0—Peterson, J A
240 Hawks Ave

WESTERN CLARION

A Journal of CURRENT EVENTS

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY ECONOMICS PHILOSOPHY

No. 848 Twice a Month VANCOUVER, B. C., AUGUST 1, 1921 FIVE CENTS

DISARMAMENT

YING propaganda has revamped an old toy—disarmament. And probably it will serve its "good" purpose of turning away our atten-on from the things that matter, to the things of no count. It is such a nice "brotherly" sentiment d offers great political openings. It makes no dif-ence that similar efforts have already failed: that ague conferences, international tribunals and agues of Nations have played with it, and desert-it for lovelier—and more protable—excitements e forget so easily.

In recent days, Lloyd George has taken the mem-cious hunchback on his knee, and talked to it of itish friendship for America. Which shows the owing of the wind. Neither is America slow to late, somewhat raucously, on the great ideals of ace," while the "great men" of the flowery king-m are fervent in similar expressions. Brutus, of urse, is an honorable man, but—

Meanwhile, Japan has a not insignificant naval ogramme, which goes steadily on towards com-tion. America yearns for a two-power standard d has an appropriation bill for half a billion dol-s (less "pork barrel.") Britain is apparently more ntative in naval commitments, not because she is s "progressive" than the others, but because the ence of war seems to indicate new weapons and ore deadly devices of injury. Research work in ctricity, poison gas and disease germs, goes ghtily on, with silent but sinister purpose. And is not without meaning that reduction of arma-nts applies less to armies than to navies. Rather strange road to disarmament. What is its pros-ct of success?

Behind armaments is trade. Large and extensive de, large armaments and vice-versa. Prior to 14 the race for huge armaments lay between Britain and Germany, because between Britain and Germany lay the race for the world market. Germany disposed of, Britain emerges as a dominant power. But, of necessity, face to face with new competition for the self-same world market. Hence dominance implies domination, force, and resistance to force. The world market being limited, the expansion of one power involves the limitation of the others: the business of trade, being paramount and supreme, necessitates the force to safe-guard the routes leading to the market; the monopoly of the world market, being the inexorable necessity of capital, compels the rivalry for armaments. The economic consequences of the last struggle demand two irreconcilable necessities—on the one hand a vast extension of commerce; on the other, a limitation of importations. The consequences of such a situation must be keen competition and potent forces of defence. Given the society of capital, its inhering antagonisms develop all its complex of phenonmena.

Thus the forces of monopoly, imperialistic and progressive in character, struggling in competition, are compelled by and for trade expansion into the lethal race for armaments. They cannot stop, or go back; that means failure and defeat. They must go fatally forward; fatally, because success involves the destruction of their civilization.

On the other hand, there is a more numerous but less powerful section of society, individualistic and reactionary in character, whose interests, in contradiction to the broad issues of the future, are entirely centred in the narrow field of the passing moment, and therefore insured only by the continuance of the vanishing conditions of individual business (small production). Like Lot's wife they yearn for the times irrevocably behind them—and, looking backward, are doomed. They cannot see that the forces of progress are identical with the forces of social development: that the two things are two aspects of unity: that society can only rise to new heights on the strong wings of its unfolding potentialities In a word, they see the changes going on within society, but not the evolution of society itself. And because they do not understand this evolution those changes are an unfathomable mystery. Caught between the millstones of armament burdens and monopolistic competition: with their eyes fixed on the ideals of Puritan Philistinism: not knowing what is happening, they are being forced by capitalist expropriation out of petty trading and individualism, into the broad and swirling current of proletarian communism.

This section favors armament reductions, and international arbitration, not for love of humanity (although true to the native hypocrisy of trade, it preaches this), but because its existence is threatened by intolerable taxation and aggressive monopolies. The imperialist, on the contrary, knowing the impossibility of arbitration, conscious of secret treaties, invested in the exploitation of the future, fearfully alive to the challenge of new rivalries, plays with disarmament, guages it as a weapon in the armoury of diplomatic duplicity, but wisely presses forward with the capitalist necessity of preparedness.

Surely while capital lasts there can be no disarmament. Capital is commerce and commerce is exploitation. And because it is exploitation, because its own development intensifies its antagonisms, an ever-increasing force becomes a necessity for its maintenance. Armaments are the tools af capitalist business, for forcing the gates of the world market, and war is nothing more than business (by proxy) in armour plate. Hence, while business exists so must armaments and their burdens continue. There is no middle way. R.

A Review of Capitalism in 1921

Great Britain.

NOT within a decade has there been a more portentous gathering assembled in London, England, than that of the recent conference of ieis of States within the British Empire. The ost vital question discussed at this caucus was e next theatre for future demonstrations of Brit-h naval power—the transfer of naval forces from tlantic to Pacific waters.

This is rather significant, amounting, as it does, a frank confession that British trade in Europe s "gone to the dogs," and that a new market must opened up, in order that the trading class of this untry may dispose of their commodities. Where uld this market be? Asia, as has been stated ore than once in these columns, is the only poten-al field for an extremely limited number of capital-ts to discover profits in.

And the presence of the "grey dogs of war" in acific waters means Britain will be a competitor ainst Japan and the United States for this source future income. These three competitors, armed the teeth, will soon confer in Washington, D. C., to what tools should be used in robbing their ctims. The Canadian representative at the Lon-on conference is opposed to any demonstration of e British navy in the Pacific, as it would devel-hostile feeling between the United States and reat Britain in trade rivalry.

The amount of American capital invested in Canada during the past few years is greater than British, and with all such "investments" grows the desire for political control of the country the money is invested in. Wall Street, New York, is the financial mart for Canadian loans, and Meighen speaks for Wall Street.

However, the wheels of industry are not turned with words; a market for British industries must be found that profits may accrue to British merchants; the forces of the State, not being ornaments, will be employed in the way that will best serve the interests of the propertied class. And if it is necessary to have an election in order to find an executive body that will coincide with British interests, then an election may take place soon.

Europe.

Upper Silesia is still a bone of contention for the ruling classes of Germany, Poland, France and Britain to worry over.

It is a country a little smaller than Belgium in area, prodigiously rich in natural resources which have been developed by the Krupps and Stinnes of Germany. At one time, according to some authorities, eight centuries ago it was a part of Poland. When "self-determination" became popular Polish capitalists invoked all the existing ancient historical titles to this territory, while the Germans plea for the rights of existing ownership, aided and abetted by French and British interests, who saw in this country under a change of ownership, a bar and a means to further economic expansion.

Burnet Hershey, American journalist, writing in the "New York Times Current History," in an interview with Korfanty, reports as follows:

> "My campagn (Korfanty said) called for an effective counter-propaganda against the powerful publicity methods of Wilhelmstrass. My fellow-countrymen needed much education concerning the movement for a plebiscite. I enlisted the interests of the church, religion being the most powerful factor in the lives of the average Polish worker and peasant. It has been my most potent auxiliary. Next I organized the labor forces. Remember that the Poles here make up the toiling class, and that appeal to class consciousness could not help but yield results."

This labor-fakir, working in the interests of French and Polish capitalists, concludes his remarks in these words:

> "France is our ally and will always be ready to back our efforts against the Germans."

The divergent interests of France and Britain developed through the war and, further widened by the terms of reparations, the spoils of war, may end in breaking the entente between these two countries.

(Continued on page 8)

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

LESSON 18.

THE disbanding of the army and the stoppage of munition production after the Napoleonic wars, made unemployment acute with all its attending consequences of misery and poverty. When the Highlanders of Scotland returned from the Napoleonic wars they found their people evicted from the land. The Napoleonic wars made sheep runs temporarily more profitable, and when the game laws were enacted deer and sporting rights became more profitable, deer forests were substituted for sheep farms. We have controversialists of today attempting to show there were no evictions on account of deer forests. It was no fault of the landlords that there were not. Evictions took place for the object that was at the time most profitable during the Napoleonic wars. The atrocities were perpetrated by the landlords in burning down the natives' houses, confiscating their cattle and smashing their furniture. Between 1811 and 1820 there were evicted 15,000 inhabitants. Alex. McKenzie, in his book the 'Highland Clearances," tells us although the sons of these highland people were Britain's best soldiers, that their mild nature and religious training prevented resort to that determined resistance and revenge which has repeatedly set bound to the rapacious landlords of Scotland. The professed ministers of the church glossed over the foulest deeds by ascribing them to Providence as a punishment for their sins. The people of Glengarry, County of Ontario, are the descendants of these evicted highlanders who were driven into ships against their will and dumped upon Canadian shores, hundreds of them dying from starvation on board the vessels that brought them. The depression of business after the Napoleonic wars brought down prices just as we are witnessing today after the Great War Foodstuffs fell so low, the farmers and landlord class became alarmed and enacted the Corn Law of 1815 to keep up the price of corn and wheat. They prohibited the importation of foreign corn under 80 shillings a quarter; consequently with the bad harvest of 1816, it caused a famine. Riots broke out. The agricultural workers, colliers and Luddites rose in violence and smashed machinery believing that the machine was the cause of their misery.

A paper called the "Weekly Register," printed in the interests of the workers, teaching political action, resulted in political meetings being held all over the country. These meetings became so threatening that the government suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and a Manchester meeting on August 16th, 1819, at Peter's Field attended by 50,000 to 60,000 men, women and children was charged ruthlessly by the military, many being killed and wounded. The following year, 1820, the revolutionary weavers of Glasgow, Scotland, who were encouraged by police spies to take up arms, were suppressed in the usual bloody fashion Their leaders, Wilson, Baird, and Hardie, were hanged at Stirling. England's greatness was accomplished during this period when her workers were in the most degraded conditions. When the continent was almost laid waste during the Napoleonic wars; England's geographical position left her unmolested, and she utilized the full economic strength of her industrial revolution. With the smelting of iron with coal, the blast furnace and the new spinning machinery, England enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of foreign trade and was the workshop of the world.

The worst period of labor in England was the 40 years between 1782—1821, the period in which manufacturers accumulated fortunes rapidly, and agricultural rent doubled. The workers were forbidden to combine and were imprisoned on any pretense, while the Tory landholders passed 1,481 acts of parliament from 1792 to 1816, to enclose the common lands. The conditions of the workers were so bad that Lord Byron said in 1812: "I have traversed the seat of war in the Peninsula; I have seen some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey; but never have I beheld such squalid wretchedness as I have seen in the heart of this Christian country."

The year 1824 brought prosperous times, and an increase in trade union activities, but with bad trade in 1825 they fell to pieces, even although the laws against combinations had been repealed in 1824. All resistance on the part of the workers to prevent the fall in wages was of no avail, and their organizations perished in the attempt to maintain their wages. The distress was so great, the government was forced to lower the corn tariff. The economic depression of 1826 caused a great emigration to the colonies and created political agitation. The growing power and wealth of the industrial capitalists was expressing itself and using the workers as tools to accomplish its own ends.

The result of this agitation was the Reform Bill of 1832 with its re-distribution of seats. Small boroughs, 56 in number, with 111 (one hundred and eleven) seats, were given up and 30 others were given one member instead of two These 143 seats were given to counties and growing towns. Here again we see a reflection of economic condition expressed in political representation. Loria expresses himself on this question very clearly, he says: "Slavery and serfdom both tended to exclude the owning classes from productive labor and to concentrate themselves in public life, whereas any system of representation would have shut out a large majority of proprietors from the exercise of political power. Under such circumstances representative government was logically imposible. The conditions were altered with the introduction of the wage system, when the wage system began to re-enlist the energies of the proprietors in matters of industrial enterprise and accumulation. Hence, England being the first in the new economic conditions, was also the first to have representative government. The conditions inherent in wage economy rendered it imposible for a large majority of the capitalists to take active part in the work of legislation and, accordingly, compelled them to delegate their political power to another class, but let me add, this class is an unproductive class and detracts in no way from the interests of the capitalist class, because the representatives chosen are, either already upon the property class or are made dependent from the fact that they owe their election to the capitalist class. Their choice of unproductive laborers, are generally doctors, lawyers and professors, and their like, who, living on the fruits of property are not at all inclined to deny the principles of their existence.

It is for this reason that the parliaments of the world today are composed largely of this element. England had a large landlord class regularly returned; this was due to the fact that the acquisition of rent requires no asiduous attention like profits, and consequently opens up a broader field of political activity. Since 1880, however, the number of unproductive laborers in the British parliament has increased. In France and Italy they constitute an overwhelming majority. And in America this class practically makes up the whole of Congress It could not be otherwise, because economic development tends to alter the quantitative revenue relations between profits and rents. When the rent from land predominated, the landowning class exercised political power, and their political power is limited to rents. The capitalist power is not limited to profit but to capital, and we see how capital accumulation is continually increasing."

The introduction of agricultural implements is causing the percentage of population to increase in the cities. The city percentage in the United States was 3.35 in 1790; and 29.20 in 1890. In England it was 67.9 in 1881; and 78.1 in 1911.

Therefore, looking at the increasing migration to the cities with the shifting economic power, it becomes clear to understand the change of electoral centres from the country to the cities, increasing the political representation of the industrial centres, and the unproductive laborers becoming representatives of the new economic ruling class.

As proof of the above analysis, the U. S. A Congress is composed of 298 lawyers, as compared with 21 farmers or 12 merchants. The first Congress of 1789-91 had 30 lawyers, and there were eleven farmers, so you see unproductive laborers have greatly increased.

The English House of Lords was the expression of the landholding class, and the rising capitalist class was able to enter its political sovereignity by purchasing estates from the vassals of the crown and small landholders who, unable to buy the new agricultural machinery were forced to sell their land because they could not compete with their more fortunate neighbors Scotland had not made provision for that as she had not got past the pastoral and agricultural stage; previous to the union with England she had only one house of parliament. As long as the landed interest was dominant in England the House of Lords only tolerated the House of Commons, but as soon as profits got the upper hand, the Lords became reduced to a decorative chamber in the political system. An Italian ice cream vendor can become Lord Hockey Pokey if he has the wherewithal to fill the party fund, and sit in this decorated chamber.

The passing of the Franchise Bill of 1832 did not satisfy the workers, and between the disappointment and hard times there arose the Chartist movement During this time (1834) the Poor Law was passed instituting the workhouse to try to decrease the amount of spongers who lived by their wits on the system of poor relief of Queen Elizabeth's reign which was used to keep wages low, the difference of a low wage being made up by a payment from the poor relief fund The historian says it was a success in reducing the number of paupers at the time, but with all the increased wealth production through steam driven machinery, the misery of the poor was intensified, farm laborers could hardly buy barley or rye bread, while meat except a little salt pork never came within their homes. This was the economic pressure behind the Chartist movement, which advocated six reforms, the first two: (1) Yearly parliaments; (2) one man one vote, are not upon the statute books of Britain yet.

The ruling class were so hysterical that they deported six laborers of Dorsetshire for a perfectly innocent act. Thorold Rogers says they were pardoned, but their pardon was concealed from them in consideration of the vested interests to which the Sydney Government sold them at five dollars a head. The Chartist movement, like trade unions, lost its numbers and the prosperity of 1842 killed it. People cared little for the Charter when they got work and food. Following this prosperity we had the Anti-Corn Law enacted as a result of the bad harvest in England and potatoe famine in Ireland. The greatest advocate was Bright, a carpet manufacturer, and Cobden, a cotton print manufacturer. They told the workers that their misery was a result of the high price of bread caused by the Corn Law. When it was repealed and bread became cheaper, wages fell 10 per cent. This free trade and protection stunt is of no importance to the worker. It is a struggle between two sections of the ruling class.

(Lesson 18 to be continued next issue.)

MANIFESTO

— of the —

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

(Fifth Edition)

Per copy ..... 10 cents

Per 25 copies $2

Post Paid

CONCERNING VALUE

THE CONCEPT OF VALUE: ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY GEORDIE.

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."—Marx, Introduction to the "Critique."

"Every product of labor is, in all states of society, a use-value; but it is only at a definite historical epoch in a society's development that such product becomes a commodity, viz., at the epoch when the labor spent on the production of a useful article becomes expressed as one of the objective qualities of that article, i.e. as its value."
"Capital," vol. 1, page 71, Kerr ed.

"This division of a product into a useful thing and a value becomes practically important, only when exchange has acquired such an extension that useful articles are produced for the purpose of being exchanged, and their character as values has therefore to be taken into account beforehand, during production."—"Capital," vol. 1, page 84.

EXCHANGE may be defined as a process in which, by mutual consent, one person transfers goods to another and receives in return some equivalent or what, in the opinion of the parties to the exchange, constitutes an equivalent.

It is important to note that the act takes place by mutual consent and that the word "person" may stand for a primitive commune, a natural person, or a legal corporation.

There is evidence to show that mankind throughout the historical period, and even in pre-historic times, has practised exchange, probably at first in the form of reciprocal gifts, later as barter and finally in the complex manner in which it takes place today. The act of exchange is not, therefore, peculiar to capitalism. It is, however, typical of that system or rather, I should say, essential to that system. In former states of society the act of exchange was something accidental, even when habitual, something outside of the ordinary, normal way of making a living of those peoples. On the other hand the capitalist system cannot be thought of apart from exchange—from sale and purchase; the whole population is engaged in buying and selling; the whole social product is produced for sale, and the whole social income—wages, rent, interest and profit—is distributed through the mechanism of exchange. In this progression which is sometimes called progress we have, therefore, a historical process in which the self-sustaining unit, whether individual or community, becomes dependent; production for use gives way to production for sale and this again to production for profit, in which the product of labor becomes a commodity and its use-value becomes of secondary importance to its exchange value ,and this again is obscured by the price form.

Certain social conditions determine this change. There must have been such a development of the division of labor or, at least, of the division of occupations that the producers can no longer supply their own wants. A condition arises such as someone very neatly puts it, that no one can produce what he uses or use what he produces.

This, however, is not enough, inasmuch as division of labor may exist without exchange of products as in the family of patriarchal or classical times, in the primitive community or in the baronial manor. In these the members of the tribe or family, the slaves and the serfs produced the wealth of those societies which was distributed among their members according to the status they held without the intervention of purchase and sale.

In addition, therefore, to the division of labor it is necessary that the producers be independent of each other except, of course, in respect of such contracts as they may freely enter into. The producer must possess the right of property not only in his person but in his product. That is to say, he has the right to use his time and labor to produce certain goods and to dispose of them. Further, that his right to dispose of them is generally recognized. In short, he possesses the rights of life, liberty, property and contract. These, again, are legal rights, and are only valid where there is a state, or other authority, strong enough to guarantee them.

By the way, it is probably worth while to notice that, from a legal point of view, what is transferred in the act of exchange is the right of property in the object sold. Wealth his sometimes been defined as consisting of goods which may be owned, that is, which may become objects of property rights. For instance, if I receive a gift or purchase some article I not only possess the thing but I own it, seeing that my possession is socially recognized. On the other hand, if I should steal some object, I have possession of it and may enjoy its use but I do not own it.

Not only, however, must these conditions be present but the production and exchange of commodities must have become general, must have become an integral part of the life process of society before the formulation of the concept of value becomes possible. Marx, speaking of this point, says:

> "The secret of the expression of value, namely, that all kinds of labor are equal and equivalent, because, and so far as they are human labor in general, cannot be deciphered, until the notion of human equality has already acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice. This, however, is possible only in a society in which the great mass of the produce of labor takes the form of commodities, in which, consequently, the dominant relation between man and man, is that of owners of commodities."—"Capital, vol. 1, page 69.

Now these considerations unmistakably point to what has been called the "era of handicraft" as being the "historical epoch," during which the concept of value gradually took form and was finally fixed as the law of value. This period has been so happily described by Veblen that I have no coupunction about introducing here a rather lengthy quotation:

> "In a passably successful fashion the peoples of Christendom made the transition from a frankly predatory and servile establishment, in the Dark Ages, to a settled, quasi-peaceable situation resting on fairly secure property rights, chiefly in land, by the close of the Middle Ages. This transition was accompanied by a growth of handicraft, itinerant merchandising and industrial towns, so massive as to outlive and displace the feudal system under whose tutelage it took its rise, and of so marked a technological character as to have passed into history as the 'era of handicraft.' Technologically, this era is marked by an ever-advancing growth of craftsmanship; until it passes over into the regime of the machine industry when its technology had finally outgrown those limitations of handicraft and petty trade that gave it its character as a distinct phase of economic history. In its beginning the handicraft system was made up of impecunious craftsmen, working in severalty and working for a livelihood, and the rules of the craft-guilds that presently took shape and exercised control were drawn on that principle."—Veblen, "The Instinct of Workmanship," p. 231.

We started out with the assumption that man's material conditions determined his consciousness: that "any given phase of collective life induced corresponding habits of thought." We observe, then, that in the handicraft stage of industry the tools used were primitive and simple, that the raw materials were such as lay close to hand, and that the degree of skill and training required in the various occupations would be fairly uniform. For these reasons the basis of exchange could only be a matter of the quantity of labor-time required in the production of the respective commodities, of their labor cost..

Again, the conditions of production and the labor expenditure involved were familiar to all the parties to the exchange. The whole process from start to finish, not only of his own product but that of his fellow townsman was a matter of common knowledge to every citizen. No one would, therefore, part with an article which absorbed so much of his own time for one which he knew had required less of anothers, particularly so, as in the earlier times at least, he would be perfectly able to make the thing himself.

There is the further consideration that production was for a livelihood, that is, while production was for exchange, it was not necessarily for a profit, so that the latter had not to be accounted for. For this reason the cost of production and value would coincide and, as a matter of fact, were not distinguished from each other.

It was under conditions such as those just described that the labor theory of value gradually took shape. It was first clearly stated by Sir William Petty about the year 1662 in a much quoted passage which may be found in a footnote to page 104 of "Capital." He was followed by others (see pages 46 and 59 of "Capital"), and the theory was adopted as as integral part of their system by the classical economists Smith and Ricardo. It finally appears as the law of value in the system of Marx and is stated by him in the following words:

> "We see then that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labor socially necessary, or the labor time socially necessary for its production. . . The value of a commodity, therefore, varies directly as the quantity, and inversely as the productiveness, of the labor incorporated in it."
> —"Capital," vol. 1, pages 46-47.

Here we shall leave the labor theory of value while we proceed to consider another important concept—the law of supply and demand.

By the way, I have not offered any proof of the labor theory of value. It is sufficient for my present purpose if I point out the existence of such a concept and indicate the historical conditions from which it emerged. Come to think of it, this is about the only proof of which such theories are susceptible: namely, that they should agree with the facts at their given time and place.

Another thing, I am perfectly aware that the economic stages in social development never exist in a pure state, and that they overlap both in time and space. This fact does not affect the arguments put forward in this article or in the next to appear.

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, factortories, 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.

Western Clarion

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

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of Canada 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Phone Highland 2583

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

Editor ..... Ewen MacLeod

Subscription:

Canada, 20 issues $1.00

Foreign, 16 issues $1.00

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

VANCOUVER, B. C., AUGUST 1, 1921

HERE AND NOW.

In the days of the war the matter of sub-hunting gave cause for anxiety to all concerned, and all concerned exhibited interest in proportion to their anxiety, without much regard for the skip stop plan.

That sub- hunting campaign, being a newsheadliner, had reference to the submarine, and its similarity to our search for "Clarion" subs. begins and ends with the difficulty of "catching up."

We are campaigning for "Clarion" subs., and we won't be happy till we get them. Results from our prayers in these past few issues have not startled us otherwise than by their unfruitfulness. These skeletonic figures here below indicate the difficulty of catching up in the subscription chase. Come all ye faithful! Join in the chase. And note this all ye unfaithful. **The present "Clarion" issue number is 848. Look at the address label on yours; if it is 849 your sub. expires next issue.** Now let our slim finances stagger into view.

Following, $1 each: H. E. Noakes, G. Rossland, F. W- Warder, H. Wilmer, K. Smith, W. Christie, C. Neil, J. Ransome, A. C. Roga, M. Goudie, y. Aspden, J. H. Burrough, W. Wicks, A. B. Shaaf, J. Weiss, C. Kilby, R. Emery, O. Erickson, A- Rawden, Sid Earp, Geo. Paton, Jack Shepherd.

G. Segel, $2; A. M. Neelands, 50c; A. S. Wells, $2; G. H. Brown, $2; Albert Renn, $2; A. T. Rowell, $2; T. A. Ewan, $2-

Total subs. caught up with from 13th to 26th July, inclusive,—$34.50.

:o:

THE MOSCOW CONGRESS

The Third Congress of the Third International opened in Moscow on June 23rd. Radek, speaking for the credentials committee reported present 291 voting delegates, 219 consulting delegates and about 100 guests representing 48 countries.

The Russian Telegraph Agency (Vienna) says (June 26th):

"The numerical strength of the parties is not the leading motive in the allotment of votes. The political conditions of the land, the level of revolutionary firmness of its proletariat as well as the importance of the land in the general development of the international revolution is taken into account. The credentials commission divided all present tnto five groups. Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Czecko-Slovakia and the Young Communist International each received 40 votes, England, America, Poland, the Ukraine, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria each received 30 votes. Spain, Finland, Roumania, Lettland, Holland, Belgium, Lithuania, Switzerland, and Austria received 20 votes. The remaining lands received either 10 or 5 votes.

The voting will take place according to lands and not according to person."

It will be remembered that the Italian Socialist Party was represented at the second congress (August, 1920) of the Third International by Seratti, and that following upon the adoption of the 21 points (first presented as 18 points) the Italian Party split over the rigidity of the clauses demanding the expulsion of the reform element from their ranks, while both sides to the split demanded inclusion within the Third International. The group represented by Seratti was refused affiliation by the E. C- and that decision was appealed to the present congress. For the basis of appeal from the Executive Committee's decisions, see the "Statutes" of the Third International.

On the attitude of the Congress to the appeal from the Italian Socialist Party (represented at this Congress by Lazzari) we have the following, reported by "Rosta Wein" 1st July:

"After a number of shorter speeches on the international situation the Congress adopted a resolution which stated that the Congress accepts the reports of the activity of the Executive Committee with satisfaction and considers its policy as correct. The congress is agreed that the 21 conditions drawn up by the second congress should be carried out in all lands The efforts of the Executive Committee to create great Communist mass parties was approved. The congress is in complete agreement with the decision of the Executive concerning the Italian Socialist Party and proposes to the Italian Socialist Party that they shall immediately exclude the reformists from the ranks as otherwise the Italian Socialist Party cannot be on to the Communist International. In case that the Italian Socialists accept the proposals of the congress the Executive Committee is to take steps for the formation of United Italian section of the Communist International."

The action of Zinovief (chairman of the Third International) in insisting upon the expulsion of Longuet at the time of the congress of the French Socialist Party on his refusal to accept the 21 points was approved by the Congress. So too the E. C.'s policy in approving the March insurrection in Germany was considered correct by the Congress. Our information is as follows (same source):

"Going over to the question of the German Communist Labor Party the Congress considered the attitude of the Executive here as also correct. In case that this party did not unite in the near future with the United Communist Party of Germany the Executive Committee was authorized to exclude them from the Communist International, and to decline to recognize them even as a sympathetic party."

Speeches have been delivered by Lenin and Trotsky at this Congress, but otherwise than brief references their text has not come to hand. Fifty-three countries were invited to send delegates to the Congress.

* * *

The First International was established (London) in 1864, and was first known as the International Association of Workers. It dissolved after the Franco-German war. Its statutes, in the light of present events are interesting and may as well be reproduced here:

"That the emancipation of the working class must be carried out by the working class itself.

"That the struggle for emanciation of the working class does not imply a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and equal obligations and the abolition of all class domination-

"That the economic subjection of the workers to the monopolists of the means of production, the sources of life, is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.

"That, consequently, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated.

"That all endeavors directed to this great aim have hitherto failed because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in each country and because of the absence of a fraternal bond of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social character embracing every civilized country, and the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries.

"That the present revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, while awakening new hopes, contains a solemn warning against a relapse into old errors, and calls for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement."

The Second International was formed (Paris) 1889. Common report has it that it died in 1914 since it has held no conferences since then. From a Socialist point of view it would seem to have been well bound and paralyzed long before that. "They have numbered their adherents by the million and have educated them not at all."

* * *

The Third International held its first Congress (Moscow) March, 1919. Its second Congress was held July-August, 1920, and the third Congress is now in session, or rather, news of its termination has not at the moment of writing arrived.

:o:

ALBERTA ELECTIONS

The official count of the returns from the Alberta elections is not at hand at this moment of writing. Comrade Frank Williams, the Party candidate in Calgary, as far as is known polled something like 1900 votes, and Mrs- Mellard in Edmonton polled upwards of 800. We have received copies of their election leaflets and manifestos, and these lack nothing in able and plain statement of our Party platform and principles.

Our candidates have not succeeded in gaining entrance to the Alberta legislature. Good work has been done in the campaign and our point of view has been introduced among wider circles of workers. To that extent is our success measured. Election would have meant a further and wider field. Our work goes ever on and every experience gained in efforts to widen our propaganda field among the people of our class helps to stimulate interest and brings fresh enthusiasm to our task.

:o:

A CORRECTION.

A reference to Bruno in Comrade Harrington's article in our last issue, "Ourselves and Parliament," was meant to apply to Galileo.

A "pied" line in the same article (third column) rendered two sentences unreadable. These should read, "This control is supposed to be vested in parliament, and for all practical purposes is, but only when parliament conforms to the historic economic needs and moral standards of the nation. The national flag, passing through the nation's slums will be received with transports of delight."

:o:

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. Emery (per W. R. L.), -1; John Beckman 50c; C. Neil, $1; J. J. Mackenzie, $1; A. C. Roga $2; Jas. Carson, $1; C. M. Christiansen, $5; W. Winks (per J. H. B.), $3.50; Local (Lettish) No. 1, Winnipeg, per F. W. K., $10; Local Wimborne (per D. MacPherson, $5.

Above, C. M. F. contributions from 13th to 26th July, inclusive—$30.

:o:

FROM CALGARY.

An amusing incident occurred at a meeting held in support of the Socialist candidate for Calgary. Comrade Cassidy was addressing the audience, and several comrades were detailed to patrol the sidewalk of the vacant lot where the meeting was in progress. Comrade Lewin, who was among those who were to request people to keep off the sidewalk and stand on the vacant lot, after giving a manifesto to a bystander, requested him to keep off the sidewalk as the meeting would be stopped if people obstructed pedestrian traffic. The bystander said he was not obstructing the traffic, and moved on as requested. It was found out afterwards that the man admonished by Comrade Lewin was none other than Chief Ritchie of the Calgary Police.

At another open air meeting the following dialogue was heard:

"Who's speaking?"

"A Socialist!"

"Gee, and he's wearing a shirt and collar!"

A. HOLLINGSHEAD.

August
Aston

Dictatorship of the Dead

Editor's Note.—This article appeared in "The Plebs," May, 1921. As a hard and fast statement of theory it is likely to fall into dispute, but its author (T. A. Jackson), in an introductory note says it was "prompted by reading of (1) 'The Evolution of Sinn Fein,' by R. M. Henry, and (2) 'An Economic History of Ireland,' by D. A. Chant (Dublin, Talbot Press, 6s. and 5s. respectively)." It will serve here as an interesting study in Irish ideology.

MAN is born not only into a physical environment but also into a mental one. Around him in his earliest years are not only walls and trees and roofs and stones—things of use and things of nature—but his kinsfolk, the lights and shadows in their eyes, the tones of their voices, and the tales they tell to beguile his tedium and instruct his youth.

From them he learns to fear all the things that they fear; and to desire that which they have come to think desirable. From them he derives his idea of the shames which are too shameful for a man to bear, and of the honors which are all but out of mortal reach. If his ways are cast not in the jumble and scurry of a crowded town but in the isolation of a rural settlement separated by stretches of field or bog, moor or hillside from other and similar homestead clusters—to towns a day's march distant and the populous places of the earth still further away beyond the "vacant spaces of the sea"—he will absorb into the texture of his emotions the gossip and legend of the countryside. When that gossip is of political rather than of personal ambitions, and the legends those of the patriot strivings of heroic forbears who had every virtue but success, and when the sombre splendour of their story is supplemented by bitter remembrance of agonies incidental to their strife and cumulative with their woes, it will be little wonder if the Passion of the Past grows into a haunting prepossession pressing every energy of youth into the channel of a righteous revolutionary zeal. Once engendered, this high and holy zeal—though change of scene may modulate it, idealizing a biting pain into an abiding melancholy, and tinging the horrors and angers of strife and defeat with the fascination of tragic romance—once engendered, this impulse will endure with little feeding even to the third and fourth generation. Given abundance of its appropriate food and it will glow like a concealed fire except when it rages like a tempest.

The young men who are now actually or in sentiment the rank-and-file of the Army of the Irish Republic are the sons of victims of the rack-renting absentee landlords and their striking arm—an eviction party, with battering-ram, crowbar, pick, and armed escort equipped with Uniform and Authority from an alien Government. Their imagination will have been fed in their youth with tales of the Land League; of the gaol, the packed jury, the proclaimed meeting, the baton-charge and of the fusilade of Mitchelstown when the constabulary, under express orders from Mr. Secretary Balfour, "did not hesitate to shoot."

And the fathers, from whose lips they have learned these things—along with the legends of the fitful romance of the Fenian Brotherhood—were, in their turn, themselves sons of famine-stricken, fever-tortured, charity-insulted survivors from the horrors of the Black Forty-Seven, across which had gleamed for a moment like marsh fires over a bog, the glow of Young Ireland.

These survivors, too, were sons and grandsons of the dragooned and half-hanged, lashed and picketed victims of the property-mad Protestant conquerors of 1798. And, yet again, these "men of '98" (who "rose in dark and evil days") were the torn and tortured outcome of a protracted process of persecution which, originating far back in the tangled treachery of feudal marauding has for persistence no equal and for brute folly and black malice no rival in all the crimes that have hitherto defiled the earth.

An acute consciousness of Nationality — and it thwarted, goaded, and irritated into a chronic inflammation—possesses or pervades, in consequence, the whole mental and moral being of Irish men and women, to whatever class they may belong. A natural self-satisfaction supplementing and extending the healthy personal pride of the average man or woman constitutes, in an unconquered country, the normal and not unpleasing patriotism of a small nation. In over-grown Plutocratic Empires this "patriotism" becomes, under State manipulation, a blatant and sycophantic vulgarity which replaces both dignity and decency for the socially enslaved and mentally-debased petty-bourgeois and slum proletarian mobs that such Empires perforce beget.

These pleasures, alike of an enlarged family pride and of the intoxicating bombast of Jingoism, are denied to a subject nation. Its members can win public dignity and rewards at the hands of the powers-that-be only by a cynical surrender of all the illusions that make such honors, normally, acceptable. Among their fellows they can win esteem only by either a crude reiteration of inherited wrongs (a mechancial insistence on the villany of the conqueror and the sorrows of the conquered which soon grows into a baneful political hypochondria— the whine of the beggar—the wail of the broken slave) or, alternatively, by embarking upon a course of revolutionary adventure whose success will risk a repetition of the very horrors it was designed to avenge.

To blame Irishmen for being rebels and revolutionaries is, therefore, to condemn them for their chief title to honor—to stigmatize them for choosing the road of dignified danger rather than that of slavish safety. To expect Irishmen—who by virtue of circumstance and tradition are exalted as far above normal "patriotism" as the Jingo is debased below it—to desert their inherited ideal in favor of political propositions whose sole recommendation is that they are safe, sane, and reasonable is to abuse patience and outrage humnn decency. Even class struggles in Ireland must wear a National uniform.

When conscious of weakness and debilitated by despair, the general mass of Irishmen have tolerated, and only just tolerated, a parliamentary struggle for a local legislature. And even then they have tolerated it partly as a means of rousing the enthusiasm which would make possible a struggle for the real thing. "Home Rule," beloved of English Liberalism, was, in Irish eyes, at best a beginning. At worst it was a treacherous surrender. When the Irish people became convinced that Redmond and his party were, at the price of Home Rule, willing to accept the inclusion of Ireland in the British Empire as a final and concluded fact, the Irish people repudiated Redmond and his party with contempt and loathing.

The process of elementary education today consists in great measure of the selection of the mental environment calculated to fix in the young the emotions and prejudices deemed desirable and salutary by their ruling elders. The art of government, whether it employs sermons, newspapers, proclamations, pageants or parliamentary speeches, consists in little else. It is, therefore, not surprising that the proximate roots of the more recent rebellions in Ireland are to be found in a struggle to free the minds of Irishmen, young and old, from the effects of the system of education as by law established in Ireland. At about the same time that Keir Hardie was setting up an Independent Labor Party in England a small company of scholarly enthusiasts in Ireland were founding a society to strike at the roots of the process of Anglicization (conducted by the public elementary schools) which threatened to obliterate, by its official English language, literature, history, and teaching, all the essentials of inherited Irish feeling.

The Gaelic League set itself, by the revival of the practice of writing and speaking the native language of Ireland, to undo all this—to nullify the invading influence that (for example) excluded even Scott's lines on "my native land"—"breathes there a man," etc.—from the school-books because of their dangerous tendency. It challenged the worth of a Parliamentary Nationalism that made a show of resisting the enemy at Westminster while simultaneously surrendering to its agents the mind of every child in Ireland. It demanded of the Revolutionary Party what was likely to be the worth of Irish Independence if the men who gained it had Englished brains? Or how they hoped to win it until the men who strove to bring it to being fought, not for external rewards, but in obedience to the compelling impulsion of their cultivated Irish consciousness—fought because they felt themselves wholly and utterly parts of a distinctively Irish World?

By making Irish speaking and writing a point of honor among Irish men the Gaelic League built up a movement for an independent Irish Education—a culture purged from every taint of alien bias and suppression. They created a body of positive Irish opinion totally distinct from the mere anti-Englishism which had boggled at the form while it swallowed the substance of defeat and conquest. It was, as Patrick Pearse acclaimed it, "the most revolutionary force that ever came into Ireland." For in keeping clear of "English" bias and going for their inspiration to native Irish literature they were not merely taking the line of greatest psychological impulse, they were, albeit unwittingly, in going for their inspiration to the legendary love of the Gael, throwing back from the ideology of the dominant bourgeois order to that of a time when the memory and culture of tribal communism was still fresh and living. They turned their backs on Samuel Smiles and his progeny, and by way of the love of the cabin fireside and the legends of the thatched houses adventured into the shining glory of the gods and heroes of pre-historic Ireland.

Even to an alien who knows Ireland only as a mark on the map, and its mythology through the refracting medium of a translation; even to dwellers in towns who can conceive hill side and bog, heath, hazel and rowan, the salmon's leap and the blackbird's song, only as vague guesses built up from the materials of picture-palace and railed-in park; even to the proletarian rebel who yearns to make an end of all the Dead and Damnable Past, this wonderful Gaelic Mythology comes as a revelation of a fresher and a brighter world. It was, rightly handled, a force calculated not merely to weld into one all the Fellowship of the Gael, but to give it the tone and the temper necessary for a high and heroic endeavour.

The economic and social consequences of English rule helped to smooth the path for the Irish Revival. The 18th century policy which struggled to prevent Irish domiciled commerce and industry from competing on anything like equal terms with those of England perforce had kept the more distinctly Irish population fastened down to agrarian life. The industrial revolution (which made England for the nonce the workshop of the world) and its consequences have emphasized this; and since the Land Acts (1878-1903) the agrarian population has become one of smallish farmers and peasantry who by various devices were gaining a homely prosperity from the rise of the demand for, and the price of, foodstuffs in the English and West European markets. Co-operative Agriculture and Dairy-farming, the Home-Industries Movement, Sinn Fein (in its earlier forms) and the Gaelic League were all expressions of this economic readjustment and the permutations of the traditional ideologies induced by this agrarian revival. And the rise of a Labor Movement, too, dating at it does from James Connolly's return to Ireland in 1896, points to the greater consolidation of a proletariat which is its inevitable counterpart. Connolly noted and formed his policy in the light of the fact that the Irish National tradition had been preserved by and was most vital in the peasantry, the proletariat and the rural semi-proletariat.

There is no room here to speak of the why and the wherefore of Easter Week, or of what has happened since. We can if we are fools enough dismiss the question by supposing the Irish to be inflamed with a madly irrational hatred of England and the English. To that John Mitchell as long ago as 1848 gave reply. His hatred, as Patrick Pearse shows, was "not of English men and English women but of the English thing that called itself a Government in Ireland, of the English Empire, of English commercialism supported by English militarism, a thing wholly evil

(Continued on page 8)

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

THE Third International is a deliberate and open attempt to organize the most advanced section of the working class to overthrow world capitalism. To accomplish this end, they have so far, laid down twenty-one points, to govern its membership. Anyone or section, violating these or any one of these points are liable to expulsion.

The S. P. of C. is avowedly an educational seciety, not an organization to overthrow even its own bourgeoisie. Now the position to me is this: Is it worth while to align ourselves with the Third International, accept the twenty-one points, change our S. P. of C. policy, and make a conscious effort to free ourselves from wage slavery? My answer is unreservedly YES. To maintain the almost fatalistic attitude in which we have allowed ourselves to linger in complacency, that (when the slaves are educated and conditions ripe, they will take action) means to evolve into a religious sect. But to overthrow capitalism, an organized, conscious effort will be required.

All class societies are constituted on force. The transition period will be a class society. Our strength is relative to our ability to weaken the other's defense. How can we weaken his defense, how shall we organize this force? Truly not in twenty-four hours. The Third International says, to use the folowing tactics:—

(a) Kick out of the party all traitors, opportunists and patriots. (Agreed).

(b) Get executive control of labor unions, etc. This will undoubtedly cause conflicts and bitter struggles but can we dodge them? Is it not necesary that we lash the Gompers, Hendersons, Thomas's, etc., or be lashed by them? It is much better for the Socialists to represent the organized workers in their daily struggles with the boss, than to be a member of parliament, not despising the latter. It is this daily sword-to-sword test in its stages of development by which the Socialist will more rapidly gain the confidence and support of the toilers. These tactics have been used by individual Socialists, confidence has been placed in them and good work has been alcomplished. A wider circle of confidence could be secured, greater influence could be wielded in the union movement if an organized plan of action was laid out by the party members.

(c) Propaganda in the army. This too has been done by individuals, and more efficiency would result from an organized plan.

(d) To organize secretly and illegally alongside of legal organizations The necessity of this can not be denied, considering world-wide conditions (I do not mean the Toronto secret outfit, who by the way, have no connection with the Third International,(*) nor yet have I in mind the cheerful idiot who sneaks up to your side and slips a leaflet into your hand, calling for an armed insurrection). Something larger and more effective than rat-hole conspiracies is surely intended by the master minds that carried the Russian revolution through all its trials and vicissitudes. How denitely they state "Have no officials in the party who have not always rang true and who have devoted years to the revolutionary movement" This, to me, is significant; how did Clara Zetkin get to the French Socialist convention? How did John Reed cross and recross the Atlantic, how are a dozen and more things being done?

(e) To assist all liberation movements. This requires no arguments in its favor when we consider its relation to the other points, i.e., control of unions, world-wide organizations to disrupt, weaken and conquer imperialistic states, army propaganda and secret organizations.

Colonies, provided they are submissive, are a source of strength to imperial powers, otherwise they would not have them. To be forced to relinquish a colony, weakens them. Let us suppose that India aspires to a national independence. The Third International demands the following tactics: 1st—That the communists of India fight for independence as a means only towards slave emancipation. To oust British bayonets, because it is this glittering steel, that keeps them enslaved. Some may here remark, that it is the ignorance of the Indian masses; these I would refer to Russia, Turkestan, Georgia, etc. The first step towards freedom from exploitation of the Indian workers, is to get rid of the British army. Second, that the Communists of England agitate for the withdrawal of British troops, by such means, I would judge, as mass meetings, demonstrations, working on popular sentiment, strikes and other practical means It is plain to be seen that the Communists of India would have a much better chance of success if British bayonets were absent. It may also occur that the balance of force needed to quell the Indian liberation movement at home, would so weaken the British forces in India, that a revolution may be possible. Now of course the success of such an event depends on the strength of the Communist movement; but the success or failure is quite a different thing to saying that "Liberation movements are not our concern."

Man understanding natural forces, has harnessed them and utilized them. We who understand social forces can do likewise. Oft times it has been repeated that you can not have socialism without socialists, which may be true, but it is equally true that you can have a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" "or Communist Government," without a Socialist majority in a given country.

The Third International has designed the first tools to use against World Capitalism. Let us avail ourselves of them. Should they require alteration, then let us be one of the mechanics!

J. F. MAGUIRE.

(*) Editor's note.—This statement may go as it looks. The latest from the Communists of the eastern part of Canada is "The Communist" (June, 1921), official organ of the Communist Party of Canada (section of the Communist International). Vol 1, No. 1. This did not come from Toronto. It is not our business to say where it did come from. Perhaps Comrade Maguire has good reasons for his statement. These are not, however, advanced by him.

Next Issue: Article in reply to W. A. P., by O. Mengel

MR. DOOLEY ON CAPITAL AND LABOR

It was different whin I was a yonng man, Hinnissay. In thim days, Capital and Labor was frindly, or Labor was. Capital was like a father to Labor; givin' it its board an' lodgin's. Naypher intherfered with th' other. Capital wint on capitalisin' an' Labor wint on laborin'.

In thim golden days a wurrukin' man was an honest artisan. That's what he was proud to be called. Th' week before iliction he had his pitcher in th' funny papers. He wore a square pa-aper cap an' leather apron, an' he had his ar'rm around Capital—a rosy, binovlint ol' guy with a plug hat an' eyeglass. They was goin' to th' polls.

Capital an' Labor walked ar'rm in ar'rm instead iv' havin both hands free as at prisint. Capital was contint to be Capital, an' Labor was used to bein' Labor. Capital came ar'round an' felt th' ar'rm iv Labor wanst in awhile, and ifery year Mrs. Capital called on Mrs. Labor an' congratulated her on her score.

Th' pride iv ivry artisan was to wur-rk as long at his task as th' boss cud afford to pay th' gas bill. In return f'r his fidelity he got a turkey every year.

At Christmas time, Capital gathered his happy fam'ly ar'round him, an' in th' prisince iv th' ladies iv th' neighborhood, give thim a short oration. "Me brave la-ads," says he, "we've had a good year. (Cheers.) I have made a millyon dollars. (Sensation). I attribute this to me superior skill, aided by ye'er arnest efforts at th' bench an' at'th' forge. (Sobs.) Ye have done so well that we won't need so many iv ye as we did. (Lang an' continyous cheerin'.) Those iv us who can do two men's wur-rk will remain, an' if possible do four. Our other faithful sarvints," he says, "can come back in the spring," he says, "if alive," he says.

An' th' bold artisans tossed their pa-per caps in th' air an' give three cheers f'r Capital. They wurruked till ol' age crept on thim an' thin retired to live on th' wish-bones an' kind wur-rds they had accumylated.

:o:

EXTRACT FROM "ABENDPOST," ROCHESTER, N. Y. (German Language)

(Translated by O. J. Mengel)

In your edition of the 20th July, 1920, one of your correspondents, under the heading of "Proletarian Education," highly commends the "Western Clarion," which is published fortnightly in Vancouver, B. C., and points out as specially noteworthy a series of articles entitled "Economic Causes of War," and that the "Western Clarion" is available in the "Rochester Labor Lyceum."

Your corresondent closes his letter by saying: "I considered the articles "Economic Causes of War" of such importance that I requested they be published in pamphlet form."

The above mentioned article was translated by O. J. Mengel in the "Western Clarion" dated 2nd August, 1920.

"We now have these pamphlets for sale, entitled "Economic Causes of War." We have also received several pamphlets and leaflets from England and Scotland giving information about European, and especially German and Russian conditions that are very noteworthy.

Barney Field, literature agent, Proletarian Party, Labor Lyceum, 580 St. Paul Street, Rochester, N.Y.

:o:

FIRST DIRECT SHIPMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES FROM NEW YORK TO PETROGRAD

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee has made arrangements through its shipping agent the Products Exchange Corporation, to make shipments for the first time directly from New York to Petrograd.

The following steamers are scheduled to leave pier 4, Bush Terminal, Brooklyn, N. Y.:—s.s. Storaker, end of July; s.s. Sarlander, August 5th; s.s. Otter Jarl, August 15.

These steamers are flying the Norwegian flag, and are the first to commence direct commercial intercourse between the United States and Soviet Russia.

Now that the blockade has been completely broken, so far as the shipping is concerned, it is necessary to make up for the harm and sufferings caused to the people of Soviet Russia during the long years of wars and invasions. The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee urgently requests the donation of funds so that these shipments shall bring substantial relief to the long tortured people of Soviet Russia.

These relief supplies will be distributed through the Peoples' Commissariat of Public Health.

Besides the funds the committee will be glad to accept for shipment medical supplies and instruments, dry and condensed milk, fats, sugar, clothing in good condition and other articles of relief.

Address all donations, gifts, etc., to the

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee
110 West 40th St. New York City.

:o:

Book Review

"THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS RELATION TO LIFE; By A. G. Tansley. Pp. 283. New York, Dodd Mead and Co.

IN order to pass an opinion in the interests of thor, I have read the book from cover to cover, "Clarion" readers, and in fairness to its au- a handy volume and well printed.

It seems, unfortunately, Tansley has practically ignored method altogether. I don't think his work can be called a "New Psychology." He might have followed the old discarded metaphysical mode of reasoning, which met death when science demonstrated the principle of the conservation of energy and left no room for spirit and matter apart from it, but which some dogmatic theologians still pursue. I don't accuse Tansley of it; he is above it. He might have pursued the so-called scientific method of induction and deduction, of formal logic, method of observation, classification, experimentation and interpretation. His book is not untrammelled with metaphysical presentation, but it is not intolerable reading. Tansley does not go into the painstaking work involved in the subject; his attempt in this direction is lacking.

The only scientific method that guarantees accuracy and unfailing soundness in results with respect to finding of principles and laws, "the dialectics" or the dialectic method, application whereof in the field of economics, politics, sociology and philosophy by Marx and Engels yielded them such stupendous discoveries of laws of social phenomena, as the Socialist and other schools well know, is not attended to in the above work. But Tansley honestly makes no claim to a system of systematic enquiry in psychology. The following quotation from his book is self-explanatory:

> "The aim is to present a picture vaguely, sketched in some parts, almost blank in others, but it is hoped not too much out of drawing" (Page 15).

With all the want of a system, very interesting features of the psychological problem have been developed in places.

> "The difficulty that is experienced in unravelling the intricate skein of mental structure and disposition is due to two causes. (1) First and most important, the fact that we have no adequate equipment for the task because our preceptions, our consciousness, our reason have been developed for quite other purposes to enable us to maintain ourselves in the world we live in, and not to help us to penetrate the secrets of our own minds. (2) The fact that there are parts of our mind of which we will not, or in some cases cannot, recognize the existence, because they conflict with other parts which we have come to regard as having a prior claim to recognition." (page 260.)

This is all too true. Bergson, Morton Prince, H. W. Carr, Janet, Freud, Jung, etc., in their psychopathological investigations have formulated enough data to confirm the above that they are demonstrable facts.

Respectable psychologists may find now that their books on psychology, i.e., their text books, otherwise standard works built on facts, thoroughly systematic, with a fair degree of qualitative and quantitative determination which secured psychology a place in the galaxy of exact sciences, have to be revised, embodying these characteristics of the unconscious, to maintain the repuation of a psychological science.

Tansley, in chap. 14, pp. 141-153 elaborates this quotation under the heading of "Psychical Segregation and Displacement." The main idea is that in the functioning of human minds at the urge of an abnormally developed interest(or libido) an undue amount of mental energy is commandeered, and sometimes mental content splits up into parts which unconsciously and in conflict with each other function independently in the same organism, and if no balance was restored all abnormalities like hysteria, melancholia, etc, play havoc to the life of the person.

This is a fair account of the phenomena, and Prince Morton in his valuable work "The Unconscious," has firmly established the truth of the principle by psychoanalysing a number of cases. But psychology, to be of value as a science, needs "dialectics" applied to it.

The psychic segregation and displacement, to speak in Tansley's terminology, necessarily and inseparably involves the problem—"the psychic integration and equilibrium." In other words, synthetically, the problem is about the process of the organization of mind with respect to its functions, structure, form and content, with a view to its unity.

Tansley could have added to the value of his work if a systematic enquiry were made and generaliations drawn on the unity of the mind process. On the subject of instinct, emphasis made by Tansley is mainly on sex, herd and ego, by devoting a chapter to each, while others have been given just a courtesy. Opening sentence of chapter 16 reads as follows:

> "It is a fundamental tenet of the New Psychology that all actions and connations leading to them are motived by and gain energy from instinctive sources."

This tenet of his so-called New Psychology is only a half-truth, if not altogether perverse, in as much as the characteristics of instincts, applied and related to the life activities of an organism are not fully placed in their bearings of human society. Instincts have a genesis, a pedigree, a periodicity of life, as much as a pig. Instincts are products of life activity and are generated around some innate tendencies like seeking of satisfaction, etc., which are prior to instincts and are connoted to life. Instinct and the principle of intelligence are allied and co-existent in life phenomena.

In present day society, instinct of workmanship, or "construction" as the author calls it, abnormally fill the mental content of the working class. Any kind of work or a job for wages, enough to maintain their life, motivate their actions and the connations leading to them. On the other hand, acquisition and predatory instincts abnormally occupy the mentality of the master class. Any kind of gain—profits, exploitation, seizure— motivate their actions and the connations leading to such actions.

But innate tendencies inherent in life are seeking a balance; intelligence is pressed into its functions, modifying the incongruities and unhealthy functioning of instincts so as to restore the conservation of the life of the human species; in other words ,to reconstruct the social order, looked forward to by the proletarian class, although primarily in their own interests, but in reality by abolishing classes in the interests of human society.

There are very interesting and pregnant thoughts as well as expressions in Tansley's work on the general questions of psychology, bringing out a good perspective in places. There is an unique presentation of the sex problem. The book no doubt would repay the perusal. One who is not a psychologist would do better, however, by acquainting himself with the principles of psychology from a text book like one by Professor McDougall, Pillsbury or Tichner, and thus, after getting the essential groundwork and a system of the human mind, if he reads Tansley's New Psychology he will by introspection in his mind identify the contents of both, as in ones own mind alone is found the ground and means of directly corroborating psychological truths. The whole problem of psychology, expressed in dialectic terms, is contained in the following sentence by H. W. Carr in "The Problem of Truth," p. 15. "Consciousness and life are, in this respect, one and the same. Consciousness as the unity of knowing and acting is a becoming."

H. RAHIM.

———:o:———

THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

While the Japanese Crown Prince tours the capitals of Europe, and Russian Monarchists hold a conference at Reichenall, in Bavaria, a Tsarist flag flies over Vladivostok, and details come in of Japanese plans to establish in Siberia a chain of buffer States between Soviet Russia and that future Japanese colony—China.

The commencement of that chain must be the Far Eastern Republic, which from its capital at Chita, has been endeavoring to secure order at home and peace abroad. The first of these irreproachable objects would entail the dispersion of the remnants of the Tsarist troops scattered over the vast distances of Eastern Siberia. Yet more delicate a task would be the securing of the withdrawal of Japanese forces which are occupying the seaboard northwards from Vladivostok, "to maintain order and protect Japanese subjects." But the negotiations with Japan have made no progress. If they had no more positive aims the Japanese would stay to keep the Americans out.

The Republic of the Far East is not Bolshevik. It has a Constituent Assembly elected in March on a basis of universal suffrage, in which the peasant party outnumbers the Communists twice over. What more natural than that it should seek the blessing of our Government? Its Foreign Minister telegraphed, accordingly, to the British Foreign Office demanding recognition.

It made a similar request to the Chinese Government, and friendly relations are in the course of es-establishment. To the annoyance of Japan, it ceded Kamtschatka to Soviet Russia, receiving in return a loan of five milliards of roubles, to be repaid in goods within fiveyears.

Our ally is interested in fisheries in Kamtschatka. Its Press protested against the cession to Russia, and threatened seizure of the territory by force. Semenov, the Tsarist "Commander in Chief of the army of the Far East," was recently in Tokio, discussing with the Japanese Government the measures to be taken against the Far Eastern Republic.

At the end of May an anti-Bolshevik revolution was carried through at Vladivostok; the Japanese were more than benevolent spectators, and are policing the town. With the co-operattion of Semenov the Japanese have gained the mastery of the Russian Amur territory. The Chita Government is caught between the Tsarist Ungern on its West, and Semenov and his (and our) Allies on the East. The Russian counter-revolution is well on the way to re-establishing a base for new operations. There is talk of transporting the Wrangel remnants to Vladivostok.

A Reval telegram states that the Soviet forces are being concentrated to face the Siberian threat, and adds it may be only for picturesqueness, that Trotsky is proceeding to the Eastern "front."

Meanwhile, it is an awkward circumstance that the Vladivostok revolution, however much it may have been engineered by Tsarists—and it was enthusiastically welcomed by the Tsarists in session at Reichenhall—was not carried through by the population from any desire for the blessings of Tsardom. Relations between the provisional Government and Semenov are thus not easy to establish. A telegram from Chita published in "Humanite" describes the position a week ago. General Semenov inspires so little confidence in the population that on his arrival at Vladivostok the reactionary Government—which no doubt only wishes that it could openly join forces with him—was compelled to issue a statement that the General's visit was a chance one, and that he would shortly be leaving the town.

The British journals in Pekin are demanding a clear statement of Japan's attitude to the Vladivostok adventure. The Pekin representative of the Far Eastern Republic has sent to the American Ambassador a Note protesting against the Japanese support of the White Guards, and asking the American Government to demand that Japan shall evacnate the territory of the Far Eastern Republic.—Labor Leader.

Literature Price List

CLOTH BOUND	Per copy
History of the Great American Fortunes (Myers) Three volumes	$6.50
Positive Outcome of Philosophy (Dietzgen)	$2.15
Woman Under Socialism (Bebel)	$2.15
End of the World (McCabe)	$2.15
Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844 (Engels)	$1.75
A. B. C of Evolution (McCabe)	$1.15
Economic Determinism (Parce)	$1.75
Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri)	$1.75
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals (Fitch)	$1.75
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Engels)	$1.75
Industrial History of England (H. DeGibbins)	$1.75
The Students's Marx (Aveling)	$1.15
Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen)	$1.15
Darwinism and Race Progress (Haycraft)	$1.15
Evolution of Property (Lafargue)	$1.15
Poverty of Philosophy (Marx)	$1.75
Critiyue of Political Economy (Marx)	$1.75
Revolution and Counte rRevolution (Marx)	$1.15
Philosophical Essays (Dietzgen)	$1.75
History of Paris Commune (Lissagaray)	$1.50
Ancient Society (L. H Morgan)	$2.15
Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis)	$1.75
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32nd Chapters "Capital," vol. 1, Marx)	$1.00
Savage Survivals (Moore)	$1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution (Lewis)	.90
Science and Revolution (Unterman)	.90
The Militant Proletariat (Lewis)	.90
Evolution, Social and Organic (Lewis)	.90
The Social Revolution (Kautsky)	.90
Class Struggle (Kautsky)	.90
Puritanism (Meily)	.90
The Worlds Revolutions (Unterman)	.90
Ethics and History (Kautsky)	.90
Life and Death (Dr. E. Teichmann)	.90
Law of Biogenesis (Moore)	.90
Social Studies, (Lafargue)	.90
Germs of Mind in Plants (R. H. France)	.90

PAPER COVERS	Per copy
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville	5c
The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax	5c
The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen)	5c
Communist Manifesto	10c
Wage-Labor and Capital	10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	15c
Slave of the Farm	10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.	10c
Evolution of Man (Prof. Bolsche)	20c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)	10c
The Structure of Soviet Russia (Humphries)	10c
No Compromise; No Political Trading (Wm. Liebknecht	20c
Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy)	15c
Right to be Lazy (Lafargue)	15c
Marxism and Darwinism (Pannekoek)	15c
The Apostate (London)	15c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)	35c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)	25c
The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia (Kaplun)	15c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)	25c
Civil War in France (Marx)	35c
Eighteenth Brusire (Marx)	35c
Christianism and Communism (Bishop W M. Brown)	25c
Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder (Lenin) Detroit Edition	60c
Theses and Statutes of the 3rd (Communist International	25c

QUANTITY RATES ON PAPER COVERED PAMPHLETS.

Two Essays on History	25 copies	75c
Criminal Court Judge	25 copies	75c
Sabotage	25 copies	$1.00
Communist Manifesto	25 copies	$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies	$2.00
Present Economic System	25 copies	$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25copies	$3.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies	$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies	$2.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies	$3.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies	$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies	$3.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies	$2.00
Christianism and Communism	5 copies	$1.00

All Prices Include Postage.

Make all moneys payable to E. McLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on chebues.

All above literature can be obtained at the same prices post paid, from—J. Sanderson, Box 1762, Winnipeg, Man.

:o:

SUBSCRIPTION FORM.

WESTERN CLARION

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

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Canada. Issued twice-a-month, at 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Phone: High. 2583.

Rate: 20 Issues for One Dollar (Foreign, 16 issues). Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod.

For.....enclosed herewith

send.....issues to:—

Name .....

A REVIEW OF CAPITALISM IN 1921

(Continued from page 1)

France, by aiding the Polish capitalists in Upper Silesia may subsequently control or form a trade alliance in the coal and iron industries of Upper Silesia; then British coal merchants could say "good-bye" to customers in Europe. This from Major Ottley, a nephew of Lloyd George, speaking to Hershey in Beuthen:

> "No matter how propaganda, whether Polish or French, tries to endow the Upper Silesian with a preponderance of pro-Polish sentiment, the facts as we British see them—and and surely we can't be accused of partiality—are decidedly contrary to what Korfanty and General Le Rond (general in command of French troops in this zone) have been continuall disseminating. Upper Silesia is an industrial community first of all. Without the stimulus of capital and technical brains the laboring community of this province might as well decide to emigrate elsewhere. Germany has supplied these requisites."

The plebiscite which was to settle the question of ownership was taken in March 21, 1921, "amid scenes of violence and disorder,, of tense excitement and intimidation. . . . . in some places the crack of the rifle and the bark of the machine gun punctuated the balloting." The number of votes cast for the Germans was 716,000 and for the Poles 471,000.

Despite this constitutional method of settling the matter French support is still given to the Poles, British to the Germans and the bloody feud still goes on.

Minus this highly developed country, German enterprise has made, Hershey states, "it might spell Germany's ruin. The Germans will not relinquish it without a struggle A clash of Germans and Poles involving, as it does, differences between France and Britain, may bring another war France has 800,000 men under arms; the Chamber of Deputies on June 10th passed a bill calling for the construction of sixty-six new vessels of war, half of them submarines, at an estimated cost of 11,416,000,000 francs, and in the passage of the bill M. Guisthau, Minister of Marine, said: "They are necessary not only for security but **as a matter of dignity and pride."**

International jokes are so scarce that one should be placed in the archives of proletarian literature.

Poland has called to the colors her 1919, '20 and '21 classes, and the only comment I can offer is that of old Touchstone: "It's a mad world, master!" Democracy! Dis-armaments!! Oh, la, la.

R. K.

:o:

C. M. O'BRIEN CASE TO BE TRIED

Now that the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, First Department, has ruled that "it was entirely competent for the Legislature to make it a crime to advocate within this state the overthrow of the government of the United States or of this or any other state by any means or method, other than constitutional means or methods," the Monroe county district-attorney's office is ready to proceed with the trial of Charles McNamara O'Brien, leader of the Proletarian party in Rochester, who was arrested in a raid on the Labor Lyceum in January, 1920, followed by a hearing of the Lusk Committee in this city.

O'Brien was indicted by the Grand Jury for criminal anarchy, but the district-attorney's office has delayed the trial proceedings until the case of Benjamin Gitlow, owner and publisher of the Revoluary Age, a paper devoted to the international communist struggle, could be decided, since it was held that the cases were somewhat similar.

District Attorney William F. Love announced that he would prosecute the indictment of the case of the people against Charles McNamara O'Brien, charged with criminal anarchy under the laws of New York. Word was received by Mr. Love that the Appellate Division, first department, had decided that the statute under which O'Brien was indicted was legal, and that the Legislature acted fully within its powers. The case will go before a County Court jury.

MORAL: DON'T WIN A WAR MEDAL!

Toronto, July 26.—The "Globe" publishes the following in its news columns:

"War medals issued to Canadian veterans for the great war are already beginning to find their way into the pawnshops and also into the hands of collectors and stores which supply collectors, in great numbers.

"In one downtown store there are to be seen several distinguished conduct medals, a number of military medals, Mons stars, victory medals, general service medals and others. Even the mothers' medals find a place.

"One veteran who received his medals not long ago, consisting of the military medal, the victory and general service medals, promptly took them to a store and received seven dollars for them.

"In a good many cases the medals have been sold because the owner was in actual want and had nothing else of value to dispose of. In very few cases have medals pawned been redeemed and most of them have been sold outright. In place of remaining in the possession of the men who won them they will become the property of collectors."

:o:

DICTATORSHIP OF THE DEAD

(Continued from page 5)

—perhaps the most evil thing that there ever has been in the world." What would be a class fight elsewhere must in Ireland perforce be a National one.

Over Ireland, radiating and resurging against Dublin Castle, extends the Dictatorship of the Dead. Always the question, posed anew by each day's happenings, arises clamoring for an answer—On whose side are you? Do you take sides with the Black-and-Tans?—or with their victims? Are you inspired by Robert Emmett?—or by those who hanged him? By James Connolly?—or by those who shot him?

For the Dead, clustering thicker and faster, dwell ever in the land. On Irish lips are the words they coined, in Irish hearts are the emotions they engendered, and in Irish souls the fires that they kindled. And while the Dominion of the Dead endures, and today's woe and yesterday's sacrifice keeps fresh and living the woe and sacrifice of 700 rebel years, all that is Ireland will call alike to her sons and her daughters and those who share sorrow with them —"On whose side are ye? Choose ye this day whom ye will serve!"

:o:

Communism and Christianism

Analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D.D The writer, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all."

Published in October, 1920. Fiftieth thousand now ready, 233 pages, 25 cents or six copies $1; postpaid (Canada 3 copies for $1.)

Send M. O. (United States rate).

The Bradford-Brown Educational Co., Inc., Publishers, 102 South Union Street, Galion, Ohio or from

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
401 Pender Street E., Vancouver, B. C.