the larger issue is frustrated. Why? Because that larger issue is unseen. Western capital with its unseeing proletariat forces a development always tending away from that greater issue. And unless quite other causes supervene the process of its 'working' is like to "merge" in an altogether different philosophy. Hence the struggle—and its obvious lesson—the class issue. Here, not in Russia.

ALBERTA NOTES

Calgary

Business meeting of local Calgary, A. P. of C., to hold every second Tuesday at 8 p.m.

Communist class every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Address: 124 1/2 Ave., West, Calgary, Alberta. Everybody Welcome.

Where is the "Straight Issue?"

THOSE latter-day socialists who oppose labor parties on principle as they oppose the old line bourgeois parties, I here continue to maintain, are very far from Marx's persuasion on the matter, in spite of their claim to be his disciples in political theory and practice. To Marx, support of labor parties was a particular socialist function in forwarding the class struggle and so hastening what he saw as a trend in the social process towards an inevitable goal of a socialist order of life. Among other defects in the reasoning of those anti-labor party socialists who are contending with myself on the matter, I detect the influence of the idea, idealistic in conception, that revolutionary socialism has not alone the care of socialist principles but that it is also the sole repository of them. Hence the desire to avoid friendly contacts with labor parties—for fear of defilement of the purity of those principles. With Marx—Marx the materialist, who contended that changing material conditions of life (economic evolution) was the conditioning source of changing social ideas—with Marx, on the contrary, not in socialist parties merely, but it is in the proletariat as a whole, as a class born of historically developed conditions, where those principles inhere and unfold into active principles of social life, through the struggles of the proletariat against the conditions of production of the existing social order. Furthermore, still are these anti-labor party Marxists at a distance from Marx, for he not only held it to be a socialist function to co-operate with and support the parties of the Proletariat, but he also held it to be a socialist function to lend support, on occasion, to the parties of the small properted, petty bourgeois interest in their struggles with the dominant capitalist and reactionary feudal or semi-feudal interests. Seen, of course out of the context of Marx's theory such compromise policies seem like veriest opportunism snatching at momentary advantages, and opportunism is a word on the socialist blacklist. But there is a certain superficiality in this indiscriminate blacklisting indulged in by socialists. There is a fine meaning to the word opportunism as well as a bad one, for the highest task of intelligence is to grasp and realize genuine opportunity, possibility. And Marx's dialectical conception of history became in his hands not alone a method of investigation in the sense of a post-mortem examination of what had happened and how it happened, it was also a means of revealing genuine opportunities for forwarding the cause of the revolution, it became his philosophy of life in the class struggle, the vital core of historical intelligence with which he went to his work of studying ways and means for forwarding the class struggle. Here let me point out that, as socialists, we are linked with Marx, are titled to the peculiar term Marxists, not particularly because we endorse the class-struggle theory, for others had noted the function of class struggles in history before Marx, nor because we slavishly or imitatively adopt the policies he recommended in his time, but only because we make use of his dialectic conception as a guide to present activity. Excepting one element in Marx's conception, I myself subscribe to it. That element, the preconception of the inevitability of socialism, as a Darwinian evolutionist who must consider the possibilities of change in any direction, I reject. It is ancient, out of date science and bad philosophy for the struggle. I must hold that the outcome of the social process at any particular time is the outcome of the play of forces engaged, and that the goal of a socialist future does not inhere or govern the line of progress, as the oak tree is supposed to inhere in the acorn and govern subsequent developments. Evolution is not mere development of the same original life. Infinite variability is the characteristic of the modern conception of the evolutionary process. I might, for instance, have to consider, by certain evidence, the possibility of the defeat of civilization once more, or the possibility of a political and social development towards an institutional life impregnated with

the principles of an industrial feudal order of graded rank and servile status.

Let us consider the latter possibility a moment. If the feudalism of medieval times is dead as a form of institutional life, the spirit animating those institutions lives on and perhaps is resurgent in these latter days. The spirit feudal forms embodied was the spirit of caste, of economic and political and social absolutism, monarchial or obligarchical, and of servile status for the many. That spirit, in conception and practice, has been an ever present and powerful force in all forms of society since political society began. All history is the scene of the struggles of underlying peoples for political and economic freedoms or to retain such partial freedoms as may have been gained or recover freedoms lost to an ever encroaching Absolutism in one form or another. Political liberalism and economic socialism are but successive phases of the struggle in modern times. They mark phases of a hardly won trend away from the time when Absolutism was a dominant, all-prevailing and almost unchallenged fact of social life, towards the political and economic self-government of peoples through democratic institutions. The principle of absolutism and the principles of democratic self-government of peoples, are the antithetical social principles contending for place as ways of life in all the struggles of history, considered as a history of class struggles. Complete democracy may never be in practice achieved, but it remains a value, an ideal to inspire to the attainment of such partial freedoms as may be, to their continued extension as ways of life.

In the last issue I attempted a description of Marx's conception of history and the manner and way of its development through class struggles, and also his conception of the position of revolutionaries to the working class parties. I now make further quotations in support of my contention that the anti-labor party position is not a Marxian position. The following quotation is from "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," a series of letters written by Marx for the "New York Tribune" during 1851-1852 analysing the political condition in Europe, particularly in Germany at that time and the years leading up to it. The quotation justifies communist support, not alone of labor parties but also of petty bourgeois parties and also gives, briefly, the theory of class-struggle:

Date, Dec. 1852.

(The Communist party in Germany) . . . "In accordance with the principles of the 'Manifesto' (published in 1848), and with those (already) explained in the series of articles on 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,' published in the New York Daily Tribune, this Party never imagined itself capable of producing, at any time and at its pleasure, the revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice. It studied the causes which had produced the revolutionary movement in 1848, and the causes that made them fail. Recognizing the social antagonism of classes at the bottom of all political struggles, (emphasis mine) it applied itself to the study of the conditions under which one class of society can and must be called on to represent the whole of the interests of a nation, and thus politically to rule over it. History showed to the Communist party how, after the landed aristocracy of the Middle Ages, the monied power of the first capitalists arose and seized the reins of Government; how the social influence and political rule of this financial section of capitalists was superseded by the rising strength since the introduction of steam, of the manufacturing capitalists, and how at the present moment claim their turn of domination, the petty trading class and the industrial working class. The practical revolutionary experience of 1848-1849 confirmed the reasonings of theory, which led to the conclusion that the Democracy of the petty traders must first have its turn, before the Communist working class could hope to permanently establish itself in power and destroy that system of wage-slavery which keeps it under the yoke of the bourgeoisie." (p. 185-186, "Rev. and Counter-Rev.")

Here now let us again see how Marx's conception of this dialectic course of history governs his reasoning on an immediate problem of proletarian policy. He is discussing in a letter dated Oct. 1851, the successful Berlin revolutionary bourgeois insur-

rection of 18th March 1848, mainly due to the energy of proletarian support. The results were mainly, the establishment of a constitution and a restricted, indirect electoral system, and a hasty coalescing of the higher bourgeoisie with the aristocracy, for fear of more revolutionary demands from the Proletariat:

"These acts of the ministry," writes Marx, "gave a most rapid development to the popular, or as it now called itself, the Democratic party. This party, headed by the petty trading and shopkeeping class, and uniting under its banner, in the beginning of the revolution, the large majority of the working people, demanded direct and universal suffrage, the same as established in France, a single legislative assembly, and full recognition of the revolution of the 18th of March, as the base of the new government system . . ."

"The independent movement of the working class had, by the revolution, been broken up for a time. The immediate wants and circumstances of the movement were such as not to allow any of the specific demands of the Proletarian party to be put in the foreground. In fact, as long as the ground was not cleared for the independent action of the working men, as long as direct and universal suffrage was not yet established, as long as the thirty-six larger and smaller states continued to cut up Germany into numberless morsels, what else could the Proletarian party do but watch the—for them all-important—movement of Paris, and struggle in common with the petty shopkeepers for the attainment of those rights, which would allow them to fight afterwards their own battle?"

"There were only three points, then, by which the Proletarian party in its political action essentially distinguished itself from the petty trading class, or properly so-called Democratic party; firstly, in judging differently the French movement, with regard to which democrats attacked, and the Proletarian revolutionists defended, the extreme party in Paris; secondly, in proclaiming the necessity of establishing a German republic, one and indivisible, while the very extremist ultras among the democrats only dared to sigh for a Federative republic; and thirdly in showing upon every occasion, that revolutionary boldness and readiness for action, in which any party headed by, and composed principally of petty tradesmen, will always be deficient." (p.p. 72-73-74, Rev. and Counter-Rev.)

To Marx just because his conception of historical development implied continuity, every step away from Absolutism towards a wider diffusion of power and a broadening down of liberties from class to class was a gain for the proletarian revolution, a shortening of the process to the goal of socialism, therefore gains worthy of proletarian struggle. But, not so, says J. A. McDonald, who calls himself a Marxist, while some reforms may be beneficial to the workers, "we leave reforms to the ruling class," and of labor parties, he says, "they are our rivals," to be by socialists brow beaten, misrepresented, defeated. He has never even a thought that the dialectic of history has called them into being in the class struggle as much as organized centers of working class resistance to the ever-present efforts of Absolutism to encroach on the gains of the past, as for the struggle for further gains in the future. "R" goes further than J. A. Says he, The struggle for preservation is a futility, reforms are vararies. Since the issue is capitalist property right, "the conflict must be settled in the mind before the mind can settle the conflict in society. That is why labor never 'picks up by the way.'" What a sense of history he has. So, in their hundreds of years of struggle with monarchial and feudal interests the bourgeoisie never "picked up by the way." Thinking of "R's" intellectualist conception of history, I think of the shrinking, buffeted, despised trader, say of the 5th century, and his harried guilds struggling for life under the heavy hand of feudal monarch or jealous and grasping baron. I see usury burned by bell, book and candle, cursed of Holy Mother Church. But a few centuries later, say in the 13th century, I see traders sitting in the councils of the realm and guild towns holding their courts with almost a royal magnificence and stately pomp, and furnishing their own armed men for the foreign wars; Kings are treating with them, with respect and deference, and barons supplicating for favors. And as for usury, ask today of Holy Mother Church.

(Continued on page 8)

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.

Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor: Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

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

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

931

VANCOUVER, B. C., JANUARY 2, 1925.

THE USES OF MAKE BELIEVE.

WHAT with the ways of mankind at this season of the year there should be marked up to his favor articles of creditable appreciation for his wonderful capacity to dodge his own judgement and to fall back on all manner of excuses, ancient and modern, for his fanciful, make-believe habit of mind in what he is pleased to call the festive season. If he follows the faith of his fathers in the ways of Christendom he sings his carols and voices strangely and with a certain note of yearning an all embracing goodwill to mankind that he knows full well will suffer shock when the festive day is over and he comes back to the daily scramble from his journey into the world of make-believe. If he is an up-to-date pagan he acts in very similar fashion, and finds authority for the effort toward cheerfulness in the passing of winter's night and the consequent reasonableness of his appearance of joy. But, Christian or infidel, from whatever source they may present their festive excuses and however they may seek to impose upon their activities the appearance of reasonableness, they act similarly and they do that very probably from the fact that the every day circumstances of life demand, every now and then, an escape from the grind of hard fact and relief is sought in sharp contrast. So man preserves saint days, holy-days, anniversaries, and while these are reflective in one way and another of the course of his history across the ages and of his ideological reactions to the changing order of time, they are kept alive not solely through historical association but are found to be safety valves, avenues of escape from the exigencies of present care.

So today, in company with our fellows, we set forth our flimsy appearances of reasonableness and mingle with the crowd.

HERE AND NOW

HERE and Now, entering upon another calendar cycle, we confess to hard going in the world of make-believe. We are confronted, as of yore, with the skeleton-like appearance of our dollars and cents column and we register a hope that it will lengthen and broaden itself in these days to come. In short, we wish it a prosperous New Year. Witness its present appearance, its lean and hungry look:

Following \$1 each: Fred Wood, B. Tamarkin, O. E. Liimatta, R. Gooding, F. Kelly, A. McDonald, J. Bone, F. Cox, "T. H. B.", Wm. Lyall, W. Steen, B. Cummings, Walter Wilson.

Following \$2 each: O. P. Lundgard, H. P. Graham, C. W. Blair, Kath. Smith, J. McKinnon (per M. Farrell), Wm. Erwin.

J. Yates \$1.50; A. Tree \$3; C. Bright \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs. received from 12 to 23 Dec., inclusive, total \$31.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. Yates \$1.26; A. Tree \$2; J. Myers 50 cents; Wm. Erwin \$2; St. John Comrades (Oct.) \$6.75; St. John Comrades (Nov.) \$6, per S. E. White, total \$12.75; A. McDonald, 75 cents; C. Bright, \$3.50; Walter Wilson, \$2.

Above, C.M.F. receipts from 12th to 23rd Dec., inclusive, total \$24.76.

Where Are We Heading?

BY J. A. McDONALD.

OUR present discussion is centred around matters of Party policy. The question to be answered is, as I see it, should the S. P. of C. continue its innovation of compromising with labor parties during political campaigns, or should the Party revert to its former position of independent Socialist action at all times?

Much has already been written on both sides of the question and I trust that the Party membership will shortly be given an opportunity to make a decision one way or the other. Were it not for the seriousness of the situation it would be amusing to note the arguments advanced by the supporters of the new political policy. Quotations are selected from every possible source and, then, garbled to such a degree that the authors would be at a loss to recognize their own effusions.

In Clarion No. 928 appears an extract reprinted from the November issue of "Plebs." The first two, and the last two paragraphs are deleted. These sections were not suitable for propaganda purposes, in the present controversy, so they had to go by the board.

The very first paragraph in the Plebs article contains the reasons for more intensive study and action on the part of the membership. Here it is: "The increasing recognition which our movement is beginning to obtain calls for us to take more and more the work of trade union education into our charge, and imposes upon us burdens greater by far than those which we have hitherto known."

Now here we have a plain statement concerning the cause for the contemplated change. The Plebs is entirely non-party, and no hint whatever is given that the group intends in future to become the tail to some large political kite. The Plebs educational policy has always been opposed to the idea that a profound social change can be accomplished by legal or democratic means. Not a line in the article forecasts a deviation from this policy.

The movement, according to its sponsors, is increasing in numbers and influence and consequently finds greater action indispensable to further progress. They examine themselves for the purpose of finding ways and means of keeping their policy in harmony with the greater demands made upon them.

But where does this attitude on the part of Plebs coincide with the stand of those who want to popularize the S. P. of C.? Our innovators do not even claim that they are gaining in recognition and influence. On the contrary they admit that the Party is in a defunct condition. They are determined to become attached to a Labor Party while the Plebs group eschew such a position with equal determination. They expect to regenerate society through democratic means while the Plebs group are irreconcilable opponents of such tactics.

Self-examination is oftentimes a necessity in the revolutionary movement. In my contributions to this discussion I have pointed out where the S. P. of C. could make many useful changes without liquidating its platform or manifesto. In the economic classes too much emphasis was placed on "linen" and "coats" and not enough on the application of Marxian economics to those social issues and problems which demand a scientific explanation. Much good would accrue from such a change.

In the propaganda meetings it is not well to devote too much attention to the Merovingians, Carolingians, Thuringians, or Peruvians. Such references are invaluable in the class room, but the platform should be occupied for the purpose of making clear the nature of the struggle between the capitalist class and the proletariat. Such a change in method would be conducive to successful mass meetings, and would dispense with the graveyard atmosphere surrounding the S. P. of C. today.

In the Party organ too much space is reserved for windy, voluminous mystics in whose contribu-

tions the element of chaff outweighs that of wheat. We can well afford to curtail the publication of those long pointless screeds. The Clarion should be made more of what it professes to be—a journal of economics, philosophy, history, and current events. These issues can be treated in such a way as to increase the circulation and add greatly to the influence of both paper and party.

Another reprint, to help bolster up a hopeless case, comes from The Modern Quarterly—"The Rise and Fall of Neo-Communism." The writer—Haim Kantorovich—makes some points that are really good. The reference to the artists in the radical movement, and their lack of scientific analysis, is timely and well done. But his attitude on social reforms reveals that he suffers from the deficiency he finds in the artists.

He could fill a book with quotations to prove that every Marxist in Europe is an advocate of social reforms. Any reader of Marxian literature knows how false and ridiculous is such an assertion.

Of course we must have recourse to the particular "point of view." What does he mean by Marxian. Here we have it—"It was terrible to read that the first proletarian government was arresting hundreds of socialists." That's it. Kerensky's party—The Social Revolutionaries—are the Marxians he finds in Russia. Obviously, the I. L. P. are his chosen brand in England. That these parties embrace social reforms we must unreservedly concede but that they are Marxists we must just as vigorously deny.

Another example of the new argumentation is the case I referred to in Clarion No. 928, concerning the extract from the New Leader. An editorial note intimates that the criticism was not fair and a new version is adduced. Bold faced type is presented so that I may see. No, dear editor, such solicitude is quite uncalled for. My eyesight is excellent. Passed five different examinations during the wicked war years, and yet never ventured into anything dangerous enough to induce myopia, or otherwise impair my vision.

As for the Leader extract, I contend that my criticism was not only fair but generous. I could have been much more pointed in my attack and still have kept well within the boundary of the facts. Just as in the case of the Plebs only a part of the article was reprinted. That portion suitable for a definite purpose. While it was stated that an attitude like Brailsford's on the class struggle, is never found in labor party electioneering literature the inference is plainly that the I. L. P. understands and endorses the doctrine of the class struggle but, during election campaigns, "the Labor Party commissions the writing of its leaflets to the journalistically able rather than to the theory men among them." This, as the article continues, is for the purpose of "getting in" and, then, of course, the theory men can do the rest.

* Editor's Note: The obvious unfairness of Comrade McDonald's criticism in this connection compels him now to call "inference" to aid him in a weak case. Had he in the first place recognized that we prefaced the Brailsford avowal of the class struggle with the statement that such a statement was never to be found in I. L. P. or Labor Party electioneering literature, he need not have fallen into the error of supposing us to be so blind to the facts of our own personal experience as to identify the general work of the British I. L. P. or Parliamentary Labor Party with any doctrinaire acceptance of the class struggle or general official propaganda conducted by them on that basis. To do so would be ridiculous, the more particularly so since "The New Leader" and "The Socialist Review" respectively the weekly and monthly official organs of the I. L. P.—have each recently entered the plea that the class struggle should have recognition in their propaganda work. In reproducing Brailsford's statement on the class struggle, with the introductory remark that such was not to be found in I. L. P. or Labor Party electioneering literature, we simply reproduced the findings of the original article itself in respect of characteristic Labor Party propaganda. Comrade McDonald now acknowledges that but leans on an inference for which he is himself responsible.

The w
written w
new polit
by a refer
ment. He
class strug
former, w
solution o
S. P. of C
similar w
I will

As to the
reference
Russell, T
theorists.
Comrade M

As to
intention
false light
duce "The
studies and
part we re
view in its
Comrade M
these matt
doubt, but
having bee
erate char
falling into
ter otherw
time and a

Wations of
haste, and
the battle
Neverthe
articles, a
viz—"M
parties sh
ative inst
the worki
"The soc
an anaem
ation, but
ally gain
etc.—"Re
conditions
etc. Kno
terpreted
forms to
difficultie
laissez fa
geois traf
legitimate
ment of t
though th
advance i
all eviden
ism. The
minority
to the "I
of benefi
have hap

The "
the ways
of proper
relief from
only poss
Capitalist
know, and
the matt
doctrin
like the
chloroform
benefic
ism of cl
rowed pu
science
spell of
understan
and rou

The whole editorial appears to me to have been written with the object in view of proving that the new political policy of the S. P. of C. is supported by a reference to the British working class movement. Here is Brailford—a firm believer in the class struggle doctrine, also at the same time a reformer, who sees in bourgeois parliamentarism the solution of our social problems. Why cannot the S. P. of C. espouse the same doctrine and work in a similar way for the same objective?

I will leave it to the Clarion readers to examine

As to the "theory men among them," we had, of course, reference to Brailford, Webb, J. R. MacDonald, Snowden, Russell, Tawney, Cole, Taylor and other "social reform theorists." We are unable to follow the conclusions of Comrade MacDonald on this point.

As to "The Plebs" reprint, we certainly disclaim any intention of cutting a reprint to set the authors forth in a false light. The particular local circumstances which induce "The Plebs" people to review the nature of their studies and the scope of their work as comprised in the part we reproduced are by no means essential to that review in its general outside application and usefulness. Comrade MacDonald reads fell designs and purposes into these matters, with perfectly good intentions we have no doubt, but his interpretation leaves us with a feeling of having been grossly misjudged. We have contrived to tolerate charges of evasion and garbling from him without falling into his mood. There is and has been enough matter otherwise presented in these columns to occupy his time and attention without our imposing that burden.

the editorial in question, and my criticism of it, and render judgment. Surely he would seek to separate Brailford from the party to which he belongs, and whose official organ he edits for a liberal remuneration.

Another footnote contains the information that no change has been made in Party policy. Welcome news, if true. But there's the rub! In Clarion No. 920 is an article by Comrade Harrington—"Concerning Party Outlook"—from which I will reproduce the following—"The Canadian Labor Party and our attitude towards it is another matter and we are bound to meet the issue without equivocation. The plain fact is that officially we have taken a new stand on the matter. We have recognized them as a working class party and have cooperated with them in an election. We have done this before but never officially. I as the official candidate of the S. P. of C. have received the endorsement of a Labor Party Convention in open negotiation; I have spoken at their meetings and they have spoken at mine."

Still, says the editor's note, "no resolve has been taken and no deed has been done. That needs—at least a quorum." Looks as though it was accomplished minus the quorum. But the question remains—Does the Party membership decide that the action of their executive shall become Party law?

"C.'s" "Tactics"

WHY, asks Com. "C" do I imply he holds "revolutionary change must go slow," when my advocacy of intelligent organizations of advance should evidence my desire for haste, and my belief in "superior ways of fighting the battle." The objection is patently a side issue. Nevertheless the inference is implicit in all "C's" articles, and surely contained in his original thesis, viz.—"My stand is, that revolutionary socialist parties should recognise Labor Parties as representative institutions of an independent movement of the working class in the practical life of politics." "The social revolution must be carried out not by an anaemic working class under the pressure of privation, but by a body of full-blooded workers gradually gaining strength from improved conditions," etc.—"Reforms are such means; reforms for better conditions . . . for social controls . . . for social ends," etc. Knowing that reforms are the reflex of misinterpreted conditions; knowing the necessity of reforms to the needs of capital industry; knowing the difficulties of their enactment against the inertia of laissez faire; knowing their derivation from bourgeois trafficking in contingency; is not the inference legitimate? And consequently the independent movement of the working class a dream of desire? And though the advocacy of intelligent organization of advance is admittedly evidence of haste, it is not at all evidence of superior tactics. Nor even of Marxism. The organization of advance is of necessity a minority organization. And society will not be led to the "promised land" of socialism by the Moses of beneficent superiority. Were it possible it would have happened ages ago.

The "superior ways of fighting the battle" are the ways of the straight issue, the social antagonism of property right in the means of life. The only relief from its misery, the only hope of freedom, the only possibility of culture, is the utter abolition of Capitalist society. The working class does not know, and does not want socialism, because none put the matter squarely before it,—except discredited doctrinaires, squabbling in the face of the enemy, like the covenants at Bothwell. The workers are chloroformed everywhere, with reforms; with the beneficence of property right, with the impressionism of classic culture; with the sensitivities of "borrowed psychology"; and the travesties of modern science. Further reforms cannot break the wizard spell of capitalist property. Only the "prince" of understanding can throw down the gates of power and rouse society to the peace of economic freedom.

Nevertheless that understanding cannot be ransomed by desire. It is a product of time condition, a fruition of recognised necessity.

The development of the capitalist system, by the process of expropriation, draws the increasing ranks of the proletariat more and more into the unity of common interest. The incident progression of capitalist degradation necessitates the alleviations of the moment. The daily struggle for existence, and its daily perversion of fact, drives the proletariat into the shambles of reaction. And out of the pit there is only one way,—the abolition of capitalist society. To point that way—not to construct—the formulæ of unforeseen progress; to expose the cause of the class struggle and expound the nature of capitalist property, is the raison d'être of the socialist party. When society recognises that way it will create its own formulæ; when it sees the cause of the class struggle, it will put an end to the struggle; and when it grasps the meaning of capitalist property it will abolish capital. The process requires no other elaboration than knowledge. Speak the truth without quibble and confusion: the form of its expression will care for its own organisation. Thus is our "disdain" of labor's organisations, a mirage of the new psychology. It is no part of the straight issue.

Here we divide a crow with the editor. In a footnote he implies I ignore "the human factor." We challenge the implication. Time after time we have said that the mind courtesating with experience is the primal spring of social change and progress. Is not that the essence of the human factor? Does local No. 1 consider it possible to eat the doughnut, and still retain the hole in the centre? We are also aware that party organisation is of party concern. If the "deed being done" called for comment, why was the comment not forthwith to the original, Nov. 1? I used it as a quotation—and provisionally at that. If that is all the criticism straight tactics calls for then the reform issue is indeed anaemic.

* Editor's Note: Our reference was, of course, to our own sparse congregation and to the manner of their negative reaction to long prayers. That was the compass of our human element for the time and not at all the human element of society at large. Looking over the note again we strongly suspect that on this point we were joking.

As to the "deed being done"—in a foot note to J. A. Mc D's "Tactics and Other Things" (Sep. 16) we called his attention to our election time deed of official recognition of the C. L. P. as a political body of the working class and to the fact that this recognition was given in our correspondence with that body, the correspondence being published in our issue of June 2. We gather that "R" must have

Com. "C" enunciated a particular theory of tactics which was challenged. We have tried to show its fundamental unsoundness. We have gone over it point by point, by argument and illustration, and we fail to find it acceptable. We stand for the straight issue of the class struggle for the abolition of capital, through the social perception of the servile relations of capitalist property. That the only way of abolition, i.e., the tactics of its triumph, is the class conscious understanding by the proletariat of the essential slavery of capitalist democracy. The development of that understanding is prepared, fostered and nourished by the development of capitalist society. But the issue of its maturity is time conditioned, by the social perception of its necessity. In paper after paper we have elaborated that thesis; stated it as the harmony of Hist. Mater. We may be quite wrong. The wisdom of the ages is not in our "ego." But Com. "C" has steered clear of the issue. Now we invite him to show the fallacy of the proposition. We are not anxious to win the argument. We stand on practically the same ground as he does. We want socialism. We want the truth of the matter. We shall discard the rags of our philosophy more easily than we can shed the rags of our necessity. The service of the fact is everything. Our vanities and our ego's nothing. They are of lowly origin, and, like ourselves, they vanish, when, in the words of Tyndal, "you and I, like bits of morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite blue of the past." R.

considered there was some other "deed" involving our commitment to the policies of bodies other than our own. Surely we don't have to say that if it were so we would at once proclaim it.

MANIFESTO

of the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
(Fifth Edition)

Per copy.....10 cents

Per 25 copies.....\$2

Post Paid.

Literature Price List

	Cloth Bound.	Per Copy
Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx)		\$1.15
Ancient Society		1.85
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32 Chapters		
"Capital," vol. 1, (Marx)		1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution		80c
Science and Revolution		80c
The Militant Proletariat		80c
Evolution Social and Organic		80c
Puritanism		80c
Ethics and History		80c
Germans of Mind in Plants		80c
The Triumph of Life		80c
Social Revolution (Kautsky)		80c
Essays on Materialist		
Conception of History (Labriola)		1.50
Social Studies (Lafargue)		80c
	Paper Covers.	Per Copy
Evolution of Man (Prof. Bolsche)		20c
Wage-Labor and Capital		10c
Independent Working Class Education		10c
Communist Manifesto		10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)		10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific		15c
Slave of the Farm		10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.		10c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)		10c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)		25c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)		15c
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville)		5c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)		25c
Civil War in France (Marx)		35c

All prices include postage.

	Quantity Rates on Paper Covered Pamphlets.
Two Essays on History	25 copies 75c
Communist Manifesto	25 copies \$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies \$2.00
Present Economic System	25 copies \$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25 copies \$2.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies \$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies \$2.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies \$2.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies \$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies \$2.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies \$2.00
Christianism and Communism	5 copies \$1.00

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

The Root of All Diseases

BY F. EVANS.

If we look into the present order of things, the first thing that attracts our attention is the straightened circumstances and hand to mouth existence of the majority of society. Yet this destitution is supposed to be the natural order of things and it is supposed that it cannot be altered. Moreover we are told from certain sections of society that it is the acme of perfection, the best possible of all systems.

These boosters and champions of capitalism have a lot to explain and answer for. They would confer a great obligation by telling us why it was necessary, during the last ten years, for millions of workers to die ignominiously for the perpetuation of such an exalted system. This toll in life has been demanded by capitalism in that short space of time. What a hideous calamity! First the world war with its bloody horrors demanding millions of the flower of mankind from every corner of the earth. Then the flu epidemic that was a direct counterpart of the war, being produced by battlefield conditions, the mortification of human bodies and the spread of germs from this decomposition. Combine with this state of affairs the lowered physical condition of the human race and the stage is already set for any ills that flesh is heir to. The only wonder was that the epidemic did not take a toll ten times greater than it did.

Another charge of mass assassination to be laid at capitalism's door is the millions that have died from famines in different parts of the world in this same period of time. This wholesale starvation was caused in the main by capitalism's savage hordes of plundering, rapacious, military adventurers. These mercenary hounds were hired for the express purpose of destroying the rising revolutionary working class in Russia. Being unable to fulfil their contract, and finding themselves utterly bested at every turn of the wheel, they appeased their ravenous appetite for blood by pillaging and burning the peasant's granaries and stores. These buccaners, let it be remembered, were the ones looked upon as capitalism's heroes and saviours; they were acclaimed and lauded from every section of the master class as humanity's protectors.

Why should we, the exploited, have any desire to work or fight for the continuance of this system? All it means for us is a hell upon earth. At the best our miserable existence is a hideous nightmare. The only thing we get enough of is abuse and starvation. True, if we are lucky enough to find a job, we may get our pork and beans regularly. It is lamentable the contented way the workers accept this squalid and muckstick environment, although, 'tis a fact that most of them are perfectly satisfied and would strenuously oppose any organized attempt on the part of any group to shake off the yoke of bondage.

With such a woebegone outlook, no wonder new cults and religions are erected and established every month. Each new quackery has its own set of jugglers and "Pecksniffs"—all of them combine to hoodwink the workers. It is because of the hocus pocus and the conjuring powers possessed by these charlatans over the exploited class that they are supported and the system perpetuated. The result of this mental chloroform is demonstrated by the drowsy apathetic attitude of those exploited towards the things that should interest them the most. These blaze of glory doctrines all hold out the olive branch to the toilers. It is this mythical happiness that follows in the eternal celestial sphere, that accounts for the success of such inspired catechisms in this earthly vale of tears. What a relief to know that after we are dead we will enter majestically into the joyous land of promise! A place where angels and saints reign forever. A resort where workers can dissipate in luxury and laziness for blessed eternity!

Besides these heavenly scraps, capitalism has

several other groups and associations of defenders. One of these clusters is known as the medical practitioner. These magicians would have us believe they are really scientific. They say they know all about the cause of disease and can cure people of almost anything. The cure can be attained by many peculiar and varied methods, the patient usually choosing the one to meet his fancy. Some prefer the process by the drug, draught, dose or diet way. Others pick a remedy that will stem the tide just as successfully, by the administration of plaster, poultices, potions or pills. All the patient does is to produce the cash. The cure wizard, by waving a wand and casting a spell, will accomplish the rest.

Only the other day a New York doctor conducted an operation to cure a kleptomaniac. He grafted a few sheep glands on a man, and afterwards said the fellow would never steal anything again. If capitalism could only produce more doctors like him, and enough sheep, they might be able to do away with 90 per cent of the police force. Another charmer, advertising his wares in a newspaper of recent date, claims he can by administering a few radium tablets, make a person immune from all prevailing diseases; with this he throws in for good measure a guarantee of long life and happiness. Other soothsayers will "cure" human ills with the same surety and success, with packets of iron, cubes of gold, tablets of yeast or by a thousand and one other ways.

None of these conjurers have ever got down to bed rock. None of them have ever made a serious study of the cause of prevailing disease. They have never made an examination into the facts of economic life. Not understanding the cause, they cannot give a scientific analysis. Their cures, remedies and wares, are 99 per cent hocus pocus, and in many cases they have been proved not only useless but harmful. We claim, these conjurers are of no use to society in general; we also assert that from a working class viewpoint they are like a lion in our path—a general hindrance—and an all around nuisance. At all times they have been amongst the standard-bearers of reaction and are with the staunchest supporters of capitalism today.

How can anyone in his right senses expect the working class in their present slough of despair to be anything but a diseased mass of humanity? The food they eat is for the most part unfit for consumption. It has been produced for profit, not to be eaten. Read Upton Sinclair's novel, "The Jungle"; he gives there a good description of the rotten, cankered, tainted heaps of conglomeration that have been used for canned meat in the packing houses of Chicago. In fact, nearly everything the working class consume is either canned, imitated or adulterated. The same holds true of the workers' wearing apparel; this too is counterfeit, a pile of shoddy rags, not fit to dress a scare-crow up in, even at that they cannot obtain enough of these dog's clothes to keep them warm or to cover their bodies decently.

The cause of disease is not to be found or removed by the Chiropractor's kidney punch; nor are we any nearer the discovery of its origin by practicing Fletcher's theory of food mastication. These practices are but an ineffectual attempt to stay disease, with a desperate endeavor to restore some of Capitalism's shattered wrecks.

The real cause of disease has its genesis in the quagmire and polluted conditions of capitalist society. The only work of any importance for those that have a sincere desire to rid the world of disease is, first of all, to discover the underlying cause. This work entails a complete analysis of society. To understand means to dig deep into the foundations of the system, and socialists are the only ones who are willing to excavate and get down to the roots; therefore they are the only ones that can give a

correct interpretation of the present order of things. Disease, misery and oppression is the spawn thrown from capitalism; to be rid of the former means the complete annihilation of the latter.

Therefore, the main thing of importance is for the working class to study and realize their own condition; when they understand that they will no longer remain such willing galley slaves; they will refuse longer to accept drudgery as their lot. Freedom and health can be obtained by the working class when they desire it, but they must first slip the collar and tear asunder their present bonds of slavery.

(Continued from page 1)

woods after the Civil War. However, the present one has only the name and its anti-negro attitude to connect it with its predecessor. In Washington and Oregon it is anti-wobbly. By taking this stand, it is thus able to line up many patriotic scissorbills of those two lumber states.

In California the K. K. K. follows exactly the same kind of tactics. Composed of the same economic elements, a skilfully woven blanket of reactionary propaganda is adhered to. The prejudices and passions of an unenlightened populace are appealed to. Thus we see an anti-Jap activity on their part as well as an anti-Wobbly, anti-Red and anything that smacks of progression.

And finally, so that nothing should be missed that will add strength and numbers to the Klan, we have an anti-foreigner fare dished up for consumption. Now as America for the "Americans" has long been a favorite dish of this "God's Country," it follows that those who have been treated to a pure American mental message and who are, therefore, qualified as 100% Americans, readily flock to the banner of the sheet and pillowslip.

Of course the mysticism of the Klan, in general with its fiery cross, is always a mark for the religious fanatic outside of the reach of the Pope. But we socialists are more concerned with how the Klan and such kindred organizations must function during a revolutionary crisis. There is the major antagonism of modern society to be considered. We speak now of the Class Struggle, or the struggle between the exploiters and exploited. This struggle is being carried on consciously and politically by members of the revolutionary ranks. Also by many of the members of the upper tier of capitalists. This struggle must finally be brought to a show down. The reason why the powers that be beam so benignantly on the Casey's and the Kluxers is because they see in such methods of keeping the workers divided and also valuable tools to be used in the interests of the dark forces of reaction.

Recognizing such a fact it should be the duty of all those within our ranks to fit ourselves mentally in order that we may better be able to carry the gospel of Marx and Engels into the darkest recesses of the vacant minds of the workers of modern society. For as our ideas, so are we. As long as ignorance of the science of society exists among the workers, there is always existing prospective material for such fascist organizations here dealt with. And though some may rejoice at the squabble between the Casey's and the Kluxers, let us bear well in mind that they must of necessity, by virtue of what they both basically stand for, unite to protect it.

From what has been touched upon, the truth of our opening premise is fully substantiated, and for what they stand for, in general, society, Capitalism, our conclusion is beyond dispute. The October is a work and it must be combated intelligently, and only the revolutionist can do this successfully and carry it to its finale.

Environmental Influences

BY F. W. MOORE.

A PART from those groups of radicals in every country who understand that a class war has been raging from time immemorial, there are hosts of soi-disant brethren who, because of their delusions concerning the meaning of the term environment, and a consequent misconception of its full import, imagine that the transition from the present anarchy in production and distribution to the balanced operations that must characterize the activities of the co-operative commonwealth, needs no special effort on the part of the individual, who is therefore justified in adopting a laissez-faire attitude towards conditions, and in cultivating contentment with the remnants of a system that will soon pass, and leave him in proud possession of an industrially organized world.

We shall try to show why this conception of the situation is quite erroneous. It is, of course, entertained by people who in estimating the power of environment, carelessly ignore certain factors pregnant with effect in moulding the human character, the formation of which they are pleased to ascribe to impressions inspired solely by their industrial experience.

The inspiration of most people, however, is not derived from these sources directly, but from the interpretation put upon them by the agents of an exploiting class, who, having the moulds of public opinion in their possession, are able to distort them to shapes corresponding to those flagrant falsehoods that everywhere pass muster as gospel truth.

These metaphorical grotesques, amongst other places, are embodied in the insidious propaganda with which the news-press of the world is permeated: but that is not all, for in connection with them goes a world-wide surveillance to which are subjected those comrades who are most likely to understand the meaning of the wily tactics of their exploitation—tactics which we shall try to show further down, are the vogue in all localities where working men are wont to congregate.

The propaganda may appear in many guises but is often hidden in items of interesting gossip. It is always directed against institutions, societies, or persons whose existence is considered inimical to the continued dominance of capital. It is therefore not hard to understand why communism should be one of the favourite targets.

In our den are about a dozen old newspapers that the hotel Chinaman has not yet carried off to light his fires: from these we shall take two examples of veiled propaganda.

The first is from the Weekly Province, (Vancouver) for September 18. It is founded on a text of scripture—"But they all had things in common"—Acts, IV, 22. Commenting on this the writer goes on to say: "This early communistic experiment was made under the most favorable conditions. It was directed by unselfish men of indubitable honesty and wisdom, yet it failed miserably as all other forms of communism have failed. They have all been experimental and all brief. The mild forms have ended in disappointment. The fierce forms in disaster.

"Ananias and Sapphira sold their lands for the common fund and made a false return of the proceeds; therefore communism, like the income tax, is a fertile begetter of lies."

Now considering that the communism that he refers to, was parochial and not international, we have no comment to make from a political viewpoint. We presume, however, that he refers to all kinds of communism when he asserts that it is a "fertile begetter of lies." We wonder if he ever were present at one of the many parties held by modern political parties to vilify each other. We ourselves were deluged with one in particular, that might be regarded as a sample of all the others. It is called "The Trail of Burnt Books," being an indictment of certain railroad contractors who are said to have destroyed all memoranda containing the calculations

in support of the final estimates of the chief engineer, Mr. A. F. Proctor, who stated on the stand that his progress reports running into millions of dollars, and which should support his final estimates, were no good, and might be 50% over or 50% under; as a matter of fact final settlements on earth excavation, were practically 100% more than the progress estimate. The expenditure referred to involved \$7,745,569.39 of the tax-payers money.

We mention these facts for the purpose of pointing out that such a deficit must have been greatly in excess of the sum that Ananias and Sapphira kept back, and that therefore, according to the findings of our profound logician of "The Province" the capitalistic system too, must be a "fruitful begetter of lies and fraud."

The next example dealing with the same capitalistic bug-bear of communism, is taken from page 8 of "Farm and Home" for August 14, 1924. It is reprinted from the report of a speech by Mr. Stanley Baldwin to the members of the "Association of Conservative Clubs," and is as follows: "Where an attempt has been made to set up a working socialism, the small heap they had for division before the war, has dwindled now to nothing, with the result that in that country they have had starvation.

The prosperity of a country can only be increased by the prosperity of the people in it. It cannot be increased by taking from one class and giving to another."

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, of course, refers to Russia when he talks of the "small heap that has now dwindled," as if the object of communists were to get possession of that miserable little pile. Anybody who has even an elementary knowledge of communism, knows what the communists wanted was the large heap of potential wealth involved in the possession of the natural resources of the country, which were, like the natural resources of any country, only held in trust until such time as the people become sufficiently enlightened to take over the management in the interests of the nation at large. In this case the "heap" available from year to year was disgracefully administered in the interests of an insignificant percentage of the population—chiefly re-actionary feudalists who were a menace to the whole civilized world.

Space will not permit of further extracts on the subject of propaganda and we need only add that any person who becomes familiar with the doctrines of socialism will have no difficulty in picking them out for him or herself. They occur in almost every capitalistic newspaper and therefore constitute a source of inspiration in a factitious environing circle that extends around the civilized world.

Related to this circle is the international system of surveillance that we referred to above. It seems to be a necessary complement to the hypocrisy used in an effort to prevent the masses from discovering the economic foundations of society. We could hardly expect monopolists engrossed in the study of the dollar and cent to think of any interests but their own; nor do they. Hence the employment of thousands of spies, who in the character of "stool pigeons" give information concerning the opinions of radicals whose philosophy might arouse in their fellow-workmen a dangerous desire to search for the truth concerning the real basis of their dependent condition.

The employment of such spies is not confined to any particular industrially developed country, since the exigencies of a dying capitalism invokes the practice in them all. Readers of Socialist and Labor papers will recognize the type which we shall discuss in connection with data taken from "The Social Bulletin" of the Methodist Federation for Social Service for September 1924: "How widespread the evil has become, is shown by the fact that nearly every large corporation now employs numerous spies, informers, and special officers from

whom they receive daily reports concerning the conversations among the men and the plans of unions."—Hunter.

It is estimated that the Pinkerton, Thiel and Burns private detective's syndicates are employing about 135,000 operatives, operating about 100 offices and over 10,000 local agencies, and that 75% of their operatives are under cover in the various labour organizations at a total cost of \$65,000,000 annually." (Spielman).

It often happens that these agencies are operated under a misleading name, as we can see from a glance at the following: "These industrial detectives prefer now-a-days to be known as 'harmonizers and conciliators,' as 'service corporations,' as 'engineers—commercial, financial and industrial.' (Howard).

The Marshall Detective Agency has operated under such names as: "The Marshall Detective Service," "The Marshall Service," "The National Cereal Mills," and the "Gate City Detective Service." Says one of its letters: "... we would have no signs upon our doors and windows except the sign of the employment agency, therefore the sign on the doors of our new office will read simply, 'The South Western Flour Mill Workers' Free Employment Bureau'." (Spielman). Sometimes spies act as union members and officials: The service "has among its working force, men who are affiliated with nearly all of the labour organizations" (from the pamphlet of Sherman Service).

A coveted position is that of recording secretary: "... we wish to advise you that all of our operatives are instructed to accept the office of recording secretary if possible, as the recording secretary has nothing to do with agitation, simply keeping the records which are valuable to us." Marshall Detective Service Co., to R. S. Hurd, Red Star Milling Co. Wichita. (quoted by Spielman).

That there are men skilled in creating confusion amongst union members may be gathered from our next: "... will state that if you place three more of our operatives to work in your plant that we will guarantee to break the union in Topeka."—Marshall Service to Charles Wolff jr., Wolff Packing Co. Topeka, (quoted by Spielman).

Often spies are employed to get rid of agitators: "It will be necessary that we weed out agitators in Salina Mills... the same as was done in St. Joseph's, Hutchison, Kansas City, and other towns... many of the men employed at the present time will have to be gotten rid of." Report of operatives to Marshall Detective Service, (quoted by Spielman).

We have all heard of the "agent provocateur" in Europe, but in that line they are not at all ahead of the manipulators of the New World: "These spy agencies set out to find rottenness, and if they do not actually find it, some make it, or fake it... The 'boring from within' which radical agitators are charged with, is a drop in the bucket to the boring that the industrial spy does for money which the employer pays"—Roger W. Babson in his bulletin to industrial leaders, (quoted by Spielman).

Of course those who are familiar with Socialist literature will have known all about these conditions long ago, but we would point out to casual or new readers that Monopoly and its ramifications, are not conducive to the development of thinking men. Its protagonists need, while they also try to breed, slaves; yet, for that we should not blame them. On ourselves we must depend. It is our business to do what we can to induce the development of real men and women to whom the mildest form of slavery would be as repulsive as a rattlesnake.

That would be the natural mental attitude assumed by an enlightened human being, and no person is enlightened, with the enlightenment that serves humanity, until he or she understands the fall

(Continued on page 8)

WHERE IS "THE STRAIGHT ISSUE?"

(Continued from page 3)

or of one Morgan of the House of Morgan of New York and where else not, or, ask of one Morgan of the S. P. of C. of a category called "interest" in the rubric of capital. Then we have the say-so of the mother of Marx. "It would have been much better" she would sigh, she was of a Rotterdam Jewish family, "it would have been much better if poor Karl had made a lot of capital instead of writing a lot about capital." How come! My mind, such as it is, goes back over the ground of history again to the 5th century, but I am hanged if I can find when the bourgeoisie made up its mind on the single plank of all or nothing and called the straight issue with feudalism. And neither can "R". And there is no new dispensation in history, even reading and writing does not come by nature yet, but by practice, picked up on the way, as any teacher or hopeful pupil will tell him. Natchless modern Dogberry's. See how Marx looks at history again:

Address of the General Council to Abraham Lincoln

On September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall in London, there took place that famous meeting of workmen which gave birth to the International Workingmen's Association, an organization which powerfully stimulated and promoted the labor movement of all countries in the sixties. This meeting appointed a provisional central committee for the management of the affairs of the new organization, which came later to be called the General Council, and which was composed of representatives of different nationalities.

Even before the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association, it was above all others the men who became the members of the General Council who had worked for the cause of the American North in their circles, and who had encouraged and inspired the English working class in their heroic stand against the manufacturers and the Government.

On November 27, 1864, Karl Marx, the leading spirit of the General Council, wrote thus about the elements composing this committee to his friend Joseph Weydemeyer, then in the United States:

"The English members are mostly chiefs of the local trades unions, hence the real labor kings of London, the same people who gave Garibaldi such a rousing welcome, and who by their monster meeting in St. James' Hall (Bright in the chair) prevented Palmerston from declaring war against the United States when he was on the point of doing it."

Previous to the organization of the International Workingmen's Association Marx also had thrown his influence to the leaders of the English workmen in favor of the Union cause.

The General Council of the International continued the agitation in this direction which its members had previously begun.

In the beginning of November, 1864, Lincoln was elected for the second time to the Presidency of the United States. Under the direct influence and upon the suggestion of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, the workmen of London arranged a new series of meetings to protest against the anti-Union attitude of the manufacturers and the Government of their country. It was Marx who furnished the initiative for this renewal of agitation.

In one of the following meetings of the General Council, one of its members, Dick, made a motion, which was seconded by G. Howell, to draft an address to the American people congratulating them upon their struggles and sacrifices in behalf of the principles of freedom and upon their re-election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. A committee was appointed to formulate this address, and this committee submitted its draft, the author of which was Marx, to the General Council at its meeting on November 29th. The draft was accepted, and a resolution was adopted to forward it by a committee to Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister at London, for transmission to his Government. The following is the text of the address:

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America

"Sir:—We congratulate the American people on your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the watchword of your first election, the triumphal war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery."

"From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workmen of Europe felt instinctively that the Star Spangled Banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire struggle, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be added to the favor of the immigrant or be pro-

*F. Mehring, Neue Deutsche zur Biographie von K. Marx und F. Engels, Neue Zeit, 1906-07, Vol. II, p. 224.

*According to letters to the author by Friedrich Lessner, of London, at the time a member of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

stituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the ideas of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century, when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in re-enslaving 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficial institution,' indeed; the only solution of the great problem of the 'relation of capital to labor,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice,'—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes, for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention,—opportunities of their betters—and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good of the cause.

"While the workmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The workmen of Europe felt sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of the enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

"Signed on behalf of the International Workingmen's Association, the Central Council:

"Longmaid, Worley, Whitlock, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Laveratt, Weston, Dell, Nicolls, Shaw, Lake, Baskley, Osborn, Howell, Carter, Wheeler, Starnaby, Morgan, Grossmith, Dick, Denoual, Jourdain, Morisset, Leroux, Bordage, Bosquet, Talandier, Dupont, L. Wolf, Aldrovandi, Lama, Solustri, Nusper, Eccarius, Wolf, Lessner, Pfander, Lochner, Taub, Ballfer, Rypercynski, Hansen, Schautenbeck, Smales, Cornelius, Peterson, Otto, Bagnagatti, Setocri, George Odgers, President of the Council; P. V. Lubez, Corresponding Secretary for France; Karl Marx, Corresponding Secretary for Germany; C. P. Fontana, Corresponding Secretary for Italy; J. E. Holtorp, Corresponding Secretary for Poland; H. F. Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland; William Cremer, Hon. General Secretary, 18 Greek Street, Soho, London W."

I take the following from "The Eastern Question," a reprint of letters to the "New York Tribune" between 1853 and 1856 dealing with the events leading up to and during the Crimean war in which England, France and Turkey combined to fight Russia. In a letter dated April 12th, 1853 Marx is discussing the menace of feudal Russia to the democracy of Western Europe and the danger to the revolution:

"Russia is decidedly a conquering nation, and was so for a century, until the great movement of 1789 called into potent activity an antagonist of formidable nature. We mean, the European Revolution, the explosive force of democratic ideas and man's native thirst for freedom. Since that epoch there have been in reality but two powers on the continent of Europe—Russia and Absolutism, the Revolution and Democracy. For the moment the Revolution seems to be suppressed, but it lives and is feared as deeply as ever. Witness the terror of the reaction at the news of the late rising at Milan. But let Russia get possession of Turkey, and her strength is increased nearly half, and she becomes superior to all the rest of Europe put together. Such an event would be an unspeakable calamity to the revolutionary cause. The maintenance of Turkish independence, or, in case of a possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation, is a matter of the highest moment. In this instance the interests of the revolutionary Democracy and of England go hand in hand. Neither can permit the Czar to make Constantinople one of his capitals, and we shall find that when driven to the wall, the only will resist him as determinedly as the other."

See how Marx sees it—the revolution, rough, shock-headed, spawn of history, sprawling untidily

Beckley, London, Jan. 7, 1865.

abroad over the frontiers drawn by tidy, fastidious minds. To whom the struggle for preservation is a futility, unless the question of capitalist property right is first settled in the mind; who "leave reforms to the ruling class," because "the revolution is still in the class-room stage"; who would devote socialist activity to destroying the laboriously built up political institutions of the working class! Are they Marxists(?)

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES.

(Continued from page 7)

significance of the term "environment."

We may rest assured that the environing fence that surrounds the field of our understanding is bristling with threatening weapons that are mightier than the sword. We must fight such by counter-propaganda. When a sufficient majority of the inhabitants of the industrially-developed nations are willing to do so, we may justifiably say that the day of the Industrial Confederation of the World, is at hand.

Correspondence

EBB AND FLOW.

Editor Clarion:

I herewith hand you \$1.00 renewal of my subscription to the Clarion.

Things in general are anything but rosy on the prairie. The crop failure has claimed many victims and the affected bunch are still clamoring for relief by the winding path. It is tiresome and discouraging waiting on the seed of class consciousness taking root. When we look back on the trail that mankind has travelled, and observe the struggles with conditions and the span of time that elapsed between one epoch and another, confidence of the inevitable overcomes our mental aberrations at times.

The outlook on the economic field all over the world is moving beyond our anticipations. The rapid industrialization of China, the intricate financial position of the monica power with their inability to collect, is fast developing into a catastrophe. I was afraid of the oil plunderers sweeping the globe with the broom of pillage by poison gas and reeked lava but the engineless, sailless boat invention, in the near future, may extinguish the flames of the oil thirsty fends of capitalism. The ebb and flow of the tide, with its many variations in undulations, furnish us with the illustrations of the movement of human society. War to maintain our present social system we all detest; laying bare our breast to stop the bullets of our own class is the result of ignorance. I hope the expected struggle will baffle the engineers and instead of the dark and dismal death dealing engines invented to destroy will revert to the purpose of supplying human needs. This might be the variation in our dark horizon.

Kindly give my best regards to Comrade Harrington and his wife. I hope Mrs. Harrington a speedy recovery from her illness.

Best wishes to all comrades not forgetting yourself.

Yours fraternally,

Delburne, Alta.

Dec. 8, 1924.

George Paton.

"He goes hence frowning; but it honors us That we have given him cause."

—Cymbeline, (Act 2, Scene 5)

Editor, Clarion:

Please find enclosed one dollar, my renewal for Western Clarion, and while I have the pen in hand I may as well state a few of my ideas, whether they meet with your approval or not. Idea No. 1: It is high time for Communists to start to spread their propaganda among the juveniles because the bourgeoisie are continually doping the children's minds with patriotism and religion, and trusting to get the youngsters so stupefied that they never will know anything. I think the best way to go about that job would be to enlist the aid of as many school teachers as possible. Idea No. 2: Spread the propaganda among the farmers. The farmer has the long winter evenings, in which to study; he is usually of a better calibre mentally than the average wage slave. Treat him to the hard stuff, and I think he can be trusted to grasp the situation. Idea No. 3: Show what a lot of beasts the military people are. The bourgeoisie are continually trying to get the people to worship the soldier heroes. These are all the suggestions I have to offer at present, excepting to request that you don't let people like "C" and "Geordie" try to fool the comrades as it is a large subject we have to deal with and it doesn't help to have some people trying to confuse earnest students. Yours for Communism, Nov. 24, 1924. Chas. Wooding.

Georgetown, Ont.