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EVENTS

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FIVE CENTS

The Degradations of Capitalism

BY F. W. MOORE.

TO untold millions of the inhabitants of so-called civilized countries the concept embodied in the term "capitalism"—a concept born of tradition, and steeped in propaganda, implies, above all other considerations, an unlimited opportunity for grand achievement: but to those who happen to be endowed with a measure of class-consciousness, nothing can appear more degrading in its effects than the influence of modern conditions of existence on the general character of the rising generation, involving, as they do, not only the physical but also the mental servitude of the whole civilized world.

Looking backwards from this second view-point over the vista of time, the cause of this servitude may be observed in the inexorable encroachments of our commercial and industrial institutions on the freedom of humanity—encroachments due to antagonistic economic forces, incidental to which the interests of the present clash with those of the future. The dominant force, however, since it is the dominant force, is the dominant force.

It is now over a hundred years since President Madison of the United States of America predicted as a result of the development of industry the sequence of circumstance in which his country finds itself today, and we might add, in which the world finds itself: "We are substantially free," said he, "but the day will come when our republic will be an impossibility. It will be an impossibility because wealth will be concentrated in the hands of a few. A republic cannot stand on bayonets, and when that day comes, when the wealth of the nation will be in the hands of the few, then must we rely upon the wisdom of the best elements in the country to read just the laws of the nation to the changed conditions."

With the wording of this statement most people will agree. It might however, be possible that opinions would differ as to what class of society was entitled to consider themselves, "the best element in the country": as to the rest, it would be well to take note that this wealth, not only of the nation, but of the world, is already in the hands of a few, and the fact that it is so ought, on general principles, to give rise to much anxiety, not so much of their ownership of the wealth, but because possession of it confers on men, however vulgarly indifferent to the progress of the race they may be, the power to confine the mental activities of practically the whole civilized world to those channels of thought that are connected with the baser part of our common human nature.

William Fielding in his book "Auto-suggestion and How it Works" makes the following obviously true statement (page 20):

"The average newspaper reader is content with reading and circulating the hearsay opinions of others, reads without professing any credence in them. However, the newspaper reader's opinions are based upon these caricatures of thought which he reads in his favorite paper; in this connection Badouin makes the following observation: 'The grain planted in him when he reads, has germinated in the subconscious. He has made up his mind and he believes that his opinion is established upon reason. The rul-

ing class turns this law skilfully to account when it wishes to drive human 'sheep of Panurge' to the slaughterhouse.'"

Here is another excerpt taken from the same author's "Puzzle of Personality": "Incidentally there is offered today with all the great popular mediums for the dissemination of ideas, an unprecedented opportunity to pervert the natural-born curiosity (or desire for information) in the interest of special privileged groups, who use the mediums they control to perpetuate their economic mastery."

A man influenced in this manner is living in a false world. He is helping to detract from, instead of adding to, the knowledge that the human race must have of its economic environment before it can make its activities correspond with the same as a condition of further progress. To locate the blame for his condition is difficult. It must be attributed in part to environment, partly to the apathetic indifference of his class, and partly to the influence of hiring propagandists concerning whom the author quoted above has this to say in his "Auto-suggestion and how it works." On page 36 occurs the following:

"The greatest tragedy in human life, and it is universal, is the tendency of the majority of people to close their minds to new ideas. The fault is, of course, largely due to the traditional training of instilling into the mind of youth a mass of preconceived notions, and labelling it "truth." As they have "the truth" and the "whole truth," what more is to be desired? The trouble becomes apparent when every sect, creed, nation, race, and social group, has got a monopoly of what they call "truth," and it is all different from the other fellow's "truth."

It is hardly necessary to state that this worldwide condition is most regrettable, incidental as it is, to preconceived notions in the minds of the masses, notions that cause them to become the victims of vain hopes, in the political effect of which all become involved. In this latter circumstance lies the cause of much concern to the class-conscious citizen who sees that the only hope for the future of humanity, and for the maintenance of his own self-respect, is in doing what he can, in a way necessarily very small owing to a tacit opposition as extensive as the influences of capitalism itself, towards exposing the real nature of the sinister influence of the propagandist over the masses, who in accordance with their prejudices, if they were turned by a fairy godmother into flocks of geese, and were escaping on a raft from a shipwreck, with their exploiters turned into a pack of foxes, would still believe that the interests of all were permanently identical, when in reality they were only so in as far as they could both help to improve the condition of all concerned by regulating the course of the raft to where it could be abandoned.

Metaphorically speaking, that raft, is Capitalism.

But the discarding of capitalism, as all readers of the Clarion know, is only a matter of discarding its degradations. The system will have by that time accomplished a useful purpose. It will have been the instrument of socialising industry, and of forcing an international union of world governments. It will have been virtually the means of compelling the acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man. The term "capitalism" distinguishes the puerile stage

of human society, but when it attains its majority and becomes a young adult its more dignified condition will be recognised under some such name as Socialism, which will imply the administration of the natural resources of the world in the interests of all its inhabitants. It will then be possible to use the myriad millions that are now spent on war and defence, for educational purposes and for the development of the untold wealth-material, moral and mental that would inevitably accrue as a consequence of such an expenditure.

Vastly different is this, the real conception of what the advent of socialism would mean, from the ideal entertained by those who imagine that a socialist government is even now established in England, or that of our unlearned (at least on this subject) professor who, having the reputation of a leading economist, was not ashamed to make the following statement in an article in the "Yale Review" for January, 1924, entitled: "The Logic of Capitalism": says this shining light:

"To attempt to raise the condition of the poor by abolishing Capitalism, is like a proposal to shipwrecked sailors in mid-ocean to bore a hole in the bottom of their boat. It would not only be impossible to destroy Capitalism without entirely changing human nature, but if it could be done, it would remove the very agent by which, as shown by all economic history, production has been amazingly increased."

One would imagine from this ridiculous peroration that socialists proposed to idiotically destroy the institutions built up by Capitalism in the natural course of evolution. Evidently our friend got his concept of Socialism from the "piffle" on the subject often published in the capitalist press. Just as well might a candidate for holy orders seek instruction from the devil. He would get it, no doubt,—such instruction as would suit the ends of his sable majesty; and as far as the necessary alteration in human nature goes, we shall find little difficulty in agreeing with the poet that the idea is culturally, not only neolithic, but also palpably absurd. Human nature under proper conditions is delightful, as notice the attitude towards each other of people who meet for amusement on a public holiday. It is the struggle amongst men for existence that makes it appear different. What we need is an alteration in our code of ethics, a code that is inherent in capitalism and therefore one that can only disappear with the destruction of that system as soon as its peculiar service to humanity has been accomplished.

The gist of the import of our present code is expressed in this little sentence: "Business is business," and this, we naturally infer, serves as an excuse for dealings that might otherwise, from scruples of conscience, be regarded as "shady."

It is an open secret that transactions of this nature, are regarded as quite conventional. Authority for them emanates instinctively from the habit of continually regarding the code of moral; yet, how any other code could exist under Capitalism is hard to understand.

It is the code modified to suit conditions that governed the dealings of man with man, outside the bonds of kinship, in the days when primitive society ruled the world. It is a code in which the modifica-

(Continued on page 8)

Man's Primeval Pacifism

BY H. J. MASSINGHAM

I. FOOD GATHERERS IN THE STONE AGE.

"There was no antithesis between war and peace, because there never had been in the world as yet a real condition of peace in which it had been possible for the creative force at man's command to be exercised for man's benefit. What men really had to calculate in the matter was, not questions of abstract belief, but fundamental human nature."—Dr. Haden Guest, in the House of Commons, March 18.

IN Mr. Cunningham Graham's recently published narrative, *The Conquest of the River Plate*, we read: "He (Gaboto) had now entered the territory of the Guarinis, who were the gentlest and most civilised of all the Indian tribes." They came to him with gifts of silver plate which they had obtained from the Indians of the Peruvian silver mines, but in their own land of Paraguay there were no mines. In these innocent words is centred the whole history of civilisation from the Old Stone Age to the present day. Mr. Graham would have made a better shot at the truth if he had said "gentlest and most uncivilised," and we may add to his record the statement that the far more highly civilised Incas and Aztecs were by no means gentle peoples, that the reason they were not so had nothing to do with fundamental human nature, but was due to the presence of mines in the districts where they lived, and lastly that the Guarinis were what they were because there were no mines in their territories.

This totally novel revolution of accepted values and ideas we owe primarily to the work of one man, Mr. W. J. Perry, the Reader in Cultural Anthropology in London University, who has not only opened up a fresh and clear perspective of how civilisation developed, but in so doing has exposed as a fallacy the doctrine held almost universally and equally by priest and layman, pacifist and militarist, poor man and rich man: the doctrine that warfare and organised violence are a heritage to us from primitive man. It is Mr. Perry's recent book, *The Growth of Civilization*,* that I shall take as the main text of this article.

We apply the term "savage" to backward peoples indiscriminately, whereas there is a very important distinction between primitive peoples who have never been in contact with civilisation and barbarous peoples who have been so influenced at a remote period but have forgotten what they were taught. The former type Perry describes as "food-gatherers," people, that is to say, unacquainted with agriculture and the use of metals, who exist in various parts of the world today, and whose manners and conditions of life correspond with those of the tribes inhabiting Europe and the Near East in the Old Stone stage of human culture.

"It is an error," writes Perry, "to think that men in the food-gathering stage were given to fighting." Explorers have described these modern hunting tribes, to whom war is unknown equally with the dogmas of peace (the Eskimo, for instance, have no word for war in their vocabulary), and who are all essentially alike, however diverse in race or environment. They live at peace not only with neighbouring tribes, but with one another, and Father Huguemin, who spent forty years in an island near Tahiti, testified to the absence not merely of violence, but of rage among the natives. These tribes, whether in Arctic or tropical regions, have no slavery, nor human sacrifice (nor State religion, nor ruling class; fair dealing, equality between the sexes, a free and smiling conduct are so normal that no great bones can be made about them).

And this, so far as excavations have revealed it, was the universal condition of early mankind for tens of thousands of years. All the evidence that has been gathered from so remote a period points to the theory that the people devoted themselves to their food supply and the artistic energies that were prob-

* *The Growth of Civilization*, By W. J. Perry. (Methuen, 6s).

ably associated with it. We cannot call these qualities "virtues" because no such (tiresome) word as virtue could have been invented. As Lao Tze wrote of these men of the "Golden Age": "They loved one another without knowing that to do so was Benevolence; they were honest and leal-hearted without knowing it was Loyalty; they employed the services of one another without thinking they were receiving or conferring any gift. Therefore their actions left no trace and there was no record of their affairs."

Into these people's fretless lives came suddenly the most profound change that man had known since he had branched off from the anthropoids—the arrival of wonderful strangers, bringing with them large ships, copper tools, various arts and crafts utterly unknown to them, an extraordinary and complex system of religious belief worked out by priests to its minutest details, a habit of mummifying their dead and erecting huge stone monuments connected with ceremony, the administration of justice and the deification of ancestors, a passion for acquiring metals and precious stones, especially gold and pearls, and a method of cultivating certain food plants by terraced irrigation. In every case they were led by great lords who called themselves "Children of the Sun," and it was these miner-mariner-migrants who from Ireland to Mexico introduced the first civilisations to a naive world.

For a long time it was not known who they were nor why they went all over the world on these great expeditions, but that they had made them there is no doubt, since the vestiges of the settlements remain in the forms of stone monuments, mine workings, pottery and polished flints, irrigating terraces, religious cults and tenacious traditions. It is not my business here to disentangle the evidence leading to the conclusion that these men were Egyptians of the fifth and subsequent dynasties, or other foreigners of the Near East closely allied to them. Professor Cherry has indeed shown that it was impossible for agriculture to have been invented anywhere else in the world except in Egypt, where Nature, through the agency of the Nile flood, told the people exactly what to do.

Lastly, there is the motive for these world-wide explorations, for we certainly need one to explain how a little Egypt of the Pyramid Age finds itself in the Solomon Islands. The correspondence in place between large stone monuments and mines all over the world has supplied it. What these Orientals were after were certain precious substances to which they attributed a supreme value as "givers of life," as possessing the power to confer immortality in the next world and prosperity in this, and there is little doubt that the immortal beings of the sky and the underworld were originally nothing but the personified forms of these life-secreting substances. I got hold of a picturesque bit of evidence the other day, and that is that the Cornish miners of today suffer from the disease of Egyptian anaemia.

These new discoveries are vitally relevant to the problem of how warfare arose in a human world which knew it not. The important thing about these first civilisations is that the earliest stages of culture were invariably higher than those of a later date in the same country. What we see is a gradual deterioration of culture, building on a smaller scale, inferior pottery and so on, followed by some sudden catastrophe, and in district after district, from Polynesia to Scandinavia, an abrupt disuse of stone-building and a hurried abandonment of the unexhausted mines. And then the "archaic civilisation" vanishes, overwhelmed with warfare.

What happened was that this mining civilisation brought with it the seeds of its own decay. In the first place, you get a highly developed people with a rigid class system imposing themselves upon peoples in the primitive stage of culture, exploiting their labor in constructing huge tombs and temples

and in working the mines, and teaching them an elaborate cult in which they, the Children of the Sun, figured as divine overlords, rewarded with godship and the sky-world after death. The food-gatherers knew nothing of all this: they just accepted it, as credulous mankind does accept things. They could not understand why they should be punished with death for laughing at animals, for instance, but as they were so punished they refrained from the amusement.

And their rulers? There is practically no doubt that all the civilisations of the Mediterranean were peaceful in the beginning, and that their expeditions after mineral wealth were in no sense warlike. They were peaceful because they inherited the peaceable psychology of all mankind. But such power and absolutism as were theirs could not but end in one way, in jealousies and rivalries among one another, in the passing of the pilgrimage for immortality into the scramble for wealth, from the gold of religion into the religion of gold. Quarrels among priests, for instance, brought the first warfare into Eastern Polynesia, and with it a swift decline of culture. Another concrete illustration occurs in the institution of human sacrifice, connected with agricultural rites, and producing petty wars to obtain human victims (the Aztecs desired not to kill the Spaniards but capture them for sacrifice).

So much for internal disintegration. But the chief cause of the destruction of the ancient civilisation was external invasion. It is usually assumed that the warlike communities came down like wolves upon the settled agricultural populations from the wilderness. But they themselves were a decadent product of these settlements and originated from bands of discontented nobles who left their homes with their followers, founded new dynasties, set up nomad military aristocracies with war gods, and attacked the settlements for their mineral wealth. The origin and development of warfare is all one story.

It is not, therefore, to "fundamental human nature," which deep down is kindly like its mother's fruits; but to certain institutions and the class system responsible for them that we owe the curse of war. Would then that man might learn to make them in his image, and like a snake renew his winter weeds outworn.

II. ANCIENT AND MODERN WARFARE.

By BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI

(Reader in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics)

TO many fallacies about man's deeply destructive nature, about "the inevitable struggle for existence," so long advanced by the militarist philosopher and pseudo-anthropologist, there has been opposed lately a theory, pointing to the opposite conclusion of man's primeval pacifism.

Mr. Perry, the brilliant exponent of the New Anthropology, believes himself to have discovered that primitive man is essentially peaceful, that war is the invention of one specially gifted or specially wicked nation, the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, and that it thence was spread and imposed upon the rest of the world. Man thus would seem to be, in spite of all appearances, a lamb in a wolf's skin, an essentially good-natured and amiable citizen, disguised under the bristling exterior of a head-hunter, cannibal, buccaneer or, worst of all, modern militarist. If he only chose to shake off the offensive garment, he could live on peaceful terms with the whole world. This theory is so alluring that it was taken up some time ago by Mr. Lowes Dickinson, and registered as a new and valuable weapon in the intellectual arsenal of peace. Now another ardent combatant of the militarist fallacy, Mr. Massingham, seems to hail this spurious hypothesis of man's original meekness as an important discovery.

But in the interests of truth and of sound pacifism, it is important to realise that anthropology gives no support whatever to the assumption of man's primeval pacifism. The pre-historic records of primitive man show him well provided with weapons, and weapons of war at that. Even more clearly can we see unmistakable indications of an essential combative streak in man's original endowment, when we study the present-day savage as representative of primitive man. It is true that the lowest and least cultured of them have neither a sufficiently developed technique nor the necessary organization for fierce warfare on a large scale; but even the least advanced savages indulge from time to time in miniature warfare.

This conclusion is based on two sets of observations. First, the criminology, as it might be called, within the group, the quarrels, fights, murders, injuries and offences, prove beyond a doubt that man will not live in permanent peace even with his friends and relatives. Secondly, the treatment of strangers, the behaviour of two alien groups, when occasionally brought into contact, show that there is a streak of aggressiveness and cruelty among all primitive peoples. Thus Mr. Massingham's statement that "they live at peace, not only with neighbouring tribes but with one another," seems to me highly questionable of any savage people. While therefore the primitive conditions certainly cannot be described as a universal warfare of all against all, the other assumption of a naturally peaceful and non-combative disposition seems to be equally mistaken. "Gentlest and most uncivilised," in Mr. Massingham's phrase is therefore not a well-harnessed couple of adjectives. Meekness is not an index of descending, nor brutality of ascending civilisation.

When we pass from the lowest primitives to the higher stages of development, those known in anthropology as higher savagery and barbarism—such as the North American Indians, the big military tribes of Africa, the Indonesians and such-like—we find our convictions growing that the doctrine of primeval pacifism is mistaken. Wherever a higher technique supplies him with efficient weapons, wherever more developed social organisation allows him to operate in large bodies, we see man engaged in cruel and destructive wars. The universal occurrence of warfare, wherever it is technically possible, the great variety of its forms, the enormous passionate interest taken by all savages in their fighting, seem to show that war is a natural condition of lower civilisation, and that there must exist combative tendencies not so easily to be uprooted.

These are truths which a wise pacifist should readily and freely concede to his militarist opponent, for no argument is made better by blinking facts or garbling them. The militarist is correct in maintaining that war has always existed, and he is right to a certain extent when he points out that primitive warfare has fulfilled certain important functions in human development. The fallacy of the militarist begins when he fails to see or to admit that there is an absolute breach of continuity between the earlier forms and the modern.

What is the nature of Man's essential primitive combativeness? One of its roots goes deep into the instinctive nature of Man and forms part of the great system of innate tendencies usually called the "instinct of self-preservation." When the natural exercise of any appetite or desire is interfered with, man as well as the animal gets angry and ready to fight. Take an animal and tamper with its feeding, take a mother and try to interfere with her young, arouse sexual jealousy in beast or man, and the fighting instinct invariably flares up. This is a well known fact. It is also well known that such anger and such fighting impulses, due to interference with a deep attachment, a lofty sentiment or a sacred ideal, are the foundations of bravery in animals and of high heroism in man. But it is not understood and often wilfully misinterpreted by the modern militarist—when he makes appeal to this type of heroism to justify modern warfare—that the combative impulse is moral and natural only under these conditions: the hero must truly defend something dear to him, some of his real ideals and values must be interfered with; the initiative of his heroism must

lie within his own instinctive and emotional constitution; and he must be able to face personally the real foe.

The monstrous manufacture of fear and hate, used to engineer and sustain modern warfare, the artificial production of dummy foes, the unscrupulous and ruthless painting of the enemy black by means of deliberately constructed lies, do create a wave of enmity as powerful as that of natural aggressiveness, and capable of producing real heroism.

But with all this the modern spirit of hatred and the artificial combativeness stand to the natural one in the same relation as a monstrous sexual perversion would stand to the pure and healthy instinct of sex. The modern press-made collective hatred is a perversion, for it lacks its real object, for which an artificially made "devilish German" or "barbarous Russian" or "perfidious Englishman" has to be substituted. Again, instead of fighting man to man the enemy whom you know has injured you, the dreadful doctrine of collective responsibility makes you kill a man who may feel and think exactly as you do, or injure indirectly thousands of women and children. So that modern "righteous anger," due to the type of prophets such as Bottomley, Northcliffe, Kothermere and their compeers in France and Germany, while it kindles here and there sparks of misguided heroism, starts a conflagration of all modern values to smoulder and poison the atmosphere for decades.

There is another root of the combative tendency, the one coming not from the relation between individuals but between groups. As soon as social cohesion develops a type of collective ambition and the idea of tribal honour, there comes into being social rivalry and intertribal warfare. Here an important distinction must be made, not sufficiently allowed for by anthropologists. There is one type of primitive warfare among the higher savages in which they fight with each other communities alike in culture and language which, besides their relation in war, entertain also relations in peace.

Such warfare, of which a very interesting type is found among certain Melanesian communities (described by the present writer in *Man*, 1918), seems to exist among all the higher savages. It is really a form of sport, only a little less dangerous than baseball or Rugby, and an excellent tonic of social life. It deserves the development of physique, the prizing of courage, heroism and the tougher qualities of manhood, and it obviously has nothing to do with modern warfare, for it selects and develops the fittest, of whom it kills out only an infinitesimal percentage. The suppression of this warfare, done by missionaries who pray for victory over Germany and Government officials who hope for the speedy extermination of the Hun, is one of the greatest blunders and crimes of so-called civilisation against so-called savagery, for it contributes largely to the dying out of the native races.

There is, however, another type of primitive warfare: murderous expeditions against strange and distant communities associated with cruel and barbarous customs such as cannibalism, head-hunting, slave raiding, extermination of women and children. It is no good for a pacifist to blink these facts and to deny that, where no restraints, no moral forces and no influences of reason bind man to certain ideals, he can become cruel and a beast of prey. What biological value have such predatory wars between entirely unconnected savage communities? Perhaps they lead to the survival of the fittest groups; perhaps human nature has to be coarsened and strengthened first before it can pass into higher stages of civilisation.

But the argument of the militarist becomes childishly nonsensical when he begins to use the darkest and most barbarous lapses of savagery as reasons for justifying a modern civilised institution. Does the wide prevalence among savages of slavery, wife lending, cannibalism, human sacrifice, religious prostitution, each partly rooted in instinct though it be, suffice to advocate the value of similar only more thorough-going and baleful customs among us today? The militarist forgets that modern warfare is infinitely worse, more destructive and more highly immoral than the worst massacres of savages. Just

because modern humanity is not a congeries of independent tribes but one big society; just because in destroying our neighbours, far from leaving our own tribe intact, we mutilate it severely; just because we can look upon the foreigner as fair game for worse atrocities only by deliberately swallowing the most pernicious and absurd lies; just because of all this, modern war must be ranked morally, biologically, and sociologically far below the most destructive combats of the most brutal savages.

Thus we cannot build on man's primeval pacifism. On the contrary, we must recognise that war is caused by and satisfies certain natural impulses—on the whole, however, among the worst and lowest of human nature. Pacifism, indispensable to the continued existence of higher civilisation, is not a state of nature to return to, but a highly complex and difficult condition of public opinion and social organisation.

The New Leader (London, Eng.)

HERE AND NOW.

WE are not able to present our cash returns Here and Now since last issue. At the moment of going to press we are personally bewildered by the necessity of being in several places at one time and of performing several tasks at once. This in connection with the election in B. C. to be held June 20th. In chasing socialist signatures for nomination papers we stumble upon a new definition of a socialist; who appears to be "one whose name is not on the voters' list."

However, we suppose that with enough concentrated worry the troubles incidental to election preparations will be overcome. Meanwhile we release for the press the Clarion "clipped," un-proofed, neglected and on the whole without editorial care. Hence these prosy explanations.

So that, in case anyone should manifest impatience concerning our subscription totals, we have to say we only know they're at low ebb as usual. Your impatience and anxiety may be allayed by the knowledge that you're not missing much.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

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

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JUNE 2, 1924.

THE S. P. OF C. AND THE C. L. P.

IN our last issue we made some reference to matters affecting political unity of working class organizations, which has drawn comment, locally in the main, good, bad and indifferent concerning our wisdom or otherwise. However, while we have no official affiliation with the Canadian Labor Party, there appears to have arisen an evidence of amity in matters affecting the election about to take place in B. C. Communications from the C. L. P. to us inviting us to their Vancouver convention had gone astray, of which these letters below are explanatory. They are explanatory also of our Party attitude up-to-date concerning the proposal from the C. L. P. concerning affiliation. Here follows the letter from the C. L. P. and intended for Local Vancouver No. 1:

Vancouver, B. C., May 10th, 1924.

To the Officers and Members,
Greetings:

Acting under instructions received at the organizing Convention of the B. C. Section of the Canadian Labor Party, we are calling a convention of affiliated organizations, to be held in Room 213 Holden Bldg., City of Vancouver, on May 24 and 25. Convention to be called to order at 2.30 p.m. sharp, Saturday May 24.

The basis of representation is as follows:

(A) Trades Unions, and other societies affiliated to the Party, one delegate for each one hundred members or fraction thereof on which fees are paid. An additional woman delegate may be appointed by each affiliated unit, provided the membership is open to both sexes, and providing there are not less than twenty-five or more female members.

(B) Trades Councils and Labor Representation Committees shall be entitled to three delegates.

(C) Provincial Executive Committees of affiliated units shall be entitled to three delegates.

The affiliation fee is \$5.00 per organization and a per capita tax of 10c per member to the end of 1924.

In view of the near approach of a Provincial election all organizations are strongly urged to affiliate and elect delegates to the convention.

As the Provincial Executive Committee are recommending to the convention, in order to save time and the expense to affiliated organizations of a further convention, that the Sunday afternoon session be set apart for a nominating convention for Vancouver and surrounding municipalities, we request that delegates come prepared with nominations for the forthcoming provincial election for these districts.

We remain,

Yours for the Unity of Labour,
(signed) W. H. COTTRELL, Pres.
FRANK L. HUNT, Sec.-Treas.

To this the S. P. of C. Dominion secretary replied as follows:

Vancouver, B. C. May 24, 1924.

W. H. Cottrell, President,
and
Frank L. Hunt, Sec.-Treas.,
B. C. Section of the C. L. P.,
806/16 Hastings Street East,
Vancouver, B. C.

Dear Comrades:

Your first communication to us concerning the matter of our sending delegates to your first convention wherein the Canadian Labor Party, B. C. Section, was formed, has apparently met with misadventure. This is probably on account of the fact that your letter had apparently been addressed to Comrade W. A. Pritchard, a fact which has just come to our attention. However, although Comrade Pritchard is a much respected member of this Party he is not an officer of it at the present time, and he apparently considered your communication as a personally to be con-

sidered document. Again, your second communication, addressed this time to Comrade Snowball arrived two days ago and consequently between meetings of Local No. 1, so that there is no opportunity for the Local to give it the consideration it properly merits.

In consequence of this and in view of the circumstances I have taken it upon myself as Party Secretary for the Dominion of Canada to advise you that in the matter of S. P. of C. affiliations with the C. L. P. all locals are affected and are bound by the Constitution of the Party negatively. Your much appreciated and very earnest invitation therefore leaves us no time to take the sense of the Party as a whole on the matter, which makes it impossible for local Vancouver to send delegates with power to act to your convention today.

I have taken it upon myself to advise you of these matters for the information of your convention, in case the matter should come under its consideration.

Yours fraternally,
Dominion Executive Committee
Socialist Party of Canada,
Per. E. M.

With the last letter above the following letter was sent:

Vancouver, B. C., May 24, 1924

W. H. Cottrell, President,

and
Frank L. Hunt, Sec.-Treas.,
B. C. Section of the C. L. P.,
806/16 Hastings Street East,
Vancouver, B. C.

Dear Comrades:

I am instructed by Local No. 1 (Vancouver) of the Socialist Party of Canada to inform you that we have nominated Comrade John David Harrington as our candidate in the Vancouver Riding for the Election to be held on the 20th June, 1924. No other nominations will be made by us in this Riding.

Also, I am to inform you that Comrade William Arthur Pritchard has been nominated by the Nanaimo Local of the S. P. of C. (and endorsed by the Chase River Local of the Workers' Party of Canada) for the Nanaimo Riding in the above named election.

So far as we know at the moment of writing these are the only nominations that will be made by this Party in this election.

Yours fraternally,
For Local (Vancouver) No. 1,
Socialist Party of Canada,
E. M., Dominion Secretary.

Local Vancouver No. 1 has voted its endorsement of these letters, and to these the following replies have been received:

Vancouver, B. C. May 27, 1924.

Mr. Ewen McLeod,
Secretary, D. E. C.
Socialist Party of Canada.

Dear Comrade:

Re your communication of May 24th, was very sorry to hear you did not receive our convention call in time to act upon the same. I assure you we did everything possible to get the call to all who might be interested.

Also realizing the difficulties in the way of your affiliating with an organization such as the C. L. P. We, I assure you, appreciate very much the comradely spirit shown by your committee.

Our convention was a very successful one, went on record as supporting your candidates in Nanaimo and Vancouver and wishing them every success. With hope for a united working-class in the near future,

I remain,
Fraternally yours,
Frank L. Hunt, Sec.-Treas.

Vancouver, B. C. May 27, 1924.

Mr. Ewen McLeod, Secretary, D. E. C.
Socialist Party of Canada.

Dear Comrade:

Re your letter regarding the nominees of the S. P. of C. The convention went on record as unanimously endorsing the candidature of W. A. Pritchard for Nanaimo Riding. Also a motion "that we nominate five candidates for Vancouver Riding, leaving the sixth seat for J. D. Harrington, nominee of the S. P. of C." was passed without a dissenting voice.

The candidates of the C. L. P. for Vancouver Riding are: Miss Priscilla Smith, Mr. A. McInnes, Mr. W. H. Cottrell, Mr. E. H. Morrison and Mr. Wm. Dunn.

Hoping to receive your co-operation, and being anxious to co-operate with you in this election, our campaign manager is Mr. Hoover, room 801, Holden Bldg.

I beg leave to remain,
Fraternally yours,
Frank L. Hunt, Sec.-Treas.

We have set down this correspondence here for the information of Party members, whereupon they may be fully informed on the matter and upon which

they may judge whether or not they think the Party as a whole should express an opinion for or against affiliation with the C. L. P. We would suggest that the matter be discussed through correspondence in the columns of the Clarion. The matter rests with the membership: non-affiliation as at present, or affiliation with the C. L. P. Next issue we shall be able to print the Constitution of the C. L. P. We have no room for it this issue.

CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS IN CURRENT POLITICS

By H. G. WELLS.

MR. SMILLIE, a little while ago, was talking of the peculiar mental virtues of the Labor party. It was "out to deal with root causes." There was to be no parleying with Liberals. This was immediately before Snowden produced the greatest Liberal budget in history, something for something for everybody, no socialist confiscation. I was moved at the time of Smillie's speech to point out that the Labor government had not been caught looking at the root cause of anything whatever since it came into office. It had put on its court livery like a little gentleman, and had done as it was told. That "root" cause was a delusion created in the mind of Smillie by reading the election addresses of his associates.

For a time until it got into office the Labor party was a magnificent hoarding for the constructive radical. At bottom it is a party of feelings rather than ideas. It became boldly, outspoken socialist. It was declared to stand for the broad collective handling of our common interests, for the scientific method. It was not afraid of bankers, land owners, protection-seeking trade monopolists. It stood for a free, high, constructive future, against injustice and the mean imitations of the present. It was a new age struggling to be. But really it was not for all those things because it was so at heart, but because it had to say something different from all other parties; the creative *intelligenza* prompted it.

So long as it was out of office, active constructive minds could do its public thinking for it. But now the Labor party has taken office, it has come of age, become an adult political party, it has lost its wild freshness and promise of youth and begun to act for itself. Ramsay MacDonald, with his piety and political dexterity, is extremely like the Scotch instead of the Welsh Lloyd George; an array of colleagues is revealed as very twin brothers of the Tory and Liberal knights, local councilors, provincial mayors and so forth that we have always known. The Labor party, brought down from the cloud-land of promise to performance, is seen to be little more than another of the numerous Liberal parties that have appeared in the vast inchoate world of British Liberalism. It has appeared and struggled to office because Lloyd George and Asquith were tiresome, obstinate egotists without an up-to-date idea between them, because complexity of self-conscious interests in Great Britain is too great any longer for the magnificent simplicity, the "loyalties" of the old two-party system.

All this is perfectly natural and necessary. All political parties must represent existing interests, existing social fears and jealousies, current delusions. No political party can represent the future as Smillie would have us believe the Labor party does. But it was a delusion of Karl Marx that the expropriated masses of mankind living at a disadvantage would necessarily realize the desirability of a more highly organized Socialist state and evolve a collective will to bring it about. This idea, through the devoted repetition of the Marxists, has infected the greater party of Socialist thought. It had manifestly infected Smillie. Insofar as modern social inequalities and injustices, illuminated by modern educational influences, have brought out the steadily increasing hostility between the masses and the classes with advantage, Marx was right; but insofar as that has involved the development of any capacity whatever to achieve a new and better order, he was wrong. The uncomfortable masses

(Continued on page 8)

The British Iron and Steel Industry and Franco-American Competition

BY H. P. RATHBONE.

TO understand the present position of the British Iron and Steel Industry, and to estimate its influence on the world capitalist economy, it is necessary to emphasize certain features with regard to it. As one of the basic industries it was, of course, one of the first to shake off the shackles of the competitive stage of capitalism. As early as 1860, there were many instances of a move towards amalgamation; between 1870 and 1900 the whole industry had become concentrated into about 10 or 20 main groups, some allied to large armament firms such as Vickers and Armstrong Whitworth, others depending for their markets on commercial ship-building, such as the Furness Group, and others developing a large business of their own, as for instance, Baldwin's and Dorman Long. But not one of them was completely independent of the import of iron ore. The chief sources of supply were Spain and Sweden. In the case of the former, many of the combines, though competing in the markets of the finished product, had recourse to combination for the purpose of insuring their supplies of the raw material. But all the combines had one great advantage. They were assured of a cheap and abundant supply of coal at the ports. This factor has been of the greatest importance in their development and in their ability to compete on the foreign markets of the world. It has ever been maintained that before the war, British steel made with Swedish ore could effectively compete on the world market with German steel, in spite of the fact that German steel had been made with German ore; and it was further alleged that this was due precisely to the fact that the fuel resources of Britain were geographically well situated at the ports.

How far this contention was true—and it may have been true in certain isolated cases—it was also true that German competition was becoming an altogether too serious matter for British steel capitalism as a whole. For instance, the relative percentage proportions of English and German participation in the International Rail Syndicate were being reduced against England and increased in favour of Germany. The English percentage proportion for instance, was decreased from 65% in 1884 to 34% in 1913. German competition invaded not only the old foreign preserves of British steel capitalism, but even the home market as well. British steel capitalists in consequence, entered on a further period of concentration in the five to ten years before the imperialist war. They combined in order better to withstand the price cutting of the German and other foreign capitalists. They combined to be able to retaliate in the home markets of their competitors. They formed associations to endeavour to extend foreign made manufactures, tried to compel British financial houses only to lend money on condition that the material was purchased in England, but all these expedients were not sufficient. The British steel capitalists were in consequence, one of the chief influences behind the diplomats of Britain in the manoeuvres which led to the imperialist war.

With the imperialist war, just as in every other country the demand for munitions meant an enormous development in the steel industry. With this development and in consequence of it, the steel industry embarked on a further period of concentration. Both by the formation of new associations and by direct amalgamation, the industry became controlled by five or ten predominant combines. Not only were these combines interested in the iron and steel industry, but they also branched out into branches of commercial engineering. Vickers Ltd. and Cammell Laird & Co. Ltd., for instance, absorbed and developed important heavy electrical undertakings capable of entirely supplying and equipping an electrical railway. Armstrong-Whitworth de-

veloped by means of absorption, a vast hydro-electric branch while Baldwin's Ltd., besides immensely adding to their potential output of steel rails, branched out into the mass production of tinplates.

But to achieve this, immense sums had to be paid. Firms were absorbed at prices far exceeding their pre-war value. Plant was installed at a cost often three or four times its 1913 prices and capital was obtained fully to cover the value of these inflated prices. Finally, existing capital was written up to the then prevailing prices and shares were distributed free to the fortunate shareholders. The result is that now, though the potential output of steel is estimated to be 50% more than pre-war output, the capital has increased by 100%. The position which faces British steel capitalists today is described with the utmost candour in an article in the Manchester Guardian Commercial for April 26th, 1923. It says:

"The steel trade has been developed in excess of any likely demands for years to come unless the market improves very considerably. Some firms have even disposed of plant ordered and now found to be excessive, without erecting it, because they could see no return for it. Our total capacity is now 12,000,000 tons of steel a year, against 8,000,000 in 1913—itsself a year of prosperity. . . What has the increase from eight to twelve million tons cost in money? Taking twenty-five of the largest firms as a basis of calculation, and including bonus shares which must rank with subscribed capital, there is at least twice as much capital in the industry as there was in 1913."

The article then proceeds to show the effect of this situation on prices. Pre-war prices of billets averaged, it says, about £9 a ton. With the present capitalization, to pay a dividend of 7% (which it maintains is equivalent to a 5% dividend before the war) prices on a 10,000,000-ton basis must be £14 a ton or £5 above pre-war prices. Yet, as the writer says, to sell today against continental competition prices must not exceed the £9 a ton figure. What is the remedy proposed? The writer suggests a reduction in capital. But that is an impossible one for one of capitalism's basic industries. There has never been a precedent for it and it can safely be said that every other remedy, from further attacks on the workers to another imperialist war, will be attempted before such a form of self-expropriation will be tried.

The old export markets for British capitalists are becoming rapidly less assured. India, through the Tata Iron and Steel Group is developing a production of her own which threatens to absorb a portion of that till now unfailling market for British rails. South Africa and Anatolia too are rapidly developing a manufacturing plant of their own. Canada, owing to an increasing American influence is practically becoming a closed market for British iron and steel goods. . . What else is there except South America, Europe, China and the near East? In South America, American influence has also obtained a considerable foothold. China too must be shared with America. There remains then the Near East and Europe. What will be the position of British steel capitalism if these markets too are attacked by the competition of a Franco-German trust plentifully supplied, as it will be, with cheap labour?

Lord Furness, head of the Furness iron and steel group of the north east coast, clearly defined the position of British iron and steel capitalism as long ago as November 6th last. In a speech delivered at the meeting of shareholders of the South Durham Steel and Iron Co. Ltd., one of his constituent companies, he said:

"With regard to a general revival in our trade, I think the prospects for steel orders are very uncertain for some time to come because the present

productive capacity of existing steel works in this country, both actual and potential, is far too great for profitable absorption."

He then proceeded to draw a parallel with the position in which the American Steel industry found itself in 1900. He described how, after a disproportionate increase in productive capacity and a consequent period of price cutting, 50% of the important steel firms united and formed the United States Steel Corporation, and thus "stabilized prices at reasonable figures." The situation in England demanded, he said, a similar remedy. In advocating such an amalgamation he concluded by affirming that:

"I am taking a long view of the situation, because I feel that our British units are too small and, individually, may lack the strength to combat with success the international competition of the future, and it is imperative that this country should increase its exports if we wish to regain our former prominent position among the industrial nations of the world."

Such is the feeling of British Steel Groups. They see a period of international competition ahead. They, therefore, combine at home in order to try to meet it. "Exports," said one of them in an interview with The Financier of January 11th, 1923, "must be increased by 100% if the present productive capacity is to be fully employed." But competition, if temporary international agreements are possible, must be eliminated. It is significant for instance, that the secretary of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, who is now editor of the Economist, should think it necessary to contribute to the Nation (9th June 1923) in which he is now interested, an article advocating an international Trust of French, German, Belgian, English and United States steel capitalists. He first scouts the idea that the English have been endeavouring to prevent the foundation of a French-German trust, though all the world knows that it was Lloyd George who, at the Versailles Treaty Conference, insisted on the artificial division of the Ruhr coalfield from the Lorraine iron field. He refers to the fact that before the war, Lorraine iron was combined with German coke but he does not say that the imperialist war and the Versailles Treaty tried to separate them. He says:

"British steel masters during the last two years have been in touch with Continental metallurgists, and that the discussions have made it clear, that both the Germans and French industrialists recognize the difficulty for political, personal and economic reasons, in coming to any agreement unless the British Steel makers are a party to it. Lorraine and Westphalia will not exchange coke and ore unless they are certain of being free from interneine competition in the sale of their products."

The true meaning of this rush to negotiate a combine at home and an international agreement abroad, is seen in the fact of a 50% increase in the output capacity of the British steel industry, a 100% increase in the capital and the necessity for a 100% increase in exports to employ the output fully. Capitalists do not negotiate unless they want a share of the swag, or, as that excellent book of quotations the Bible puts it, make haste to agree with their enemy while it is not too late, lest a worse time befall them. But in this case the agreement can only be but temporary, can only vary according to the strength of the national units and will break down again when further variation is impossible without a further war. Meanwhile to obtain a profit from the present production, the workers have been reduced to starvation level, while the capital and therefore the real profits of the undertakings have remained not only intact, but ever increase their burden on the workers.

The "Making of Revolution"

By F. CUSACK.

A recent issue of the Clarion contained two articles of a somewhat historical nature. Those articles, written respectively by Radek of the Communist Party of Russia, and Mr. Taylor of the British Labor Party, may be taken as representative of the general philosophy of their parties on the subject of revolution.

These two political parties, the Russian and British, are popularly considered as representing the two extremes of the labor and socialist movements—both in theory and practice.

Considering the views set forth by Mr. Taylor in "The Importance of History" and comparing them with the general gist of Mr. Radek's brochures, written during the past few years, we find that "extremes do meet" on the facts or fancies of revolution. From Mr. Taylor's point of view, Revolution—as he understands the phenomena conveyed by that term—is an historical fact worthy of condemnation by all right-thinking men and women.

If my understanding of Mr. Taylor's historical outlook is not at fault then those social upheavals which he terms revolution are the results of the well laid schemes of plutocrats or the wild deeds of senseless violence committed by "excitable children."

From this standpoint history is unintelligible—to the Marxian. Revolution, from the Labor point of view, does not arise through developing economic contradictions and social antagonisms; on the contrary it is "made," designed and premeditated—with malice aforethought—consciously and in advance of the "event."

That is the neo-Marxian "synthesis"; a voluntaristic, idealistic and vitalistic concept of history. Paraphrasing Marx, it may be summed thus by: "Man makes his own history—OUT OF the whole cloth." This concept of history has made a considerable number of converts in working-class circles, consequent to the Great War and the Russian Revolution. We find its philosophical expression in the "creative revolutionists" (à la Bergson) the "ergatoeracy" and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the wide-spread belief that socialism may be imposed by "will" on backward countries "where the material conditions necessary for its existence" have not been evolved in the "suppressed society."

Now, as I understand the position of the S. P. of C., the Party is not an advocate of "bloody revolution." Neither does it hold the view that such an event is inevitable or the *sine qua non* featuring the defeat of capitalist political power by the working masses; further, that revolution is not a moral question but an historical fact—a subject of explanation, not an article of faith.

On the other hand, the Communists agree with the Labor viewpoint that revolution is "willed"; "made." This is a cardinal article of faith in all well regulated Communist Parties, which parties, theoretically at least, are supposed to be on a war footing, prepared for armed insurrection. History is distorted to bolster the idea that revolutions are prepared by vigorous, aggressive leaders, who place themselves at the head of unconscious masses and direct them towards the New Jerusalem. As an instance: in the organ of the Canadian Communist Party, there recently appeared an article on the Paris Commune which contained the astounding information "that the Parisian National Guard was organized by Blanqui" previous to the establishment of the Commune. The "idea" which this distortion of fact was intended to "put over" was that the National Guard was organized immediately preceding the 18th of March, for the purpose of "seizing power." The Parisian National Guard was a long established organization—a militia. It was composed of petit bourgeois small shopkeepers and

artizans. On Sept. 4, 1870 the Guard made an armed protest demonstration against the shameful surrender of the French armies and the Emperor. Anyone familiar with the history of the Commune cannot be "taken in" with the Fordian brand of history—Bunk.

There is this distinction, however, between the philosophies of Radek and Taylor: The former (and the Party he represents) considers violent revolution a social "good," while the Britisher looks on such revolutions as a social "bad." Thus it enters the realms of morality and an historical fact is no longer a natural phenomenon. Mr. Taylor wields a wicked pen. Here is a shaft directed at the "real" Marxists: "There are weird mental freaks who have gathered messages of hope from the present (or would it be better to say late!) revolutionary regime in Russia." If the Communists were not involved in the tactical operation of "uniting" they might retort in like measure regarding the present regime in Britain. And the millennial expectations rampart among some "weird mental freaks"—of a different ilk who see in the Labor Party a lot more than a mere message of hope. "I see in the Labor Party," said Bernard Shaw, "the most extraordinary heterogeneous mass of people, full of opinions of different kinds. I see there are Methodists and atheists; jingoes and conscientious objectors; there are Protectionists and Free Traders. I see the most amazing mass of people of all sorts and kinds immensely equipped for any kind of discussion, for the most violent electioneering, and for no action whatever."

Among this "most amazing mass of people" it is evident that historic materialism is not a popular philosophy, neither would its open profession entail any profits. As Franz Mehring puts it, "It must be admitted that nowadays it requires a good deal of ethical idealism to have the courage of professing historic materialism, for it invariably carries with poverty, persecution and slander, while the profession of historic idealism is the business of every heeler, for it offers the best prospects to all earthly goods, to fat sinecures, orders, titles and dignities."

What is the main gist of the plot of history? "It is," answers Mr. Taylor, "the story of how a great and well organized gang of rulers robbed the people of their rights for century after century."

Therefore, if "real reason" and "justice" had reigned in the world the "people" might have got their rights" five hundred or one thousand years ago and saved mankind untold suffering. "If the machines could run without slaves," quoth Aristotle, "there would be no necessity for slavery!"

The Marxian doctrine of historical development through class struggles offers little attraction for a ruling class, neither is it respectable. And the B. L. P. is nothing if not respectable. "The British people," said Frank Hodges, Labor Leader, at the Portland Convention of the A. F. of L., "will not tolerate any government that is not respectable." So we have the spectacle of Lacashire legs, encased in silk stockings and knee breeches, tall hats and white wands, history without class struggle and an English working class who, in the words of a minister of the gospel, "bear their poverty with truly Christian fortitude."

We can agree with the statement "that a great many so-called risings of democracy have been inspired by interested persons on the other side." When he places such mighty mass movements as the French and Russian Revolutions in the category of coup-d'etats and palace revolutions Mr. Taylor no longer appears as an impartial investigator. "Added up in the cold columns of economic fact" it would require a special arithmetical theory to prove that the economic conditions of the French masses were worse, under Napoleon and the Empire, than preceding 1789. Loria states that "there was a dis-

tinct advance in wages" in the years following the revolution. The abolition of Feudal dues, rights, provincial customs, etc., removed barriers to trade and industry.

From the social standpoint the ideas associated with the Revolution, Liberty, The Rights of Man, etc., spread throughout Europe. It marks an epoch in the long struggle of mankind to escape from the kingdom of intellectual slavery and economic servitude. The ideological roots of the Socialist movement—Utopian and Scientific—run back to the works of the great encyclopedists. The modern democratic movement of which Labor Parties are an expression find their intellectual genesis in the "Rights of Man" and the "freedom of contract." Imperialism, indeed, may be "sentimental hysteria." At the same time it has a real economic basis, in a society where wealth presents itself as "a huge accumulation of commodities."

No doubt there are many honorable men who believe in Imperialism (I presume they are capitalists—all honorable men), men who will admit the facts when the facts are against them. Well, these gentlemen might as well have seen the "light" 20 years ago, as today! Strange that it is only when their trade is "going west," when their military power is ebbing, at a time when their giant competitor the American Empire is now preparing the instrumentalities necessary to the achievement of its "manifest destiny"—world Power or Downfall—that the British Imperialists do lip service to pacifism and humanism, their bankrupt system being canonized by the Labor Party—an expedient "at once innocent, agreeable and easy."

There is no sign of decadence among the American ruling class such as appears among their British brethren. Here in the U. S. A., is a ruling class inspired with a "vision" and a mission akin to that of old Pizarro. No Labor missionary from Britain could convince the "real democrats" of the U. S. A. that Imperialism is "sentimental hysteria." The demand for a world market, the result of commodity production, cannot be "moralized" by the Labor Party's version of the Sermon on the Mount. Only a change in the method of appropriating the products of labor can prevent those wild deeds of senseless violence which are apparently the contents of history.

The Marxian viewpoint has no favor with the Labor Party in general. Yet Robinson in his "War and Economics" says, "It is from this standpoint that modern historians have written the story of every war, from the Peloponnesian struggle to the Russo-Japanese war, finding each at bottom inspired by economic necessity, by the hunger for colonies, for trade routes, and for markets:

There are lessons in history that the British workers might learn. And one of these is the history of the great Chartist party which collapsed because the small tradesmen and middle-class men who composed it got scared by the revolution which so unexpectedly broke out in Paris in 1848. Property interests and working class interests are as oil and water. They don't mix.

These may be the views of a "hag ridden" Socialist of a single devouring "destructive" idea. Nevertheless, when we see the spectacle of a "constructive and pacifist statesman" appropriating public funds for the building of warships, instead of the amelioration of the oppressed, the ditching of the disarmament resolution by the I. L. P. conference in order not to embarrass the pacifist Premier—a resolution which the same Party have passed annually for the last thirty years—then there is an argument in favor of the "hag-ridden" idea.

As a contributor to the Clarion (May 16) says: "So that on its fundamental doctrines, Marxian appears to be in need of no revision. . . We are too far off our objective yet to ditch the pilot."

"COME DUNGEONS DARK OR GALLOWS GRIM"

"O wad some Power the giftie gie us to see oursel's as
ithers see us."—Burns (to a Louse).

(BY JOHN S. CLARK)

If you want to be a "Comrade" listen carefully to me—
I've been among 'em long enough to learn a thing or
three—

And I'll tell you plain and bluntly if you wish to be en-
lightened,
What you think you'll be, you ought to be, you might be—
and you mightn't.

If an average intelligence is yours you may attain
To a "Comradship" provided you can supplement your
brain,
With the quantity of grey-stuff added to its surface-matter
As will finally necessitate a visit to your hatter!

First of all become possessed of a control of feeling Vedie,
An unruffleable temper and a mind encyclopaedic:
Have the ins and outs of everything stored up beneath
your trilby.

From the days pre-protoplasmic to the wondrous days that
will be!

Get the clutch on Evolution, take a stand on Nature's laws,
Get the hang of every "ology" that is—or ever was,
Choke yourself with Economics, soak your fibres through
and through

With Histories—from that "purely scientific" point of view,
(Which insists that every martyr racked or roasted at the
stake,
Landed there because he liked it—or was out upon the
make.)

Study Law, the Constitution, all Religions past and present,
From the jungle law of Moses to the cant of Annie Besant;
Grind away at Metaphysics—Dialectics, and you'll find
They'll equip you with "the method," they will discipline
your mind."

They will keep you "on the handle," and assist without a
doubt
When you're "borin' from within" and when you're "bor-
in' from without."

When you've mastered Philosophies—Kant-Hegelian and
Cartesian,
Preach the "Word" (of Marx and Engels) in a style De-
mosthenesian;

Croon it gently unto Henry, he will grasp it if when
croonin'
You but add a dose of Dietzgen and a dash of Mike
Bakunin,

With perhaps a mild suggestion of his "status" in the land,
Where his Labor-power is bought "like monkey nuts"—or
"Monkey Brand";

Where he "doesn't pay the taxes," doesn't really buy his
clothes,

He'll begin to understand it—when he's turning up his toes,
Chuck it chunk-like from the soap-box and in every kind
of weather,

With a heart as soft as putty—and a hide as thick as
leather;

Then perorate some sob-stuff—raise the scarlet standard
high,

Bare your head and swear your bustin' 'neath its shade to
live and die!

Bawl heroically "Onward!"—charge the foemen at a trot—
(But always keep a dug-out you can crawl in when its hot)

Learn to prose like Lamb or Landor and to poetise like
Shelley,

With a broadened mental outlook (and a narrowed Darby-
Kelly)

(Of Genius or Wit, of course, you may be destitute—
I prithee do not worry, there's a golden substitute—
Grow your hair a trifle longer, disarrange it more or less,
Adopt some eccentricity in diet or in dress,
Then look as wise as Solomon, Observe these simple
rules—

It won't deceive the knowing but it passes well with fools.)

When you've found the proper "posture" and you've
"clarified your vision,"

You may pension off your judgment and develop your
suspicion:

For remember every virtue one possesses is a sin—
If applied to any Party save the one that he is in:
You're expected to attack a System rotten to the bone,
But you WON'T—you'll be too busy knocking hell out of
your own:

If you've nine and thirty articles and chance upon a mate
Who jibs at ONE—yet swallows all the other thirty-eight,
Call him Fakir, Trickster, Swine, and "Skunk of com-
promise"—

Folk will know he is a "Comrade" then—the mightn't
otherwise.

And if on HALF A DOZEN points he don't see eye to eye,
This proof—and proof conclusive—he's an "agent" or a spy.

Then cultivate some humbug—to a man you hate infernally,
Start your letters with "Dear Comrade," and end 'em
"your fraternally":

P'raps he hates you as intensely, never mind—'tis under-
stood

Hatred's an essential attribute of human brotherhood—
You'll know not what it is to hate and in return be hated,
Till you've "filled your application form" and "got eman-
cipated."

Deport yourself with "dignity" and never play buffoon,
Keep your features like a fiddle's that is never played in
tune,

And sentiment abandon—in a Movement so sublime—
To act the human being is unpardonable crime.

If you've Job's pathetic patience and the virtues of a
saint,

They will be of some assistance, but don't worry if you
aint,

For before you have one quarter of these preter-human
things,

You'll be circled by a halo, you'll be sprouting snowy
wings;

With a crown upon your forehead and a harp upon your
knee,

You'll be serenading Jesus in the great Eternity.

STUPIDUS AND SAPIENS.

Reprinted from the Clarion April 29th, 1911.

BY D. G. MacKenzie.

THE vista opened out by the patient research
of the archaeologist, the ethnologist and the
biologist in the attempt to unravel the un-
written history of man is one in which the most
exuberant fancy can revel endlessly. Gradually
there has been unfolded to us picture after picture
until we see, far in the past, beyond even the earliest
tradition, man first emerging from the forest gloom
of primeval days. Low of brow, long of arm, short
legged, huge muscled, grim of aspect, the direct for-
bear of the human race, yet lacking all vestige of
aught we are accustomed to associate with humanity.
Dwelling as the beasts of the forest, wandering
through the day in search of food, grubbing for
roots, climbing for fruits or nuts, crouching at night
in a cave or on the limb of a tree; mating as the
beast. A breast in all things, naked and unashamed.
Where do we find in him any of that human nature
we speak of so glibly? Where any conception of
good or evil, of decency, of morality, or faith, hope
and charity? Where the soul which has been the
source of so much anxiety to his posterity? Where
the habits and customs, where the laws, human and
"divine"?

As says our Haji:

"What reck'd he, say, of Good or Ill,
Who in the hill hole made his lair;
The blood-fed rav'ning beast of prey,
Wildier than wildest wolf or bear?
"How long in man's pre-Adamite days
To feed and swill, to sleep and breed,
Were the Brute-biped's only life,
A perfect life sans Code or Creed.

Yet, this is a man, blood of our blood, and bone
of our bone. Our relationship to him is undeniable,
and its closeness a mere matter of a few hundred
thousand years. A long time! Not it! A mere
turn of the glass compared to the ages between that
ancestor of ours and his faraway forbear, the slimy,
formless amoeba.

That man, urged onward by the same mute ir-
resistible forces that have brought him to the thresh-
old of manhood, passes over that threshold, and,
generation by generation, approaches us of today,
just as we are pressed onward to the morrow we
know not. At the stern mandate of necessity he
adapts himself to new conditions, devises new means
of gaining his livelihood, creates tools and weapons,
and ever improves upon them.

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

Age by age, we can trace the march of our fath-
ers towards us, ever, as they come, profiting pain-
fully and slowly by the accumulated experience of
past generations; growing in knowledge, growing
greater in brain and less brutish in body. Ever im-

pelled by the stern necessity of obtaining a better
hold upon the means of life. Improving their
dwellings, their boats, their clothing, their tools and
weapons. Discarding the rough stone weapon for
the polished, that for the flint, thence to copper, to
bronze, to iron.

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

That ancient forbear of ours, the child of the
man-ape, the scientists call "homo stupidus"—
stupid man. Us they call "homo sapiens"—wise
man. Oh, fond conceit! Wise man! We, who revere
the antiquity of a civilization barely ten thousand
years old, and that with lapses. Who invest with a
halo of heaven-born sanctity a mushroom system of
property of little better than a century's growth.
Who bow before the altars of "eternal" deities dis-
covered but yesterday. Who crystallize our miser-
able modern characteristics as "human nature"—
as it was in the beginning and always shall be. Who
elevate to the ludicrous dignity of divine law an up-
start moral code co-eval with shop-keeping. Who
conceitedly plume ourselves upon the possession of
a higher ethical sense than our rude forbears, and
daily and habitually stoop to practices which the
most untutored savage would abhor. Who lie, and
cheat, and thief, and prey upon one another. Who
rob, ravish and oppress the weak and eridge before
the strong; who pander to lust and prostitute for a
pittance; who traffic, traffic, traffic in all things—in
manly "honor," in womanly "virtue," in childish
defencelessness, in the flesh and blood of kith and
kin, in the holiest of holies or in the abomination of
abominations; and who crown our achievements by
pouring over the festering heap of our iniquities
the leprous, foetid slime of hypocrisy.

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

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THE DEGRADATIONS OF CAPITALISM.

(Continued from page one)

tions will be more pronounced as humanity develops until eventually it disappears altogether.

In the meantime the temptation to gravitate towards "shady" actions seems to be as strong as ever. In the Sunday Sun (Vancouver) for April 27th, last, and in the first few words of an article on page 5, we read as follows: "They are skandaleering about the Ontario treasury, and at this writing everybody is asking what next, and who: then follows on another page, as if the subject were a propos, a list of famous historical scandals which one could hardly imagine to be avoidable considering the natural resources that were subject for generations to the juggling processes of capitalistic manipulation. At the present moment we have before the British Columbia electorate the case of "Burnt Books" purporting to be an exposure by a political party of certain satellites of their rivals, who, while functioning as sub-contractors, are said to have squandered two and one half million dollars of "the people's money" and then to have destroyed the records by fire. Amongst political parties who have held the reins of power on this continent there seems to be no exception to those whose membership has been tainted again and again by incidents such as is here alleged, nevertheless we are not concerned with the political, but rather with the capitalistic side of the question, involving temptations that might be removed: and just as we write the word "removed" the "Weekly Province" arrives for May 15th. We lay aside our work for a moment and with a Sherlock-Holmesian instinct, induced no doubt by our frame of mind, we allow our optics to wander metaphorically over its pages until quite beyond our control; they glue themselves triumphantly, as if they had meritoriously discovered an appropriate item under the following heading: "Serious Charges Made Against Coast Officials—Senator Taylor Alleges Organized Rascality in Government Merchant Marine, Rum Running, Perjury, Fraud and Illegal Commissions Included—Sir Henry Thornton Attacked." Obviously "Skandaleering" is not confined to Ontario: Indeed under the regime of Master Capital, that is one activity for which there seems to be "equality of opportunity" everywhere: We have seen accusatory pamphlets published, during election campaigns, by each side against the other that might well be described as miniature editions of the Newgate Calendar.

The obvious course for the electorate to follow is to prepare itself by the study of economic determinism as applied to these conditions so that eventually it may oust all parties and put in power one that really represents its interests.

We shall conclude with a story dealing specially with business ethics. It is taken from the "Information Service of the Research Department Commission on the Church and Social Service," and is told by Moses Mosessohm to an interviewer of the New York World for April 13th, 1924. He claims he tells it to show that economic necessity is enforcing moral standards in at least one line of manufacturing industry.

Mr. Mosessohm is arbiter for the leading women's wear industries in the United States. When the United Women's Wear League of America was first organized it met to discuss relief measures for the market. "One of the manufacturers made the motion that they all stop cutting garments for six weeks. It was a good suggestion and the motion was passed. The next thing I heard was that the man who had made the motion had gone back to his office, and ordered his factory to keep on cutting at full speed. He told his partners that he had put a good one over on his rivals. The funny part of it was that nearly every one of the other manufacturers had done about the same thing. The result was the market was flooded. The season was disastrous."

We cannot compare all business men to these: nevertheless it is only a matter of degree in the interpretation of the world-wide slogan of "Business is Business." In that little sentence is authority to do as one pleases as long as the act is compatible with preconceived ideals of the actor.

We may conclude by saying that amidst the numerous degradations incidental to the existence of Capitalism, not the least of which is the tacit coercion to hypocrisy involved in the necessity to hold a job, or to benefit by patronage otherwise unobtainable, the man governed by truth and honor has a hard road to travel, but for him there is the greatest of all rewards—the consciousness of, an invincible manhood. Of the man or woman who lives up to this ideal it might be said:

"All honour then to that brave heart, though poor or rich he be,

Who struggles with the baser part—who conquers and is free.

He may not wear a hero's crown, or fill a hero's grave

But truth will place his name among, the bravest of the brave."

CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS IN CURRENT POLITICS

(Continued from page 4)

seek unerringly for some expression of their antagonism to the lucky, dexterous, unscrupulous or far-sighted who enjoy the advantages of the existing social and economic tangle; their suffrages and passion will go to support the particular lucky, dexterous, unscrupulous or far-sighted politicians who seem most in harmony with the hates and hopes of the stunted, hampered, oppressed multitude. But the antagonism and discords of the present system are as much a part of the present as its order and its success. The Labor party is no more inherently reconstructive than the banking interest or shipping interest. Like them, it merely wants an excessive, inconsiderate share of present power and satisfactions.

I suppose if we could set aside the entangling influences of social position and traditions we should find that men and women fall into a series between two extremes of temperamental type; conservatives at one end who like things to go on very much as they are going, only to be just a little richer, sounder, sunnier; at the other end the disturbers who like fresh things to happen, who make fresh things happen. Of the disturbers there seem to be two main types, the personal adventurers who want a series of vivid events centering upon themselves and do not care very much how much disorder is caused by their careers, and the innovators, with instinct or mental habit of creative service—the scientific worker, educationist, innovating artist—men with a passion for industrial, financial and social organization, who will ultimately remake the world. These types mingle in most of us, we are all something of each; but in such prominent British figures as Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill, Lord Beaverbrook, we seem to have almost pure adventurers, in Sydney Webb and C. P. Trevelyan almost pure creative service innovators. But the great financial adventurers are not in politics. They are behind politics. The unco-ordinated, inexplicit world of today is all for the bold, acquisitive egotist. He causes wars, prevents peace. The industrialist is in his financial net. He does things to the exchange, the money in our pockets becomes worthless counters. He controls the newspapers, he buys the house over our heads, the ground under our feet. He turns up in all parties as they suit him. His eternal antagonist, the creative service innovator, must use all parties as he can against him.

No party has a monopoly of creative ideals, the Labor party little more than the Conservative. For consider what the great constructive ideas before the world at the present time are. There is the rescue of civilization from the destructive pressure of unregulated births through the extension of necessary knowledge for efficient birth-control. There is the reorganization of the educational method throughout the world to develop habits of service and co-operation upon lines so admirably demonstrated by Sanderson, the re-orientation of educational aims and material by mankind, universal history the basis of a conception of universal citizenship. There is the rescue of democracy from its hopeless suffocation under the party system by a reduction in the size of representative bodies to efficient proportions and the adoption of a method of

proportional representation in large constituencies. Only in that way can the ordinary citizen be released from his slavery to party managers, and brought into direct personal relationship to the member his vote elects. There is the liberation of the economic life of the world from the restrictive and destructive financial manipulations, by the creation of a world authority for regulated currency, the clearing of the world debt jungle. There is the lifting of the waste weight of private profiteering and nationalist sabotage from the shipping world, transport and staple productions of the world through the creation of a group of world authorities for these ends. Everybody of intelligence knows that these are just possible achievements for mankind, that the outlook for mankind is dangerous and on the whole dingy until they are attained and secured. But there is no political party in the world that dare do more in office than fumble and prevaricate about any of them.

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