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Hanna's Order

PRESUMABLY, the recent order of Mr. Hanna, president of the Canadian National Railways, forbidding employees of this system from engaging in any political activities on pain of being discharged, has been widely enough discussed so that its merits and demerits are pretty well known to the working class of Canada by this time. Hence there would be no excuse for this article on this subject except that the writer considers this order of Hanna's an epoch making order. It defines a new status for the working class indicative of new relations growing out of that form of economic enterprise known as national or government ownership. It is true that the employees of the C. N. R. system may entirely disregard the order, and go on taking active part in politics as much as they have hitherto done. They may treat it with both indifference and contempt, in which case it loses its force. But that does not detract from its naive significance as affording a perspective by which one can get a line on the manner in which men of Hanna's walk in life view the political institutions and arrangements. It is all the more important since it comes from a government official, a man of authority, one who is intimately acquainted with all the perplexities involved in managing a capitalist state industry. The order, as such, is therefore, a criticism of present governmental machinery and a suggestion as to the remedy of its defects. The remedy is, of course, not suggested so much as it is implied from the premise of the order. But it is these very implications that give the order its significance, for they point to an economic order which some capitalists would like to see established, and towards which we are probably drifting.

Besides this, the order raises other points which must be tantalizing to those narrow-visioned reformers who shut their eyes to facts and bend all their energy to reviving an economic system that has almost become a fossil. It lays bare the sophistry of such sycophants as Mackenzie King and exposes the hypocrisy of the whole host of political Solons whose greatest wisdom is to mouth the phrases of 18th century political writers. It shows up the hollowness of all those schemes of reform which centre around the point of preserving capitalism just as it is, without any subtractions or additions of a fundamental character. It expresses the sober thought of a manager of a great capitalist industry, who sees some stumbling blocks which prevent the newer form of capitalism from operating smoothly.

What are some of the stumbling blocks expressed and what implications involved in the order? In the first place it restricts the political privileges, curtails the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, (as bourgeois writers would put it), of the employees of the C. N. R. system. The order states the matter openly and plainly. No employee is permitted to take an active part in politics, or to accept a seat in Parliament. The order does not absolutely disenfranchise the employees of the system, though it comes dangerously near to doing it. In this regard it is, therefore, a fact of a pretty general movement to restrict the political privileges of the workers. The same movement is active in the States, as is seen by the troubles in the New York State Legislature. It thus becomes apparent that capitalism is in a phase of its development wherein the political privileges of the working class are glaringly incompatible with its ordinary function within the system. At the same time it would also appear that

the possession of political privileges by the working class hinders the capitalistic management of industry, more particularly of government owned industry.

It will be remembered that the franchise was given to the working class only after a great struggle on the part of the latter, and then really not until it was quite conclusively shown that the working men were willing to accept the political ideals of the bourgeoisie as their own and so were not planning any revolutionary innovations in the bourgeois state. During the time that the ideas of the working class were fettered by bourgeois ideals, the vote in its hands was really an asset to the political power of the various factions within the capitalist class. The franchise was freely extended, as each faction hoped to gain more in strength than its opponents by such extension. Indeed, the franchise began the sport of self-seeking politicians. In the heat of a campaign it became the object of barter, and many a person has received his franchise in exchange for a definite promise that he would vote for a given candidate. But this state of affairs has taken a turn over, more or less complete, due to no other reason than that the working class has shown a less decided inclination to follow the political leadership of capitalist politicians. Hanna's order, therefore, expresses a need, a want, a danger ahead.

Hanna doesn't want any of the employees of the C. N. R. system to sit in parliament. He doesn't want the national railway system to be mixed up in politics. Neither does he want the employees to air their grievances from the floor of the House, nor the conduct of the system to be discussed before this assembly of august personages. On the other hand when Hanna wants the rates of the system he manages raised, he doesn't appeal to parliament to grant the raise, but he lays his case before the Railway Board, evidently because this body is much more capable of examining all the facts relative to such a demand, and of passing a competent judgment on all the arguments put up both for it and against it, than parliament is. It is a more efficient body.

Looked at from this standpoint, Hanna's order is a veiled thrust at the efficacy of parliament. In this respect the order confirms the statement so often made by Socialists, that capitalist parliaments are nothing but gas houses. They are the rendezvous where loquacious politicians meet to display their oratorical powers, or, if the politician is not gifted with a pleasing power of speech, then parliament is the market on which he peddles his chances of getting in with the powerful and the mighty, so that he might advance his own interests in respect to winning a prize in the game of life. Parliaments are essentially the arenas in which ambitious individuals play for the stakes attached to success in politics. The real work of government is but slightly connected with parliament, and the discussion relative to the enactment of the laws is but formally staged before the legislative body. Very few take parliaments seriously except those who have careers at stake. The deliberations of this body is looked at with more contempt than reverence by those who are in the least acquainted with parliamentary procedure. It is only the most ignorant who look upon the decisions of the parliamentary body as being arrived at after calm and conscientious thought. The debates are often mere squabbles about petty party affairs, which have as their issue the advantage one vote gathering ma-

chine has taken over another. As often as not the members are persuaded to vote one way or the other by promising chances of some individual gain, than by the persuasive eloquence of an oratorical star or a sense of their duty towards their fellowmen.

There was a time when parliaments led the forces of human progress. That was when the rising commercial and industrial classes assailed the powers and privileges of the feudal landlords. But parliaments are no longer the battle ground of the huge conflict of classes. On the contrary they have demoralized into political clearing houses where political parties cancel obligations against each other, the balances being settled by a brisk interchange of calumniating denunciations which are couched in the proverbial elegant parliamentary language.

As such bodies, parliaments can not be used to advantage even by the class of which they are, historically, the representative. They are not only inefficient as regards handling questions concerning the public weal, but they are an extremely expensive piece of machinery to keep up, considering the work they perform. Indeed, they have become fetters on the development of industry. Capitalist promoters of industry do not want their affairs mixed up with politics, for the publicity secured through this channel has a poisoned sting to it which cripples, though it does not kill. The establishment, during recent years, of boards, committees and commissions which discuss and decide upon the real economic and industrial questions affecting industrial relations, is sufficient comment on the social value of capitalist parliaments.

The C. N. R. employees have been denied a constitutional right which is theoretically guaranteed by the political sanction of the powers that be, by the moral sanction of the bourgeois class as expressive of their political ideals, and by the fundamental law of the land. It would hardly seem possible that a right which is fenced around by such an array of bona-fide guarantees would be revoked. Still this has been practically accomplished by a few pen strokes of a man, who has no legal powers either to restrict, rescind or to interpret the laws, a man who is, in fact, but the head of an industrial concern, though this concern, it is true, is one of the largest government owned corporations in the world. In view of the drastic nature of this act, one would naturally expect to see the whole bourgeois class, that extolled the virtues of constitutional government so insistently last year during the trial of the Winnipeg strikers, rise up as a man to indignantly protest against such a flagrant violation of their constitutionally guaranteed rights. But very few protests have been heard. The press, generally, condones the action on the ground that the national railways should not be mixed up in politics. To be consistent, the press should add that neither should the slaves be mixed up in politics, for a slave who has the privilege of haranguing to the public on public matters is not as easily managed as the one who has a locker on his mouth. But the silence of the bourgeois in face of this travesty on their constitution is a scathing comment on their inherent hypocrisy. At the same time the worth of their constitutional guarantees is laid bare. For it is very evident that though the political status of the worker cannot be attacked on legal grounds, yet the same end can easily be accomplished by a slight manipulation at the source of his bread and butter.

In the final analysis, Hanna's order has its roots deep down in the class-struggle. It is the attempt

(Continued on page 6.)

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON No. 8.

THE first who came nearest to writing history from the materialistic standpoint was Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England." Buckle says: "We shall thus be led to one vast question, which indeed lies at the root of the whole subject, and is simply this: Are the social actions of men, and therefor of societies, governed by fixed laws, or are they the result of either chance or supernatural interference?" "Fortunately," he says, "the believer in a possible science of history is not called upon to hold, either the doctrine of predestined events or that of the freedom of the will, and the only positions I will expect him to concede are the following. That when we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives, that those motives are the results of some antecedents, and that therefore, if we were acquainted with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results. This, unless I am mistaken, is the view which must be held by every man whose mind is unbiassed by system, and who forms his opinions according to the evidence exactly before him. If, for example, I am intimately acquainted with the character of a person, I can frequently tell how he will act under given circumstances. Should I fail in my prediction, I must ascribe my error, not to the arbitrary and capricious freedom of his will, nor to any supernatural pre-arrangement, for of neither of these things have we the slightest proof, but must be content to suppose, either that I had been misinformed as to some of the circumstances in which he was placed, or else that I had not sufficiently studied the ordinary operation of his mind. If, however, I was capable of correct reasoning, and if at the same time I had complete knowledge of his disposition and of all the events of which he was surrounded, I should be able to foresee the line of conduct which in consequence of those events he would adopt."

Most people unconsciously admit this to be correct when criticising the conduct of other people by saying: "You would have done likewise under the same circumstances," or "put yourself in his place and what would you have done?"

When Buckle enters into the problems of ascertaining the methods of discovering the laws upon which human action is based, he concludes that their existence is proven by the regularity of recurrence, and then turns to statistics to prove their regularity.

He then proceeds to say what those laws are. "If we enquire what those physical agents are by which the human race is most powerfully influenced, we shall find that they may be classed under four heads, namely, climate, food, soil and the general aspects of nature, by which last, I mean, those presented chiefly to the sight, have, through the medium of that or other senses, directed the association of ideas, and hence in different countries have given rise to different habits of national thought."

Buckle is the first historian to show that ideas are not the original motive power in history, but that thought and ideas are themselves an effect, and not a primary cause. According to Buckle, they are the product of natural surroundings. Buckle writes history on the theory that the human mind is not the free agency it was thought to be, but that it is directed by external forces. So far the modern sociologists agree with him, but as to what these forces are they do not agree with him. For, while it is quite possible to explain upon this theory the differences between the characteristics, customs, and institutions of different countries, the theory is and must be insufficient to explain the changes in one and the same country where natural surroundings always remain the same. The Marxian theory is, that the mode and manner of obtaining food, clothing and shelter or, in other words, the mode of production, distribution and exchange, is the directive force in the history of man and the most powerful influence in creating and shaping our social institutions.

Great as was the influence of nature on primitive man, yet in the course of civilization, social influence

gradually grew to greater weight and importance, and man is much more actuated by motives of society than of nature. At the same time, subsistence always remains a matter of prime necessity. While Buckle failed to see the economic factor, we will benefit by following his theory a little longer, as he explains quite a lot which may be overlooked. I pointed out that Buckle tried to discover the laws of human action by their law of regularity and he goes on to illustrate the uniformity of the number of various crimes from year to year, and the amount of letters left in the post offices of London and Paris through the forgetfulness of addressing them. Another point which interests us is the number of marriages which he says is regulated by the price of food and wages. He fails to discover the cause of the uniformity of all the crimes and unaddressed letters but says, in regard to marriages: "In England the experiences of a century have shown, that marriages instead of having any connection with personal feelings, that this immense social and religious institution is not only swayed, but is completely controlled, by the rate of wages and the price of food." "The relation that subsists between the price of food and the number of marriages is not confined to England. The returns of France bear out the same view."

Buckle also points out that the marriage registrar returns is a sure barometer, indicating very precisely the years of prosperity and depression of a country's trade and commerce. I think we will agree, Buckle came pretty near discovering the economic factor especially dealing with marriages.

When we come to Buckle's analysis of the influence of nature's physical laws, he points the effects that climate, food and soil had on primitive man, and how the various civilizations have arisen in the different parts of the world. He says: "Of all the results which are produced among people by their climate, soil and food, the accumulation of wealth, in many respects is most important. For although the progress of knowledge accelerates the increase of wealth, it is nevertheless certain, that in the first formation of society, the wealth must accumulate before the knowledge begins." "As long as every man is engaged in collecting his own means of subsistence there will be neither leisure or taste to follow higher pursuits. In a state of society like this, there is no wealth, and without wealth, no leisure, without leisure there can be no knowledge. Thus it is that of all the social improvements, the accumulation of wealth must be the first, because without it there can be no leisure for the acquisition of knowledge and this depends on the fertility of the soil and natural environment."

We Socialists agree with the statement, but as Gabriel Deville has said: "Man, like all living beings, is the product of his environment, but while animals are affected only by the natural environment, man's brain, itself a product of the natural environment, becomes a cause, a creation, and makes for man an economic environment, so that man is acted on by two environments, the natural environment which has made man, and the economic environment, which man has made. Now in the early stages of human development, it is the natural environment, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of fish and game which is all important, but, with the progress of civilization, the natural environment loses in relative importance and the economic environment, machinery, factories and improved appliances, grows in importance until in our day the economic environment is well nigh all important. Hence the inadequacy of the Henry George theory, which places all its stress on one element of the natural environment, land, and wholly neglects the dominant economic environment. But while this economic environment, the dominant factor in human life, is the child of the brain of man, man in its creation has been forced to work within strict limitations. He had to make it out of the materials furnished him by the natural environment, and later by the natural environment and the inherited economic environment, so that in the last analysis the material and economic factor are supreme."

Deville goes on to say that we do not neglect the intellectual factors as we are accused, but refuse to waste our revolutionary energy on them when we see the decisive, dominant factor, the economic factor.

Loria, the Italian Socialist, says: "Geographical sociologists endeavor to explain society from the standpoint of the physical environment. Racial peculiarities may perhaps be accounted for on these grounds, and there can be no doubt, that only social development is strictly determined by geographical factors, or that the variations of different communities are largely the result of differences in environmental conditions, but modern society is far removed in time, and acquired attainments from purely physical nature, and it is impossible any longer to refer historical phenomena directly to geographical antecedents."

Buckle claims that regular employment and energy depends on the influence of climate. He draws attention to people living in a very northern climate, not so energetic or regular in habits as people of a temperate region. The very cold north, and at some seasons the deficiency of daylight, render it impossible for the people to continue their work out of doors; the people were more prone to desultory habits, with a national character more capricious, than that possessed by a people living in a temperate zone, whose climate permits the regular exercise of their ordinary industry. He says: "It would be difficult to conceive a greater difference in government, laws and religion than that of Norway and Sweden on the one hand, and Spain and Portugal on the other, but these four countries have one thing in common. In all of them continued agriculture is interrupted by the dryness of the soil, by the heat, while the same effect prevails by the severity of the cold and shortness of days in the north. The consequence is, that these four nations, while different in many respects, are all remarkable for a certain instability and fickleness of character, presenting a striking contrast to the more regular and stable habits which are established in countries whose climate subjects the working classes to fewer interruptions and forces on them a more constant and unremitting employment. These are the great physical causes by which the production of wealth is governed. For there is no instance in history of any country being civilized by its own efforts unless it possessed one of these conditions in a very favorable form. In Asia, civilization has always been confined to that vast tract of soil where its richness has secured to man that wealth without which no intellectual knowledge or progress can begin."

Buckle shows the vast belt of land extends from eastern China to the western coast of Asia Minor and Palestine. To the north of this was barren land, whose people never made any progress, and who, as long as they remained on this land never merged out of their uncivilized state. "How entirely," he says, "does this depend on the physical nature of their country from the fact that these Mongolians and the Tartarian hordes founded the great monarchies of China, India and Persia and have on all occasions attained civilization in nowise inferior to those possessed by the most flourishing of ancient kingdoms. The fertile plains of nature supplied the material wealth and, there it was, these barbarous tribes acquired for the first time some degree of refinement and produced a national literature. The Arabs in their own country, owing to its physical conditions, were a rude uncultured people, for, as in all others, great ignorance is the fruit of great poverty. But in the 7th century they conquered Persia, and the best part of Spain, and in the 9th century conquered the Punjab, and eventually nearly all India. They were, in their own country, roving savages, were now able to accumulate wealth, became founders of mighty empires, building schools and cities and collected libraries, traces of their power is still seen in Baghdad and Delhi."

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Capitalism

Atlantic in the same latitude was barren unless for the piece irrigated by the Nile. This part was able to accumulate wealth and there arose the Egyptian civilization. Buckle says: "The fertility of the soil exercised most influence in Ancient Societies, but European civilization was influenced more by climatic conditions." Buckle points out the progress made by the invasion of Mongolian and Tartarian barbarians, and in this connection I want to draw attention to what Engel's says in his "Origin of the Family," 1884-89-90: "What was the mysterious charm by which the Germans infused a new life into decrepit Europe? Was it an innate magic power of the German race as our jingo historians would have it? By no means. Of course, the Germans were a highly gifted Aryan branch and especially at that time, in full process of vigorous development. They did not however, rejuvenate Europe by these specific national properties, but simply by their barbarism, their gentile institution. This personal efficiency and bravery, their love of liberty, and their democratic instinct, which regarded all public affairs as its own affairs, in short all those properties which the Romans had lost, and which were alone capable of forming new states and raising new nationalities out of the muck of the Roman world—what were they but characteristic marks of the barbarians in the upper stages, fruits of gentile constitution? If they transformed the antique form of monogamy, mitigated the male rule in the family and gave a higher position to women than the classic world had ever known, what enabled them to do so, unless it was their barbarism? If they could safely transmit a trace of the genuine gentile order, the mark communes, to the feudal state of at least three of the most important countries—Germany, North of France and England, and thus give a local coherence and the means of resistance to the oppressed class, the peasants, even under the hardest medieval serfdom, means which neither the slaves of antiquity nor the modern proletariat found ready at hand, to whom did they owe this, unless it was again their barbarism, their exclusively barbarian, mode of settling in gentes? And in conclusion, if they could develop and universally introduce the mild form of servitude which they had been practicing at home, and which more and more displaced slavery, also in the Roman Empire—to whom was it due, unless it was again their barbarism, thanks to which they had not yet arrived at complete slavery, neither in the form of ancient slaves nor in that of the Oriental house slaves? This milder form of servitude, as Fourier first stated, gave to the oppressed the means of their gradual emancipation as a class, and is therefore far superior to slavery." . . . "Antiquity did not know any abolition of slavery by rebellion, but the serfs of the middle ages gradually enforced their liberation as a class. Every vital and productive germ with which the Germans inoculated the Roman world, was due to barbarism. Indeed only barbarians are capable of rejuvenating a world laboring under the death throes of unnerved civilization. And the higher stage of barbarism, to which and in which the Germans worked their way up previous to the migrations, was best calculated to prepare them for the work. That explains everything."

It seems to me the Russian Revolution is an analogy with the above deduction, and the backward Russians with their communistic instincts so strong and their communistic habits, may have given that local coherence and resistance to the oppressed class which, Engles says, "neither the slaves of antiquity nor the modern proletariat found ready at hand." I believe we could transpose Engles and say in regard to the Russians: "Their personal efficiency and bravery, their love for liberty, and their democratic instinct due to their backwardness (barbarism), their commune customs, give them their means of resistance, and again to what was it due unless it was their backwardness, thanks to which they had not arrived at complete wage slavery."

Here is a subject for some one to elaborate on and a point that will raise discussion in the class.

Next Lesson: "Natural Environment" (Continued)

CAPITALISM is a system of commodity production for profit. It is a system which exhibits features that are distinctly different, and develops contradictions that are startling when compared with all previous systems that sprung up and disappeared from human society.

For instance, all that science has been able to do in the development and improvement of this wonderfully intricate machinery of wealth production; all that economy can devise for the elimination of wasted labor; all that education can do to make the workers more adaptable and familiar with all its parts has been done. With the result that commodities are piled up much more rapidly than they can be consumed, demand never keeping pace with the supply, a surplus accumulates awaiting buyers, and the producers (commodities also) are a surplus in the markets, likewise awaiting buyers.

Yet in spite of the immense development and improvement in the productivity of this machine, despite the many labor-saving devices applied to it, the cheese-paring policy of economy in the amount of labor needed for its operation, there is the most stupendous waste, from a worker's point of view, in labor put to the most useless forms of production; an abyssmal ignorance displayed in the repair of a broken exchange system.

Take, for example, the millions of workers throughout the world engaged in the production of nostrums, "cure-alls" for human ills, the thousands of workers burning daylight writing ads., inducing people to buy them.

In the production of a well-known brand of pills three cents pays for the labor and material needed in a box, but twenty-five cents is paid for the selling. From a workers' point of view this is useless, in view of the fact that human ills increase more rapidly than "curicants."

A low standard of living; the production of food-stuffs from decomposing matter; the crowding of the slums and tenements, which slaves are pleased to call homes, the sight of great poverty in one class and greater wealth in another will produce more diseases and anti-social vices than there are doctors and police enough to deal with them, fill more hospitals and prisons than there is room for.

Churches are built and a number of mannikins are selected for the production of states of hypnosis in the people, helped by the spinal thrilling tones of organ; the soft lights and shades of the building, the minds of the people are controlled by these "spellbinders."

But the thoughts, ideas, opinions, and morals of men and women are the product of their environment. The nature of a man's work will determine the nature of his thoughts. And in spite of the multiplicity of churches and schisms, crime and moral depravity grow much faster, become so strong and healthy that a type is bred, immune to religion.

The war proved that a fourth of the world's workers could keep immense armies and navies supplied with food, clothing and munitions, keep a fourth engaged on the production of non-essentials, together with a swarm of useless parasites in luxury and all that makes life, for such a breed, worth living.

But these contradictions in the efficiency and the inefficiency of capitalism are not the only ones.

In 1914, trade between all countries ran along smooth lines, no worries in the world of finance interrupted the even flow of export and import trade. A dollar's worth of commodities in those days purchased a dollar's worth from elsewhere in return. Today, conditions have changed; the "pound sterling," "the franc," and the "mark" have depreciated in value. The manufacturers in these countries are in a dilemma.

The British merchants can not trade with the merchants of the United States with the "pound sterling" quoted (at the time this is written) at \$3.50, when formerly, during 1914, it was worth in New York \$4.87. The British merchants must send more commodities to make up this difference in exchange rates than the merchant class of the States would have to send in return. Aside from the United States and Great Britain, all other countries

are in a similar position. Hence the export trade of all countries has almost stopped. Ships and freight trains are taken off their runs, tied up in ports and running sheds, their crews now members of the unemployed. The deprecates the industrial machine out of gear and almost stops the works.

Capitalism has produced its experts in every trade and science, specialists trained in the university and tried out in the field of experience. And these specialists, men of finance, political economists, are called to a conference with the representatives of capitalism, and there asked for a solution of the problem. As well might capitalism call in some imbecile from the street and ask him to restore the currency once more to its former position. All that these wizards could advise was produce, produce, and save and save. But, acting on this advice, we have produced and saved, and saved, for more than a year. And the pile that has been produced and saved everywhere is higher than Mont Blanc, a mountain of junk that nobody can buy, so strong has become the habit of thrift throughout the world.

But each part of this beautifully sleek machine is of an extremely delicate nature and so dependent one part upon another. Export trade affects home trade, as the loss of a limb affects all other parts of the body, and a period of unemployment faces the workers of the world such as was never known in history. And capitalism, knowing this, knowing also that it must continue to feed its slaves or perish, prepares for war, the only method by which trade can be produced when all other methods fail. Ominous reports circulate in the press, of war in the East; the United States and Japan will fight as the best means of deciding who shall exploit China. A world war may be the outcome, and the slave class can prepare itself for the shambles. Or it can prepare to participate in a struggle for the ownership of the means of life. R.K.

SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS OPEN NIGHT SCHOOL

(From "The Rank and File," Frisco)

It may be late in the year for school to open, but "it is better late than never." At least that is the idea which actuates the men and women who are determined that the workers in the bay district shall have a school of their own.

Such a school is no longer a possibility; it is a reality. It opened its doors last night at 566 Fulton street, San Francisco, and a large and enthusiastic class was enrolled. Those who desire to attend the school and were not able to be present at the preliminary meeting should be present next Tuesday night, when actual instruction will commence.

Class in Economics.

The school is starting with one class, and the subject which will be taught is the most vital one for Labor to study, namely economics. The object of the class is to draw young men and women in the labor movement together to study in order to gain an understanding of society as it exists today. The school is strictly Marxian, and will be conducted on the same lines as Karl Marx conducted his school in London. Tuition will be free. All contributions will be purely voluntary and a student will give only if he can afford to.

One of the many novel features of the school will be the low charge which will be made for text books. No book will cost over twenty cents, and only one book at a time will be studied.

McDonald to Teach.

The school is fortunate in securing Jack McDonald for its teacher. McDonald was formerly active in the labor movement in Canada, and has often contributed to the "Western Clarion," which is the official organ of the Socialist Party of Canada. McDonald taught with marked success a class in Industrial History at the People's Institute of this city.

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UNREST

REPORTS from all sections of the capitalized world today demonstrate unsettled conditions in towns, provinces and individual countries. Unemployment, as an item of news from all parts is, if not actually a headliner, at least a persistent worrying news item, too prevalent universally to hide from the public eye, and too threatening a fact of present everyday life to direct attention to.

From Great Britain we have reports of the seizure of public buildings by armies of self-disciplined unemployed men. Here and there in the press reports we can discern a gleam of understanding as to their position as wage-workers shown by the unemployed workers themselves. Not so very many years have passed, not more than ten, since the unemployed workers of the Clyde area—now heralded as the cradle of revolt in Britain—marched in procession demanding the "right to work."

The change in the unemployed worker's attitude on the matter of employment as an essential means to his livelihood, his apparent determination to eat and shelter himself "somehow," his indifference to the ethics of authority (irrespective of his respect for its repressive capacity), engender in the appointed rulers of society, in the governmental offices municipal, provincial and federal something akin to panic. It is true that the great mass of the people, employed and unemployed, do not understand the causes underlying the circumstances that test their forbearance and that provoke their miseries, yet they show a tendency everywhere to align themselves together in the hour of need. It is true too that temporarily alleviating circumstances in times of industrial crisis, while tending to relieve distress show also the shallow depth of the general understanding, or even of the general desire to understand. At the same time, workers banded together, wherever they may be and to whatever extent their understanding may reach, if they are determined that they shall have food and shelter whether they work or not, constitute a menace to the State that its officials cannot ignore. They do not ignore it either, but they try, of course, to shift responsibility from one department to another in the machinery of government, civic, provincial and federal. Generally they agree upon a plan of divided responsibility in the matter of expenditures for relief and relief work.

The capitalist era has so conclusively demonstrated time and again, the capacity of the machinery of wealth production in operation to produce more than the avenues and channels of the world's market can consume in the same time, that the proposals put forth to "cure" unemployment, which is the essential outcome of the increased productivity of labor, serve to demonstrate the mental bankruptcy of the politicians, press agents and industrial commissioners.

Stated briefly, the cure-all is more work, according to the official pronouncements. Productive labor has given rise to present circumstances; more work can do no more than intensify the problem. The problem must exist as long as the causes that produce it exist. That should be obvious to the man who is looking for the solution. Many men there are, of course, whose interests lie with those who are the owners of the wealth of society today, who understand the contradictions. It is to their interest to hide the facts and to offset as far as possible all efforts made towards the enlightenment of the workers. In this respect the press hirelings

play the star part. The Socialist, wherever his needs and interests may direct him, and whatever form his activities may take, devotes himself to demonstrating the facts of life to his fellows and to furnishing the groundwork for an understanding of events and the causes that give rise to them. In a world of unrest, in the final culmination of all its problems, that leaven of understanding will make easier the solution.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

Dominion Executive Committee—To S. P. of C. Locals.

This is a report of D. E. C. activities covering the period for six months ending 31st December, 1920. Having a membership of seven, the committee held eleven regular meetings and one special meeting, with an average attendance of 5.9.

During this period the circulation of the "Western Clarion" reached 6,500 at its highest, gradually falling to 4,500. This is caused through the closing down of camps in the mining and lumbering industries mainly, and through the falling off in bundle orders. Individual orders, and single subscriptions, have shown a tendency to increase.

During this period there have been published 5,000 S. P. of C. "Manifesto," and 5,000 "Economic Causes of War."

Affiliated locals of the Party total fourteen. B. C., 4; Alberta, 6; Manitoba, 2; Ontario, 2. The total party membership is still unknown, owing to the fact that no local, with the exception of Local (Victoria) No. 2 has complied with sec 5, art. 2, of the Party constitution. This was mentioned in our report for the period ending 30th June, 1920. We have not yet had any response.

An organizer has been maintained in the field for three months between Vancouver and Edmonton during this period, and one for a period of one month in B. C.

In the B. C. Elections, held on the 1st December, we had six candidates in Vancouver, and one in Prince Rupert. The highest vote polled in Vancouver by the highest candidate of any party was 17,156 votes. The highest vote polled by our candidates was 3,134, and the lowest 1,446. The result of the Prince Rupert poll was 676 for the Socialist candidate, the highest vote polled being 1,501, for the government candidate.

In response to a call for a referendum of the Party membership from Local (Winnipeg) No. 3, on the matter of affiliation with the Third International, the committee enquired from various locals as to whether or not they desired that a referendum should be taken. As a result of the information received, the committee decided to take a referendum vote of the Party membership, and to first print the terms of affiliation as laid down in the second congress of the Third International, and to call for discussion, for and against, so that the Party membership may become acquainted with all details in the matter. Locals also, it is hoped, will arrange for discussion among their members.

The following cash statement has been examined and found correct by Comrades Earp and Kavanagh, appointed by Local No. 1 as auditors:—

INCOME	
Main Fund	\$ 204.79
Literature	1129.78
Manitoba Propaganda	38.70
C. M. O'Brien Defence	85.85
Clarion Subs	822.21
Clarion Maintenance Fund	255.80
Clarion Accounts	804.38
Dues Stamps and Supplies	113.25
	\$3504.76
Balance from June	877.45
	\$4382.21
EXPENDITURE.	
Supplies, postage, express, mailing etc.	\$ 262.44
Literature	240.66
Printing, Technical Press, Ltd.	1712.28
Wages	814.00
Manitoba Propaganda	74.22
Bank Account re-charged	30.88
Organizing	468.90
Bird, MacDonald and Co.	5.00
Soviet Medical Relief	17.50
O'Brien Defence	69.85
Socialist Information and Research Bureau ..	35.00
Whitehead Estate	350.00
	\$4982.63
Balance at Bank 31st December	287.33
Cash on hand 31st December	12.25
	\$4382.21

This report is issued under the authority of the D. E. C., Vancouver, B. C., 24th January, 1921.
EWEN MacLeod, Secretary.

FARMER'S LETTER.

That ruminating creature well known to Socialists as the "Prairie Land Slave," is getting quite excited over the future prospects of his kind. The fast declining prices of cereals—owing to over-production—is fairly getting his goat. To add insult to injury, the banks refuse to extend any further credit, only to a favored few who happen to be in better circumstances. Not only is this the case, but the generous loans given to hard working, thrifty and fruitful hayseeds, during the last few years of the so-called prosperity, are being collected with an iron hand.

The financial barons, whose vision of world chaos may not be very penetrating, know very well that there is something wrong, or going to happen. The result of this is inevitable; bankruptcy to many, and general discontent and the advocacy of new stunts and schemes among the rank and file of the farming element.

The W. F. A. W. G. G. combine, are in the midst of a new drive, to the tune of \$6.00 per new member, which sum will entitle him to political and wheat pooling privileges, calculated to free him from all the ills and troubles his bovine flesh is heir to in the "future." No doubt thousands of land slaves will part with their dollars. The stress of economic conditions at this time, makes them easy victims for place hunters, political heelers, and other riff-raff misfits of the bourgeois political creeds.

That slovenly, creeping, compromising, literature known as "Farmers Journals," all over this continent, whose prating over free trade and co-operation, helps to confuse the already hazy outlook of the Lrawny son of toil, their God-fearing, law abiding sentiments, together with the glorious "dogma of toil" has long kept him bound fast with the shackles of slavery. Yes, slavery, for him and his female partner and their offspring. The more of them the merrier for the loan and mortgage companies, and their ilk.

The rural schools with their six months in the year, miseducation of the rising generation of land slaves, with a young slip of girl teacher, who first of all instills plenty of patriotic hum-bug into their plastic young brains, along with meagre doses of perverted history, are paving the way for the continued misery, and dense ignorance of those who toil, that a favored scheming few may live in ease and luxury.

Isolated from all social intercourse, cut adrift from the beautiful things that make life worth living, we cannot expect him to be anything else than what his environment has made him. Old traditions and customs die hard, and the hayseed's ideology belongs to the distant past. It cannot be reconciled with the ramifications of modern capitalism, which is rapidly changing.

The farmers are moving, but they know not the forces that make them move for self-preservation. They won't accept proletariat class knowledge just yet, they are bent on renovating the present system, which is physically impossible. A few years without war to stimulate markets will bring them to a knowledge of their true position in society.

DONALD MACPHERSON.

C. M. O'BRIEN DEFENCE FND

Wait for Precedent in Case of O'Brien

Rochester, N. Y.—It is unlikely, according to District Attorney William F. Love, that Charles M. O'Brien, arrested at the Labor Lyceum on December 8, 1919, on a charge of criminal anarchy, will go to trial until a New York case, similar to that of the Rochester man's is decided in the courts. Mr. Love declared yesterday afternoon that the New York case had a direct bearing on O'Brien's. O'Brien was charged with distributing pamphlets entitled "Pamphlet No. 1, Manifesto and Program Constitution—Report of the Communist Internationale, Communist Party of America, Chicago, Ill.," but it is the contention of the defendant that, although he may have sold the books, he does not necessarily have to believe in the contents of the pamphlet itself. If the New York case is decided in favor of the defendant, it is likely that the Rochester authorities will ask for a dismissal of the indictment against O'Brien, as there would be no use in trying the case in the lower courts, only to have a conviction, if a jury found such, reversed in the higher courts.

Previously acknowledged, \$99.85; P. T. Locchie, \$1.50; T. Carr, \$1; S. Lowery, \$1; total to and inclusive 26th January, \$99.35.

The S. P. of C. and the Third International

IN dealing with the S. P. of C. and affiliation with the Third International, Comrade Kaplan is far from "haunting the subject" as to affiliation. The three which he deals with are of no importance, and could not justify rejection of the terms imposed. However, the entire question is joined, like all working class questions; strikes, new unionism, etc., with the universal question of class appropriation, and whether we accept or reject the terms of the Communist International we will find our action will be used by master class hirelings to master class purposes. The S. P. of C. however, has never wavered in its faith of Russia since the March revolution; and come what will, no apology is required of our past.

We achieved this singular distinction by looking upon the world as it really is, and not as we would like it to be, and if we make our choice now, by the same rule, we can:

"Let the Dervish flout,
Of our base metal may be filed a key
That shall unlock the door he howls without."

Let us take the third point of Comrade Kaplan's article:

"The joining of the Third International would involve submission to dictation from Moscow as to tactics to be adopted locally, under peculiar local conditions, which only local knowledge and observation could properly determine or dictate."

This is worth discussing; but our comrade deliberately ignores the issue on the plea that certain fundamental tactics "are too well known to need detailing here," which is precisely what they do need. A detailing and examination of these tactics must be undertaken, together with an examination of our position.

In the "Clarion," issue of January 1st, the conditions for joining the Third International are laid down. These conditions are "the most precise," and they are laid down for the purpose of safeguarding the new International against the fate of the old. In reply to a direct question from the British Independent Labor Party, the E. C. of the Communist International stated that those parties wishing to join must adhere to, and govern their actions by the eighteen points laid down. So that we must take that fact into consideration when we are discussing the terms for admittance. They are precisely as they appear in the eighteen points. None of these points come under the exemptions suggested by local conditions, as the E. C. says in its reply to the I. L. P.

"The program of Communism is the formulation of the general conditions for the development of the world revolution in capitalist countries."

It is by this program,—these eighteen points, we are bound if we apply for admittance. The first question for us to decide then is: How far do these eighteen points coincide with our programme and manifesto; and to what extent are we prepared to change, or modify these declarations, should it be necessary? Our activities to date have been governed by the principles of what has become generally known as the Marxian philosophy. Our understanding of this has led us to maintain a strictly educational program. We have assumed the position that the development of capitalism would engender revolutions; and that an understanding of society, economic and historic, would secure the working class against precipitate and futile action. We believed that an understanding of the forces which mould society, was the surest way to preserve society and eradicate those evils peculiar to slave systems. And to the furthering of this understanding we directed all our energy.

That this programme has been of some value is evidenced in the fact that we were not swept into either of the two maelstroms which engulfed almost every Socialist party in existence,—the patriotic and the pacifist,—against which the Third International rails so strongly. Also that the demands in the terms we are discussing, regarding the removal of reformers and their ilk, have been long anticipated by our party. We have no "Right, Left and Centre," groups to contend with.

In accepting the eighteen points we would have to change this position, and indulge in all manner of tactics which heretofore we have looked upon as, to say the least, futile.

Take the first point: "The daily propaganda must bear a truly communist character." We are not informed what this is, but we are told we must "denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but its assistants, the reformers of all shades and color." All very well; but to what end? And how far does mere denunciation lead to conviction?

In Vancouver during the late Provincial election, and in any other centre we care to examine, we find men actually convicted of the grossest public dishonesty, and roundly denounced, yet when the votes are counted, are near the top of the poll. Denunciation rarely convinces, and we have always given it a subordinate place in our propaganda, though it has its uses, and we don't overlook them.

The second point calls upon us "to remove systematically and regularly from all responsible posts in the Labor movement, (party organizations, edit-

or's office, labor unions, parliamentary faction, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and partisans of the centre, and to replace them by Communists, without troubling about the facts that in the beginning it might be necessary to replace experienced men by rank and file workmen."

Here we come into direct conflict with our former position. Apart from its ultimate utility, which is doubtful, such activity would immediately involve us in a series of bitter struggles that would hamper and in the end nullify our educational work, which we believe is of the utmost importance. Furthermore, it would use up all the precious time and energy, at present limited enough, for the work we are engaged in.

Turning to point eight we are again brought into conflict with our principles. The emancipation of the wage slave from his bondage is our aim, and colonial liberation movements are just as foolish and quite as futile as "international arbitration," which we are called upon to "systematically demonstrate to the workmen," is folly without an overthrow of capitalism. I cannot see how colonies can be liberated, and to what advantage, if capitalism still rules. Surely the workers of Russia realize that they could hardly have been treated worse under a colonial government than they were under the Czar. And so far as my own experience goes, capitalism is the only evil, neither to be augmented or diminished by monarchial, republican, imperial or colonial government. These are but the forms of ruling class governments; they are purely ruling class concerns; they are of infinitely less importance than, for instance, international disarmament, and certainly no concern of a class conscious slave.

That will be enough for the present, but let it be clearly understood that I do not consider rejection of these terms implies any disagreement with the methods and purposes of the Bolsheviki. So far as any assistance we can give to them is concerned, we will contribute a hundredfold to their security by informing the working class of the Marxian philosophy in contrast to the feeble support our joining the International and its manifold activities, would occasion.

According to the Theses in the "Clarion," Jan. 1st, many elements of thought joined the Third International after its first congress, when no terms for admittance were required. No doubt they had some influence in the second congress, and I have no doubt that the third congress will see a change in the terms and program. But in the meanwhile, let us continue to do business, not on our desires, but on working class needs.

J. HARRINGTON.

DECISION IN UNITED STATES COURT.

Washington, Jan. 3.—The United States Supreme Court today handed down its first extensive interpretation of sections of the Clayton Act aimed to protect trade unions from court injunctions. The decision was unfavorable to labor.

In dissenting from the majority opinion, Justice Brandeis said the decision renders futile an effort continued more than 20 years to place employers and employed on an equal basis before the law.

ANTI-STRIKE BILL PASSES THE SENATE

Washington, December 16.—The Senate passed the Poindexter bill making strikes which interfere with interstate commerce crimes.

The Poindexter bill makes violation a felony punishable by a fine of \$10,000, or 10 years' imprisonment.

The bill is aimed against railroad strikes, prohibiting the combination "of any parties" to hinder interstate commerce.

REED WANTS TO KNOW WHY BIG SUM WAS SPENT.

Washington, Jan. 4.—Forty millions of the one hundred and fifty millions of dollars appropriated by Congress for European relief was spent "to keep the Polish army in the field," Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, today declared in the Senate during an economy discussion. Senator Reed said he had documents in his office to support his statement and he promised to discuss them later.

Congress, Mr. Reed said, gave the \$150,000,000 into the hands of "a single gentleman," whom the Missouri Senator did not name.

"This gentleman, with unblushing effrontery," the Senator continued, "tells us in a report that he spent \$40,000,000 for the support of the Polish army which was engaged in a war we never authorized and with a nation with which we were at profound peace."

Senators Borah, Brandegee and others asked for further information regarding the expenditures and Senator Reed said that his documentary matter stated the \$40,000,000 was spent to keep the Polish army in the field." His information, he added, did not disclose whether the money was given to the commander of the Polish forces or spent in feeding the civil population.

SMOKER-VANCOUVER February 11th

BENEFIT OF CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Vancouver Local No. 1 is going to hold a Smoking Concert in the Headquarters, 401 Pender Street East, on Friday evening, February 11th. The committee who are in charge of the arrangements intend to make the affair an attractive and memorable occasion. An orchestra will be in attendance, also a fine array of talent, vocal and otherwise. Nut brown ale and proletarian sandwiches will be served, but everyone must supply their own smoking. The tickets will be on sale two weeks before the date of the concert, and the price will be

FIFTY CENTS.

Let's go!

Co-operatives and the Soviet Government

Pamphlet Published by the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow, 1920

DURING the Tzarist regime the development of the co-operatives in Russia was very slow. The Tzarist government was afraid of any kind of Socialist movement, however moderate. It did everything in its power to hinder every kind of manifestation of social independence, the development of every kind of social organization. It therefore could begin its work only upon confirmation of its code, which in its turn depends upon the reliability, from the point of view of the Government of the men who are the initiators of the concern. It took months and at times even a whole year to obtain this confirmation. The police, the gendarmery and every official kept a strict watch on the activity of the co-operative members. A special permit had to be obtained from the chief of the local police upon every occasion that a general meeting was to be called. This official was authorized to confirm the agenda, he was present at the meeting and controlled the discussions. Most particularly of all was hindered the educational and cultural work of the co-operatives.

It is easy to understand that the development of the co-operative movement during the Tzarist regime was exceedingly slow.

On January 1st, 1914, there were only about 10 or 11 thousand of Co-operative Societies, consisting of no more than about one and a half million members. This shows that on the average each society counted only about 150 members. But even this number may be said to be an exaggeration, as many members of the Co-operative Societies were such only on paper, in reality, they were buying elsewhere, did not attend meetings, and generally did not in any way show their interest in the work.

The war has immensely influenced the development of the Russian Co-operative movement. A few months after its outbreak the war was felt by a rise of prices and the disappearance of goods from the open market, as the result of their hoarding by merchant speculators.

A time came when certain goods became quite unobtainable. This speculation of the merchants excited a strong indignation among the poorer classes.

Neither the Tzar's Government nor the Municipalities actually disposed of these merchants, and did practically nothing to stop these speculations.

The discontent of the population grew and it led to the wrecking of shops. This popular excitement over the Tzar's Government sought to adopt some measures for pacifying the population.

The Government decided to sacrifice the interests of the small traders in order to protect the interests of large capitalists.

Leaving intact the speculation "on top," the government took measures to prevent the speculation of small traders.

The task of distribution of products of primary necessity (sugar, flour, etc.) was given over to co-operative organizations. On the other hand the government began to lessen the obstacles, which it had previously placed in the way of organization of new Co-operatives, or of the work of such already existing.

The result was a perceptible growth of the number of co-operative societies even before the advent of the revolution.

The February revolution destroyed all external obstacles to the development of the co-operation. New societies could be founded without hindrance, just as freely could all co-operatives develop their work.

The number of co-operative societies and members grew quickly. On January 1st, 1918, there existed about 25,000 co-operative societies with a membership of about nine millions.

The business turnover of the co-operative societies in 1913 amounted to only 250 thousand roubles, whilst in 1917 they reached six to seven billion of roubles.

The Provisional Government continued to hand over to the co-operative societies the work of distributing products to the population. In the summer of 1917 it made use of the co-operatives in the distribution of textile goods. But the government

acted rather irresolutely and took only half-measures, for it still protected the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Until the February revolution the Russian co-operative declared as one of its principles—non-partisanship, but this was only done out of fear of police repressions.

But in fact the Russian co-operative movement was always a moderately opposition movement, being a mixture of a liberal Social reform movement, and the weakest milk-and-water Socialism.

It was a petty-bourgeois movement, and the Inteligentzia played in it the leading part.

The fall of the Tzar's Government gave to the co-operative movement the possibility of throwing off the veil of political non-partisanship.

After the February revolution the co-operative movement stepped openly on the arena of political life. The so-called "Central Unions" of co-operative societies, begins to edit its political newspaper, the well known co-operator Prokopovich taking the editorial chair. This newspaper defended an "extreme-right" policy of an agreement and co-operation with the bourgeoisie.

The whole power of its cultural, educational and instructional apparatus the Russian Co-operative gave to the defense and propagation of the tendency, at the head of which was Kerensky.

On the first Congress of workers co-operatives, which took place in Moscow, in August, 1917, this role of the co-operation was quite openly acknowledged in the numerous local reports.

Even the standpoint of the "Compromisers-Socialists" seemed too radical to the Co-operators. "I would rather chop my hand off, before I give in an election bulletin for the Menshevik party!" said Mr. Kouskova, then well known as a co-operator and joining by his opinions to the right wing of the Mensheviks, for the Constituent Assembly just before the elections.

The Co-operators tried to inaugurate their own political party, still more moderate than the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

At the election for the Constituent Assembly they came forward with their own lists, but did not succeed in getting in any of their candidates.

The October Revolution, which has given the power to the proletariat, did not touch the co-operative movement at the beginning.

Although knowing the openly hostile attitude of the leaders of the co-operative movement to the Soviet government the latter decided the question in a way favorable to the co-operation, i.e., in the sense of preferring the co-operative apparatus to private-trading. This is proved by the report of the Provisional Committee of South Russia to Denikin, where it was clearly stated, that the Bolsheviks "tried during two years to attract the co-operative movement to their work, but did not succeed in it."

The leaders of the co-operatives did not want to acknowledge the actual advent of the Workers' Revolution. They hoped that the triumph of the Bolsheviks would be of a short duration, and expected daily their downfall.

Under these circumstances the Soviet Government had no other alternative than the establishment, alongside of the co-operative trade, of its own distributing apparatus in the form of the Soviet (State) Supply Shops.

But such a duplication in the work of two organizations has a bad effect on the work.

Instead of one apparatus, two had to be constructed. There were frequent conflicts between the two organizations.

Therefore the Soviet Government has resolved to make the Co-operative Societies serve the needs of the entire population.

The Decree of the 12th April, 1918, is the first step in this direction, by ordering, that the Co-operative Societies, although still keeping their old regulation of accepting voluntary members, must, all the same, serve the whole population in the way of a general distribution of products.

This Decree also lowers the subscription-fee for those who want to enter as members into a co-operative society.

Private trade had to pay 5 per cent. on the gross

turnover, whilst the co-operative societies were freed from this tax.

The Decree allows them to elect into the Boards of Management of Co-operative Societies private traders and generally persons connected with the private trade.

Thus the Decree of the 12th of April leaves the co-operative movement independent as before, but it tries only to make use of its apparatus in order to make it serve the whole population.

HANNA'S ORDER.

(Continued from page 1)

of the masters to shear the slave of some of his power of resistance. Capitalism is in such a position today that it can stand only a moderate amount of resistance. This is especially true of such industries as that represented by Hanna. They are in the transitional stage to a new form. Not having fully adapted themselves to the conditions of their new form, they are very sensitive to any obstacle which hinders their adaptation. The demands which the working class are continuously making on the capitalist class is the greatest of these obstacles. It is really the insistency and, at the same time, the continuously increasing forcefulness of these demands that have prompted certain capitalists to entrench themselves behind the protecting wing of government power in the form of state ownership. So as to make their new position all the more secure they want to deny the workers all voice in the government that protects them. This is logical enough, as no one wants his enemy harbored in the same fort as he himself takes refuge in.

C. M. CHRISTIANSEN.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government, all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor. The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-growing stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this, necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political power, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

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

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

C. M. Christiansen, \$4; W. Churchill, \$1; Squared (per Kavanagh), \$1; R. Thomas, 50c; D. MacPherson, \$3; C. W. Pilgrim, \$1.

Above C. M. F. Contributions received from 12th to 26th January, inclusive, total \$10.50.

Innocents Abroad

London, January 3rd, 1921.

To the Editor of the "Western Clarion."

Dear Comrade:—

I have been in England for a considerable time, and have watched the Movement very carefully in order to be able to supply you with information of a reliable nature.

About a month ago I went to hear a lecture delivered by Sir Sidney Olliver. The lecture was entitled "A Colonial Policy for Labor." The only place he spoke of was East Africa, and he informed the audience that when the Labor Party got control they would teach the natives how to work more scientifically than they do at the present time. I asked a few questions, which he said he could not understand, because the drift of them was to the effect that we had no business interfering in either East Africa or any other country. I came away with the impression, since confirmed, that the Labor Party is becoming more and more bourgeois, and that the blooming Empire will be as safe in their hands as in the hands of the Coalition Government.

I had an interview with Jowett, of Bradford, and also with Bob Smillie. Jowett is a broad minded man, and his experience in the Movement has caused him to perceive that capitalism contains within it a contradiction that will eventually destroy it. He puts his idea of the present situation in these words: "Things are rapidly approaching a crisis, and when the breakdown comes, we shall have a fundamental change."

Bob Smillie was genial, frank and open. He looked well, and much younger than I expected. I endeavored to make him acquainted with the undercurrents of Canadian and American politics, and he took careful note of what I said. I was introduced to Frank Hodges, who happened to be in the office, and I tried to get them to realize the necessity of keeping more in touch with the Movement in the West.

The Plebs outfit, i.e., the Labor College, received me most cordially, and I admired their method of teaching so much that I made arrangements with them to have some literature sent to you. They are much on the same lines as the S. P. of C.

I had an interview with the Latvian representative, and also the Estonian ambassador, in order that I might obtain a little information about Russia. Both these men are anti-Bolshevik, and therefore their opinions are to be viewed from that angle. They both stated that Lenin and his colleagues were sincere and honest men, and their ideas were to the effect that the force of circumstances had compelled the Bolsheviki to take the steps they did. Their opinion was that the Communists would continue to control Russia, but that they would not be able to establish Communism, but a modified form of capitalism.

I was informed by men who had just come from Moscow that Lenin and the leaders of the Russian Reds are feeling the strain, and that underfeeding and overwork is beginning to tell. Some of them they say, are almost hysterical. They are compelled to work night and day because there are so few amongst them who understand the proposition. They are badly in need of men and women who have a good grasp of the principles of scientific Socialism.

I have listened to the speeches of the Communists here, both the Pankhurst crowd and the B. S. P. bunch, and have come to the conclusion that they are simply half baked anarchists. Their organizations are like the I. W. W. outfits, and serve as fly traps for the Reds. The police are making full use of the opportunity afforded them. A bunch of leaders who see how to obtain shekels by exploiting the fanaticism of their followers and the ignorance of the slaves; this is all the Communists here amount to, with perhaps a few exceptions.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is much the same as the S. P. of C., and the work they do, and have done, is wonderful, considering the smallness of the organization. They are a fine body of men, and have got the goods.

The Movement elsewhere seems to have gone

back. It almost looks as if it were falling to pieces. There is nothing in the communist Party, the Shop Steward Movement or any other short cut to the Co-operative Commonwealth that can stand against unemployment, and the unemployed problem is now so acute that it is dislocating all organizations that claim to be connected with the job, because the job has vanished. The organizations that are built upon understanding can, however, stand every shock, and my experience here has convinced me that the S. P. of C. is better even than I realized. It is to be hoped that during the winter the boys in the West will study diligently. If they were here and could see the misery and realize the ignorance that exists, they would work as never before to develop themselves. It is strange but true, that when I deliver the same dope I delivered at Carrall Street, in Hyde Park, the slaves understand it instantly, but it is new and strange to them. I was speaking to a bunch of dock laborers a week ago. I talked on economics the whole time and they drank in every word as if their lives depended upon it. The situation is such that they are beginning to yell "What shall we do to be saved?" They have tried everything but the abolition of the wage system, and they cannot abolish that until they understand the nature of the wage system, and until they understand capitalism.

There is a mountain of ignorance to remove here, and before that is done something is going to rip. The masters realize the situation better than the slaves and are preparing. They calculate that a premature revolt would enable them to deal the proletariat such a crushing blow that the Movement could be thrown back for a generation. Capitalism however is collapsing, and what is coming is chaos.

There are a dozen unemployed processions going on daily in different parts of London. I followed one today to get the psychology of the slaves that were taking part in the demonstration. Police to the right of them, to the left, in front and behind. Three red flags and banners led the way. Instructions were given by a bugle blown by a returned soldier. An attempt was made to recapture a library that had been seized by the unemployed and recovered by the authorities. A deputation from the unemployed went first to interview those in authority. They had barely got inside the building when police charged the crowd and I rushed into a shed to escape the horses' hoofs and the policemen's batons. I saw one slave break an iron rod from some railings and strike a blow for, as he thought, liberty. Every part of the country is the same, and everybody seems helpless and the situation hopeless. The wind is rising and it looks like the real thing to me. The Russian revolution will not occupy the centre of the stage very much longer; there is something bigger coming then even the most optimistic anticipate. Amid all the chaos and confusion that now prevails, we are buoyed up and sustained by the knowledge that our class cannot perish, and that even in reactionary Britain the future belongs to the proletariat.

C. LESTOR.

Liverpool, Eng.,

January 3, 1921.

To the Editor "Clarion."

Dear Comrade,—Thanks for your letter. I have been here a month and have sized things up pretty well. Lots of slaves (the most abject, servile lot of broken wretches in existence) out of work in this city. They are quietly starving, but now the government is giving them "doles." The liveliest (at least the most active) are the Irish Nationalists (Sinn Fein) who liven things up by burning cotton warehouses every few weeks. They did a million dollars worth of damage in December.

There is no labor paper in Liverpool. The unions do no agitation or educational work, but the Communist Party and the I. L. P. are holding classes on Economics and History.

The coal miners from South Wales are lecturing—Wm. Hays (Economics), and Gibbons (History). They are products of the Labor College, and if they

are fair samples of what the College turns out, it is certainly fine work. They lecture every night somewhere, and change lectures weekly.

The Communist Party is run like a social club, which looks queer, but they are all reading. Membership is not large, and the Picton Hall is not filled for lectures. The I. L. P. has several branches here. One on Parliament Street is pretty good, but I understand the others are not so good.

The Building Workers Social Club and Institute on Byron Street is a social club for billiard and spitoon philosophers, etc., but Hays (Economics) lectures there on Fridays, and there is another weekly Saturday lecture. There is a small local in Birkenhead of the Communist Party.

I am mixing here among the middle class quite a lot, and it is most amusing to listen to the weeping and wailing, and the reviling at the slaves.

Economically, things look rotten here; politically no better. The plugs are broken. The coal miners are the best, especially South Wales. I have not been to Scotland, but judging by press reports there is a real live bunch there, on the Clyde.

Meetings by Communist Party have been stopped here along the docks, by the police. The Sinn Fein fires were the pretext. If I have any cash to spare I shall bring some good books out with me. Things don't look very hopeful here, but if starvation will help any, we shall have lots of help this winter.

T. MACE.

Book Review

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM.—By Bishop WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN, D.D. Paper 25c. Published by Bradford Brown Educational Co., Gallon, Ohio. Sold by Cass. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

This book is dedicated to the proletariat, and begins with Marx' famous statement that "religion is the opium of the people."

The author is a member of the House of Bishops Protestant Episcopal Church, sometime Archdeacon of Ohio and special lecturer at Bexley Hall, the Theological Seminary of Kenyon College.

He has a text: "Make the world safe for democracy by banishing Gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth." It is one of the most outspoken conversations I have ever read. I advise all to read it, because its author certainly gives Marxian Socialism its proper place. In a foreword he says: "The contradiction in terms known as Christian Socialism is inevitably antagonistic to working class interests and the waging of the class struggle. His policy (that of the Christian Socialist) is the conciliation of classes, the fraternity of robber and robbed, not the end of classes. His avowed object indeed is to purge the Socialist movement of its materialism, and this means to purge it of its Socialism and to divert it from its material aims to the fruitless chasing of spiritual will o' the wisps. A Christian Socialist is, in fact, an anti-Socialist."

The book is in the form of letters to other Bishops debating the subject of Socialism. It is written from the viewpoint of Darwin and Marx. Thus, "The happiness of the world will be promoted in extent and degree in proportion as the knowledge of the truth is disseminated by a twofold revelation. (1) The truth as it is revealed by history according to the Marxian interpretation thereof, a revelation of the truth which is saving the world from the robbing impositions of the capitalistic interpretation of politics. (2) The truth as it is revealed by nature, according to the Darwinian interpretation thereof, a revelation which is saving the world from the robbing impositions of the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion. . . ."

"This is the discovery of Marx . . . according to the scientific interpretation of history, man is what he is, and his institutions are what they are, because he has fed, clothed and housed himself as he has." He goes on with the history of man from savagery, up through barbarism, to civilization as the best proof of the correctness of Marx. After giving the illustration of the capitalist being analogous to a flea on a dog and describing capitalism as the tape worm of society, he says: "The existence of the master and slave class inevitably gives rise to four struggles: (1) the struggle of the slaves with the master for better conditions; (2) a struggle between masters for advantages in mar-

kets, issuing in wars; 3) a struggle between the slaves for jobs, issuing in a body and soul destroying poverty; (4) the struggle of the slaves with the master for a reversal of conditions issuing in revolutions."

When writing of Russia, he says they have accomplished more in three years than all the churches in the whole course of man's career, and pictures revolutionary Socialism as the Good Samaritan, the reformatory and Christian "Socialism" as the priest and Levite passing by on the other side.

On page 69 he says: "Moreover, I believe that if Christian Socialism were to become a door to Marxian Socialism through which orthodox Christianity could enter and make itself at home, the revolutionary aims of the slave class would be thwarted and the world would enter upon a new dark age, as it did when Constantine was converted to Christianity, and Christians became the most loyal citizens and valiant soldiers of the Empire."

The Marxian or Russian Socialism is the most uplifting thing in the world for the slave, and the most depressing for the capitalists. "Among saving truths the greatest is the one discovered and formulated concurrently by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels." (page 36). He points out that the endeavors of the various junkers to smash Russia is an astonishing illustration of the Marxian theory of history. On page 49-50: "Orthodoxy in religion and politics is the blight of the ages, because of its assumption that the great institutions, the family, the State, the church, with their customs, laws and doctrines . . . constitute the foundation of society, without which it could not exist . . . But the foundation of society has always been a system for the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Hence social institutions, customs, laws and creeds are what they are at anytime because an economic system is what it is. If we compare an economic system for the production of the primary necessities of life (food, clothes and houses) to a king or a bishop (we may well do so, for in all ages such systems have been the power behind every regal and episcopal throne) we shall see that states, with their rulers, codes and police, armies and jails; and churches, with their gods, revelations, heavens and hells are but so many expedients for the protection of the system from change."

"So far are churches, with their doctrines, and states with their laws from being changeless, that they are more or less modified by every development in the economic system to which they owe their existence and of which they are servants."

"Insofar as they differ, Roman orthodoxy is what it is because of its starting out as the religious product of the feudal system of economics; and the Protestant orthodoxy is what it is because of its strating out as the religious product of capitalist economics." (page 51).

"The difference between Romanism and Protestantism is not at all a question of relative supernaturalism, nor of rightness or wrongness, but arises wholly out of the difference between the systems of economics which gave them birth." "Every period in human history has had its determining character from the tools which brought it into being."

"When an economic system fails as the capitalistic one is failing, to feed clothe and house the workers of the world who produce all foods, clothes, and houses, the time when it must give place to another is manifestly near at hand. Capitalism is failing in this, the only legitimate mission of an economic system." (Page 58.)

He tells us civilization is man's salvation, but so long as it depends on the slavery of human beings it is limited to a few, but that the true salvation is through Marxian Socialism and the transference of slavery from man to the machine.

Lavoisier and Mayor, Kant and Laplace, Kepler and Newton, Darwin and Russell, Marx and Engels, he calls the ten great teachers the world has had, and says. (page 61): "Marx and Engels showed that man's career has not been determined by any among the gods, but by his system for producing and distributing the necessities of life."

He says Christian Socialism associated with Marxism would be a glaring illustration of the truth of the proverb "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

On page 69 to 75 he contrasts the two Socialisms, and says (page 74): "The world has never

had a gospel which is at all comparable in its excellency to that of Marxian Socialism."

"Marx exhorts the slave to look to itself for deliverance." "Jesus taught it to look to a God for this."

"Marx promises salvation for this world here and now, a world about which everybody knows much Jesus promised it for another world elsewhere, a world about which nobody knows anything" (page 75). Dealing with colonies and war and Jesus as the god of slavery and obedience, he believes the inter-church movement is an endeavor to put the giant, labor, to sleep again, the war having awakened him. "Capital knows that Marx was right in characterizing the orthodox interpretations of religion, including the Christian one especially, as a sleeping potion, and hence this movement."

"When I wrote the 'Level Plan of the Church Union' I believed the coming together of the church-am now persuaded that it would be a curse, because the League of Churches would co-operate with the League of Nations in its robbing and enslaving schemes, the churches doing the lying and the nations the coercing" (page 89). He points out that the church is praying for the Poles against Russia, which would be a victory for capitalism.

He concludes the book with an "Afterword," quoting from Marx's writings page after page, showing that the history of man arose from the need of his body for food, clothing and shelter. He offers a prize of \$400 to the best pamphlet, not to exceed 50 pages, nor under 30, for the best essay showing that the salvation of the world does not depend on religion nor reformatory Socialism, which seeks to accomplish harmonious relations between master and slave, but does depend on revolutionary Socialism. The prizes will be awarded annually, beginning November 7th, 1921, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Lenin and Trotsky and Russia are very ably dealt with, and a most remarkable book of 184 pages closes thus:

"Marx, though dead, yet speaketh. He is speaking more widely and persuasively in death than in life. Russia is the megaphone from which his voice goes out through every land and over every sea. Never man nor god spake with as much power as he speaks. His gospel is to the slave, and this is its thrilling appeal: 'Workers of the world unite'—and this is its inspiring assurance—"you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

It is a book worth reading.

PETER T. LECKIE.

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