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A Jo[illegible] CURR[illegible] EVENTS

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Trade and the Future of the British Empire

BY H. P. RATHBONE.

FROM the early days of British Imperialism there has always been a section of the British Capitalists who have endeavoured to foster the idea of the all-sufficiency of trade within the empire as the goal of their activities; that it was possible so to develop the countries which had from time to time been conquered, annexed or absorbed so that they would provide an outlet for British manufactures and would in turn supply the foodstuffs and raw material necessary to the home industrial life. That in the main was the thesis on which the theory of British Imperialism was built. Consequently, it was the business of the capitalists at home to provide the capital for the development of British possessions which were disguised under the names of colonies, dependencies, protectorates or Free State.

This export of capital, when attacked by labor, was defended on the ground that it would provide more work owing to the orders it would bring for rails and steel and coal, and all the other raw materials necessary for the development of the country. And thus British labor was led into supporting imperialism, into becoming imperialist itself.

This theory of imperialism was, however, based upon two most important premises. 1. That it was possible to develop the British possessions so that they would be able to supply the home requirements of foodstuffs and raw materials and be able to absorb the surplus of manufactured goods produced at home. 2. That the British possessions would continue to order all their materials from England, and would not in consequence of their industrial development build up industries which would compete with the home industries for local orders.

The first big blow to this theory came with the conflict between German and British Imperialism which resulted in the European War. But now, when it appears that German imperialism is no longer a factor in the struggle, when British Imperialism has increased its possessions as a direct result of the conflict, the way ought to be clear for the increasing development of the British Empire as an economic unit. To achieve this, huge schemes have been initiated by the protagonists of this theory, such as cotton growing in Egypt Australia, Nigeria and India. Every corner of the Empire has been assiduously searched for oil. Wheat growing is encouraged in many places; vast schemes of ports and harbours have been put forward for Africa, and great mineral surveys have been undertaken.

To provide money for these and other schemes, an average of £83 millions of capital for the years 1921 and 1922 were exported to British possessions, compared with an average of £74 millions for the years 1912 and 1913. But as can be seen from the figures given below, there would appear to have been no appreciable increase in the proportion of British trade with the Colonies. The first table gives the percentage of the total of British imports from the colonies, from Europe and the rest of the world respectively for 1913-1922.

Imports to Great Britain.

	1913	1919	1920	1921	1922
From					
British Possessions	27.6%	35.8%	28.9%	30.6%	31.8%
Europe	41.6%	17.4%	26.0%	30.0%	32.8%
Other Countries	30.8%	46.8%	45.1%	39.4%	35.5%

The second table below gives the exports from Great Britain to the British possessions, Europe and the rest of the world.

Exports from Great Britain.

	1913	1919	1920	1921	1922
To					
British Possessions	39.1%	25.8%	37.6%	42.5%	39.6%
Europe	36.9%	56.6%	40.2%	34.0%	38,2%
Other countries	24.0%	17.6%	22.2%	23.5%	22.2%

In the case of imports to Great Britain the share of the British Possessions has increased very slightly in relation to 1913 but has actually declined in the period covering the post war years. In the case of exports there is practically no change in 1922 as compared with 1913, but as with imports in the post war years there has been a reduction of a fluctuating volume in the proportion of exports to British possessions. Finally the actual proportions both of exports and imports show clearly that the British Empire has not yet achieved the position of being an economic unit.

Let us now examine what has been the actual process in these chief possessions of Great Britain—in Australia, Canada and India. In Australia, in spite of the continual flow of capital from Great Britain in the form of loans to the State and Federal Governments and in the form of shares in industrial concerns, the proportion of imports into Australia from Great Britain as shown by the following percentages, have actually slightly decreased.

Imports into Australia.

Country of Origin	1913	1920/21	9 months to 31. 3. 1922
United Kingdom	51.82%	46.9%	49.27%
United States	13.68%	22.0%	18.63%
Other Countries	34.50%	31.1%	32.10%

The position of exports from Australia has however slightly improved in favour of Great Britain, as the following figures show.

Destination	1913	1919/20	1920/21
United Kingdom	44.3	53.9	51.1
Other British Countries	12.6	18.6	19.7
United States	3.3	7.4	7.5
Other Countries	39.8	20.1	20.7

These figures make it clear that so far as Australia is concerned, which is the most favourably placed of all the colonies as regards trade with Britain, the proportion of inter-imperial trade is showing no very large increase.

If we turn to Canada we find that the position has actually become worse in favor of America. No actual trade figures are available for the most recent years but the following compilation of the per capita expenditure in Canada upon imports from the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. respectively will show the position clearly enough.

Per Capita expenditure in Canada on exports from the United Kingdom and United States.

United Kingdom				United States			
1912 £—s—d	1922 £—s—d	Increase or Decrease %		1912 £—s—d	1922 £—s—d	Increase or Decrease %	
3 6 1	2 14 8	—17.227		9 8 10	12 1 5	+27.8	

In Canada the position has not been helped by the flow of capital from the United Kingdom. For practically since the beginning of the War, Canada has obtained all her capital from the U. S. A., and the latter in turn has been increasing her hold on Canadian industries. So much has this been the case, that in 1918 it was estimated that 34 per cent. of the capital invested in Canadian industry was held in the U. S. A., and only 9 per cent. in Great Britain. At the end of 1919 it was officially estimated that the U. S. A. holdings had increased to 50 per cent. and was still increasing.

In India the proportion of British trade is not so small as in Canada, but it is not improving to any appreciable extent as the following table shows.

In this table we give both the imports of India in the years 1913-14 and 1920-22, the proportion taken by the United Kingdom, other British possessions, the U. S. A. and other foreign countries respectively.

Indian Imports and Exports

	Imports			Exports		
	1913 1914	1920 1921	1921 1922	1913 1914	1920 1921	1921 1922
United Kingdom	64.0%	61.0%	57.0%	24.0%	22.0%	20.0%
British Poss'ns	6.0%	5.0%	10.0%	14.0%	21.0%	21.0%
T't'l Br. Empire	70.0%	66.0%	67.0%	38.0%	43.0%	41.0%
U. S. A.	2.6%	10.5%	8.1%	8.9%	14.8%	10.4%
Total Foreign Countries	30.0%	34.0%	33.0%	62.0%	57.0%	59.0%

These figures also show that in India too the proportion of British Empire trade actually decreased as regards imports and only slightly increased as regards exports from India since 1913.

In all the countries we have dealt with, India, Australia and Canada, a large proportion of the exports of Great Britain are in the form of machinery. Textile machinery for instance is exported to India and general engineering machinery to Australia. This machinery is being utilized to create competitive industries with Great Britain in the colonies and is thus rapidly destroying the idea that the colonies are mere markets, or the producers of raw material for Great Britain.

Further, in spite of the export of capital to these possessions of Great Britain, they are rapidly developing a capitalism of their own, whose policy is coming more and more into conflict with the policy of the capitalists of Great Britain. Thus in India already protective tariffs are imposed on British goods. In Australia the nationalized merchant ship-

(Continued on page 4)

By the Way

BEFORE continuing from last issue the exposition of my views on social reform and my argument for the adoption of the concept of: "function" as the basis of distinction between working class organisations, educational, political and economic, reformist and revolutionary, I must thank the Editor and those who control the Clarion policy for allowing me to express at such length views in some particulars at variance with the official attitude of the Party. *.

There may be readers who doubt the wisdom of opening the Clarion columns to such views, contending that, in the interest of clarity and of maintaining a consistent attitude, the Party organ should be exclusively devoted to propagating only those views and policies which have received the Party's endorsation. As laying down a general rule, I think the contention a wise one. Nevertheless, I also think it wise for the rule to be lifted from time to time if only to direct interest to fundamentals. And just now, when there is a lull in the movement and reflection rather than activity is the order of the day, there is offered a favorable opportunity. An additional reason for lifting the rule exists, I believe, in the necessity for reconsidering our pre-war conceptions of the problem of social change in the light of subsequent experiences; which, while like all new experiences they contained features unique, were also uncommonplace in that they were of an unprecedented scale and social significance. We have witnessed for instance the easy reestablishment, or rather, reassertion of the spirit of nationalism over class solidarity among the masses everywhere: We have experienced the (unexpected) enduring qualities of the capitalist system under the stress and strain of international war and its aftermath of economic and political anarchy, social distress, discontent and moral and physical degeneration, particularly in Europe and Asia. And we have seen the Russian revolution and the attempt to rebuild social life in that country on a new basis of production for use instead of for profit.

Have we, then, consciously tested our pre-war conceptions in the dry light of reason and our new experiences, or have these experiences passed us by like ships in the night, leaving nothing but a sentimental memory behind? I feel there is a self-satisfied complacency among us of a kind such as has ever marked the "keepers of the received word," a complacency I am moved to disturb. For it is a complacency unresponsive to experience and hostile to objective facts. Where that spirit is, there is no eagerness to learn what new experience may have to teach; and the habit of learning and the acquiring of the habit of learning is discouraged. Then there springs up a paralizing philosophy of "know-nothingism." The "keepers" have all the facts within them they care about—a great faith, desire and will: "All good things, Brother!" but they are in abundance in every creed and party! They need to be reinforced by knowledge. And no previous generation has had at its disposal such an accumulation of scientific criteria as ours for a searching analysis of the phenomena of its time. Nor by virtue of our highly organized and rapid means of collecting and distributing news and information, has any previous generation had such an opportunity to study at first hand and on so grand a scale the mass reactions of men to unwonted social stimuli.

* * * *

Taking as the thesis of his analysis of the main sources of power in modern communities (beginning in the New York "Freeman" of May 2.) that, "mental power is the ultimate source of both economic and military power," Bertrand Russell says, "that power, even the most monarchical, requires a popular basis, either in the opinion of some large group, or in its traditions and habits." And he adds, "Tradition and habit strong as they are, are diminishing forces in our kaleidoscopic world. Thus opinion becomes the decisive factor in determining who is to hold power in the future."

Russell is right, I think, in so far as the question of power is concerned; but there are still levels of social life but little capable of being disturbed by gusts of opinion, and where power, political or economic, no matter how strong or ruthlessly wielded, finds itself all but impotent. It is down in the lower levels of work-a-day life, remote from the high affairs of State, that custom and habit and private interest have their strongest grip on the lives of the peoples, and where proposals for sweeping social change must settle accounts with those stubborn, irrational elements of social inertia. There is more to the problem of change than the question of power. It is not, in this day and generation, merely a question of issuing decrees, or reforming certain points in the political relations of men, but of modifying the whole of the economic relations of society; which is to say, the modifying of a goodly number of age-long community habits.

* * * *

While writing the above I had in mind Russia when the socialist ideal, "Production for use instead of production for profit" had suddenly to materialize into something cut and dried, had to become an engineering proposition as well as a slogan, had to displace the old system of production supplying the population with its every day necessaries of life. Were there any revolutionaries, then or now, in Russia or elsewhere, who thought or still think, that when once desire and intellectual conviction for change are kindled that change can proceed forthwith unretarded by the inert force of social habit? Is it yet sensed that the active life of communities is a web of custom, convention and habit, connected with interests and ways of doing things that are social, industrial, economic, cultural and political, with relations between individuals, between town and country, trades, villages, cities and regions? These customary, ways of a community, formed into a co-ordinated system through numberless generations, are the channels in which the life of thought and activity runs, in the main, smoothly and automatically by sheer force of repetition. In that way of looking at them these established ways of life are acquired skills and arts which have also the propelling force of habit. Without the capacity to take them on as such we should be for ever novices, fumbling the game of life worse even than the Patagonian thrown into the social life of a civilized community. For he has the rudimentary habits of social life and the capacity to acquire new ones.

* * * *

Revolutions have never fully realized the hopes of revolutionaries. Launched on tidal waves of popular feeling, as water finding its level they have subsided, exhausted alongside where stubborn and settled habits refused to yield any further. The revolutions of the past have been political rather than social and only indirectly and at long remove did they affect the bulk of social habits: A spendthrift debauchee or warrior monarch and his tax eating retainers removed, or the parasitic grip of some privileged class loosened, and industry and commerce expands and develops in the new freedom. Together with a greater prosperity, there may come gradually, generation by generation, a change in the state of the industrial arts. Should this happen it is epoch making. For not alone do work-day habits of life change according as the new method of production determines, but if it endures, as time goes on it conditions and stamps its character on all the rest of social dife, economic, political and cultural.

Attracted by the dramatic quality of violent revolutionary changes, which, in the main may be characterized as the last ditch stands of reaction, we are apt to miss the continuous and comparatively peaceable changes and modifications that take place in habits of life and thought, in economic and legal relationships, between individuals and between classes, and in political institutions. As a matter of fact, much of our life works out its own changes without political intervention or aid; the big bulk of legislation is inoperative before the ink is dry on statute books; some of it merely sanctions what has already happened and the rest takes the judiciary, swarms of lawyers and the army, navy and police and the customs officers to make it effective at about ten cents income to the dollar expenditure; not to speak of the loss of morale in a hang-dog population who realize they are moral defectives in the eyes of the law.

* * * *

Well, the eighteenth century brought the industrial revolution; and the world has travelled further, helter skelter, in some ways than it had done in the previous twenty centuries. In some other respects it is the same old world, there are still women and kids. Can you imagine the world before the sixteenth century? No steam power on land or sea, none of what we would call machinery, no railroads, no gas, no electric power or light, no telegraph, wire or wireless, no telephone, wire or wireless, no factories or hardly any, no picture shows or theatres for the masses, no newspapers, no Bolsheviki and no starvation for the masses because they produced too much, no motor cars, no submarines, no aeroplanes, no poison gas, no tuberculosis—a hell of a world. In comparison with our modern social condition of world-wide inter-dependency, it was a world of self-sufficient, self-supporting local communities. Their characteristic personal elements were, in industry and commerce, the handicraftsmen and small traders who carried on their pursuits for a livelihood and not for profit in the capitalistic sense; in argriculture, the chief economic interest, were the feudal barons and serfs. "As it is now and ever shall be, world without end, Amen!" chanted the priest; swore in his ruder fashion the feudal baron. But the world does move. For though we are inducted into social habit, custom tradition and dogma from birth, not all of native impulse and energy is enchannelled, something escapes. And so, all down the ages the young and old sneer at each other for being old fashioned or new fangled, as the case may be.

* * * *

And so, motivated by free unused impulse of one kind or another, energies are directed to invention and improvements in industry, and, as a result, a greater surplus of products is set free for exchange. Trade and commerce and intercourse between communities increases. Men pry into the secret processes of nature. Observation, experiment, analysis and classification become principles of a new knowledge. And science, discovery, industry, trade and commerce, side by side down the centuries shape the world of men into what we know it: Not into what we would like it to be. No! Still, there is yet the future.

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* **Editor's Note:** "The Editor and those who control the Clarion policy" are very grateful for any appreciative references that come their way. It will not do, however, to let it be supposed that the Clarion columns have been generally closed to the discussion of views expressed as contrary to those we have seemingly adopted as our own. Indeed, investigation would more likely reveal the contents of the W. P. B. to be made up of MSS. intended to support—rather than to amend or oppose—those views. So we part with the compliment with a sigh. And, anyway, how illnatured they must be who did not respond to the persuasive warmth of "C's" approaches in setting forth the result of his observation and study, to say nothing of his inimitable style. We warn our readers against those apologies of his. They are but the weapons of a skilled controversialist, designed to disarm unwary opponents, all, of course, for their own good.

Machine production has mechanized and standardized our life of thought and action. It has also disciplined us into a stronger predisposition for co-operative activity. Its social character and the world market has compelled us to consciousness of a larger world than our local community, and we have been brought to a pass where the chief problems of the local communities are all identical in effect and cause. So far has a ground-work of new habit been laid, upon which a more extensive order of co-operative life may be erected. And educated opinion on the unrestricted private control of social means of life, as the source of social evils will still further weaken the old and strengthen new habit. But to propose wholesale sweeping changes and to expect them to materialize in any short space of time is to be either irresponsible or unreasoning.

* * *

Moreover, those schemes of a barrack-life communism will not do. They are too simple-minded solutions. And both observation and history will attest that there is no tyranny so detestable, so narrow, hard and unenlightened as that of the simple minded. Even if such schemes are born of some thought of primitive tribal communism as being the golden age of man, it is uninformed thought, for of all forms of human association tribal life is the most exacting, least free for the individual and unprogressive. Violent outbursts of passion, emotional ecstacies and periodical orgies are the only releases that inhibited, frustrated and unused human impulses find under rigid tribal customs reinforced by magic, ritual, demonology and dreadful penalties.

No, just as the world has shifted away from tribal economy, by the same token it has also shifted away from the characteristic idea that the tribe is everything and the individual nothing. (Our day has been made familiar with a modern equivalent called the "Prussian idea.") There is now a growing sense of the worth of personality. And a state where the Great Society shall flourish must be organized for more than the bare negative function of control to prevent the anti-social excesses of economic exploitation. Social control must also include a creative function: it must mean the organization of opportunity for the creative spirit of men in all the arts and activities of life: it must mean also that men as consumers of goods and services must find their individual tastes, preferences and appreciations making effective and stimulating demands upon all productive activity, whether of material goods or education. So in a social environment rich and varied, because free experimental activity is its essence, may personality strike root in more fertile soil than the arid uniformity of a regimented social life.

* * *

I generalize on this matter of the future of the social state because a discussion of the problem of change involves a consideration of the future, and as realistic concept of it as possible is as necessary as are correct concepts of the past and present. My generalization runs along the lines it does not only because it indicates the lines of my ideal society, but also because it runs close to the facts of human nature. We, of the modern civilized communities, are an opinionated people, increasingly so, and by the time we are ready to free ourselves from economic exploitation any government with whatever scheme of social reorganization in which there is no tender regard for the factors of custom and habit, as they prevail among the masses of men, will have a brief career and a disastrous ending. My conclusion is, then, from a consideration of the inert forces of custom and habit, and whatever character the struggle for power takes on, short or prolonged, social reconstruction must necessarily be a prolonged, experimental effort. A similar conclusion is to be derived from technical considerations which are so obvious that I need only to refer to the matter. Capitalism is after all a going concern supplying the world with the necessities of life. The credit institution is the heart of the system, and an interruption of credits would mean a cessation of exports and imports and so plunge whole peoples into chaos. Picture Great Britain with its great city populations, only one-tenth of its population on the land. It is impossible for that people to fall back into a peasant economy as they did in Russia, though even there at a terrible price. An animal struggle for sheer physical needs of life could only occur. In such a competitive life human beings could not think socially or take long sighted views, and the strong, brutal, the unscrupulous and predatory elements would dominate the remnants of the population. The population in Great Britain have a sense of the dangers of their position, having had them recently forced on their consciousness at the height of the U boat campaign during the war: "Business as usual during alterations" might be said to express their state of mind. No doubt temperament and the historical traditions of the British community also support that reasoning; for, in comparison with the history of the French or Russian people, for instance, British domestic history, religious and secular, has largely been one of peaceful change through compromise until reaction has finally found itself so weak in the face of the persistent pressure of massed public opinion, manifesting itself in other ways than by military force, as to accept the inevitable. As a people too, their imaginative powers seem to be on a low material plane. The popular imagination never seems to be caught by social ideals that have not an air of immediate feasibility. Did the great Napoleon speak wiser than he knew of English psychology when he said that "the English were a nation of shopkeepers?"

* * *

To return to the question of our pre-war preconceptions. When, as a student of social phenomena, I reflect over the course of things since that time in Russia, in Italy, Germany, the British Isles or America, I do not see how any socialist could live through those years without the social problem now assuming different aspects and proportions to what it did formerly. In my own case, which I venture to say is not uncommon, the period has been marked by the destruction of many illusions and of many assumptions which had been taken for granted without much thought. I am frank to say we were out of date in our understanding of social psychology and of the economics of the capitalist system, considered as a going concern. In the latter study we were handicapped by a misinterpretation of the theory of the law of value, a misinterpretation we had inherited. (See "Geordie's" review of the "Plebs" Text Book in last issue). For instance, we knew (?) we knew (a priori) before the facts were gathered (consequently we unconsciously selected those that agreed with **our** law and all others were merely "disturbing" factors) that all departures of prices from an alleged normalcy were rectified over a period of time through the law of value acting as a law of compensation: Omniscience reincarnate. Yet all the while the facts were against us—the world of economic reality was the Price System; and a dominating fact in it and not merely a "disturbing" fact, was monopoly control. Thus did misunderstanding of a theory constrict and paralyse our efforts to analyse and explain the system of exploitation in its full anti-social enormity.

* * *

Here let me summarize the main points in my argument up to now, with additional comment tacked on, as follows: (1) That owing to the social nature of modern production and the dependency of society on the continuous working of this world economy, the modern State was being compelled to take on more and more economic functions of control and operation, i.e., it is perforce invading the field of private enterprise, directly in operation and nationalization, and indirectly, through extension of State credits, subsidies, franchises and by legal enactments and the power granted arbitration boards regulating hours of work, rates of wages, and the guaranteeing of minimum rates of profit, etc. Comment: Community interest and private interest may coincide or they may not in any particular instance of this trend of State policy. But on the whole this trend appears as partly a blind, partly a reluctant advance to a larger State control over social and economic processes. How the State can be made to serve the general body of the community in this policy is the business of the community. In another issue I may deal with the State.

(2) That a better condition of social affairs in the future is not inevitable as unthinking optimists assume. Comment: It is just a question of the play of forces in the social process. Factors that at one time may be undeveloped may later play a dominating part, and vice versa. What we can point out is that if man handled social forces as intelligently as he handles natural forces there would be some surety of the future. The future is not a distant goal but some thing we are always growing into; and an intelligent handling of the facts of the present is its only guarantee within the limits set by luck. There are forces in man as well as in the environment which can be developed for control.

(3). That the progressive degradation of the working class is not in the interest of the social revolution; and that the struggle for reforms both on the economic and political field is necessary even from the revolutionary standpoint.

(4) That a transition period to a new order is inevitable.

(5) That, on the workers side, the class struggle should be waged with social concepts so that they may become an initiating force in social change. Trades union anti-capitalist class-struggle concepts belong to the capitalist regime and reforms merely of an ameliorative character.

(6) That to recognize that part played in life by "fate" and "function" constitutes a fundamental insight into human affairs. All forms of life exist on the basis of function, they flourish or languish or pass away, not on their own merits or demerits as self-contained units, but as they function in the environment or, to put it another way, they are functions of the environment; when the environment ceases to use them, or to have use for them, they perish whatever their abstract ideal merits.

To recognize the part in life played by fate is to recognize the vastness of the unknown, and to grasp the more firmly that which we know and use it in the present as our only control over the course of things in the future.

These are a graceless set of notes, and I have had little pleasure in writing them. Accept my apologies.

In next issue I propose saying something on the nature of reforms, and what I think should be a revolutionary's stand to them. I propose also to touch upon the State with a view to some social functions it performs.

Should any readers be interested enough to write their opinions, critical or otherwise, I shall be glad to receive them through the Editor. I could then take up objections or suggestions, publishing such letters, or pertinent extracts from them as space will allow. Set articles, however, belong to the Editor to do with as he wills. Perhaps those who wish to deal with me in that fashion had better wait till I am through or further on with my argument.

C.

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VANCOUVER, B. C., MAY 16, 1923.

WASTING SPACE

We made reference in last issue to some attention (and inattention) the "B. C. Federationist" has given to Com. Harrington's first article of the present series—Revolutions, Political and Social. "Clarion" readers who do not read the "Federationist" will wonder what it is all about, and those who do will wonder what we have further to say.

The "Federationist" of March 23rd contained an article supposedly criticising Harrington's first article above referred to. The point of criticism hinged upon the supposition that Harrington described the Russian revolution as merely a humorous incident in history. A few words from the article are quoted. The full sentence is carefully avoided by stating that Harrington said of the Russian revolution that it "**marks one of the most humorous episodes in history.**" The words we have printed in black type comprise what our critic would slough off as a quotation. Thereupon follows something of a bilious attack stretching over three columns.

This is what Harrington did say (see "Clarion, 1st February) of the Russian revolution in the sentence from which those nine black type words are set up by our critic as a "quotation":—

"**Aside from its historical significance, which cannot be overestimated, and the unbearable suffering endured by the Russians themselves, it marks one of the most humorous episodes in history.**"

Thereupon the article finds humor in just such practices among queer minded communists as our critic resorts to, and proceeds to outline the course of Revolutions, Political and Social. From which it will be seen that up-to-date criticism from the pseudo communist school simply means misrepresentation. If we know him aright, the critic, Comrade Bennett, is very well aware of that himself. Even then the labor of his misrepresentation covered the period from February 1st to March 23rd.

In a subsequent issue of the "Federationist" there appeared a letter to the editor over Harrington's signature pointing attention to the critics shortcomings, and apparently that letter was misunderstood, for in the issue following, one Billsack asked "What in hell it was all about," whereupon the "Federationist" editor in a footnote condoned the original misrepresentation by a sneer, preferring, as he put it, to let time determine whether the Russian revolution was a farce or not. How soon is forgotten the villany of Metcalf, Andrews & Co., in manipulating documents to their own purposes!

At this point we introduce the following:—

22/4/23.

Editor, Western Clarion:

The enclosed letter, which is self explanatory, was sent to the B. C. Federationist on March 17th, but has not been published. I am hoping that you may grant me the space to publish same.

JACK KAVANAGH.

* * * *

16/4/23.

Editor, B. C. Federationist:

Fully realizing that butting into a discussion in which I have previously had no part is to court disaster, I am led into undertaking this risk as a result of reading—in the last issue of the Federationist—the profession of density on the part of E. Billsack, together with the avowed inability, of the Editor, to solve the obvious. E. Billsack is apparently? perturbed over the meaning of a half column article over the signature of Jack Harrington.

Now I do not profess the ability to unravel everything Harrington may say or write, but possessing some little knowledge of the subject under discussion I will attempt to enlighten Mr. Billsack as to the meaning of at least one paragraph in the article in question.

If Billsack will take the trouble to read—if he has not already done so—the Hysterical article—Pardon me!—the article on Hysterical Materialism, which appeared in the issue of March 22nd, he will discover one of the factors contributory to what Harrington describes as a humorous episode. Humor being akin to tragedy.

Mayhap it is the allusion, in the last paragraph, to the Pope's soldiers and the use of the "Dialectic" which confuses Mr. Billsack.

I will attempt to explain the obvious. If the Pope's soldiers had possessed the "Dialectic "displayed by some members of the "Workers Party," it could not be said that they ever ran away. They were simply running around the earth in order to attack the enemy in the rear. In exactly the same manner that some members of the Workers' Party gave the control of the Federationist into the hands of the reactionaries under the guise of tactics, and have camouflaged the morass of opportunism into which they have sunk with the cloak of an United Front.

Yours for Revolutionary honesty,
JACK KAVANAGH.

* * * *

We suppose the reason the "Federationist" did not print that was because they were not yet ready for a second chapter of "The Parting of the Ways." This, of course, is just another sample of that irritating humor which consumes most seriously minded people, and we know we really should not digress so or we'll have Billsack in still more perplexity.

Next we have a second letter sent by Com. Harrington to the "Federationist." This is the one we had reference to in the "Clarion" of last issue. In it Harrington says that what appeared above his name in the letter Billsack was worried about was not what he wrote. The business of dragging Russia into every backyard wrangle hereabouts lent a farcical character to Russian advocates, it stated.

The letter was published in the "Federationist" of May 4th, and in a footnote the editor explained that any errors in the printed letter complained of were but printer's errors. In the same footnote the statement is made that" the 'Clarion' wishes the 'Federationist' to explain why Comrade Harrington's letter was not published." That has reference to our brief note in last issue. The 'Federationist" people are apparently unable to understand what they read. They show it in what they write. What we said was this: "As it so happens a letter was sent to the 'Federationist' by J. Harrington on the 23rd April, no indication of which appears in the 'Federationist' of the 27th." In our own editorial innocence we had supposed that an editor, challenged on documentary reproduction in the time of controversy, would have a footnote to spare indicating that an investigation was under way.

So all this space is used up and all these explanations are called forth through the "Federationist" starting something it could not decently finish. **Moral**: See that your quotations and comment are sound and fair, and thus save our good space. And **Question**: How else is a labor paper supposed to function anyway?

HERE AND NOW

It is customary with the ordinary ruck of journals that with springtime on hand the subscription list drops away out of sight. There is comfort for us in that, in a way. Being in the forefront in all things, we are ahead of the commonalty of journals in that our sub. list dropped some time ago. If our readers were as perverse as they snould be they might, if only to be opposite, send the Clarion sub. list away up again, spring or no spring.

We hear that there is a threat of more work coming among us again. Already the air rivetter disturbs the ear at our back door, and, as the corner realty man has it—every stroke means a dollar to Slabtown. Even the slaves are smiling. Such a time is the time to dig for subs.

You read the Clarion because you find in it something worth while. Good! Now go and share the pleasure with the fellow next door; but be sure to get his dollar. That will list him as a Clarion subscriber. Here are the faithful:

Following $1 each: Parry and Sim; A. P. McCabe, F. W. Moore, W. J. Penhale, A. J. Beeny, H. Oppikoper, C. Crook, F. Aitken, J. Dennis, A. McKenzie, S. Lowery, E. Burke, R. Gooding, K. MacLeod,, A. Larsen, Geo. Rossiter, A. R. Pearson, "Geordie."

Following $2 each: F. V. Smith, Joe Naylor, J. C. Blair, W. G. Kievell, B. E. Polinkos, Annie Walker.

H. W. Speed $3; C. MacDonald $3; G. Beagrie $3; O. Bjune 50 cents.

Above, Clarion subscriptions from 27th April to 10th May, inclusive, total $39.50.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

Mrs. Annie Ross $1; E. Rhodes $1; A. R. Pearson $1; J. Pryde $1; J. Lott (per Jack Shepherd) $1.

A. P. McCabe $2; Fred Cocker (per W. A. P.) $2; Progress 50 cents; Guilliamo (per Jim Jenkins) $5; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) $11.26.

Above, Clarion Maintenance Fund receipts from 27th April to 10 May, inclusive, total $25.76.

Editor Clarion:
Comrade:

A Secularist Society has been recently organised in this city.

As elsewhere the special object of this is, to study religion in the light of Science and materialistic philosophy.

The readers of the Clarion are invited to attend, and assist in this work.

Next meeting on Thursday May 17th, at 8 p.m. 303 Pender St. West, Vancouver, B. C.

W. J. CURRY.

TRADE AND THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

(Continued from page 1)

ping is continually in conflict with the shipping capitalists of Great Britain, while in Canada repeated attempts have been made to obtain a preferential tariff in favor of U. S. A.

It would appear, therefore, that both the premises we postulated at the commencement of this article as necessary for the theory of the self-sufficiency of the British Empire as an economic unit, are daily becoming more impossible of fulfilment. None of the figures we have given show that the possessions of Great Britain are approaching the day when they can supply Britain with her raw materials or absorb her finished products.

The outlook therefore of those leaders who in the past have supported the imperialist policy will become increasingly difficult to reconcile with the class interests of the workers. They will be faced with the necessity of supporting a policy which obviously can only mean more unemployment, lower wages and increasing misery for the workers, or of making a clean break with the past, otherwise they perish.

"IMPRECOR."

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The Main Issue

GAINING a livelihood by the sale of labor power never was and never will be an attractive proposition. We are fain to fight shy of it, and in our efforts to avoid the necessity we consort with the weirdest figures. Even if we do flaunt the legend "We want more work." That is but a symbol of our consciousness that without work and plenty of it, we are undone. Yet, in the crazy quilt of Capitalist antagonisms, there is no stranger paradox than that more work is the first parent of more unemployment.

Reform, neither by nature nor by intent, appeals to us. By experience it is proven a vain thing, and a costly experiment. Yet in the churned waters of capitalist competition it floats ever uppermost. Simply because the javelins of immediate necessity, through misery and misapprehension, urge us to the conquest of immediate relief. A struggle which has no other effect than distracting attention from the main issue, and ends in "hougmagandie."

What is the main issue? Consciously or not, the abolition of wage slavery. That the class struggle takes on the hue of revisionism is because unconsciousness has the same quality in social relations as in the physical world—it is oblivious to environing material. Stated so, the question invites a clear answer. For the abolition of wages, and all the implications of wages, means the overthrow of capitalist supremacy. Nothing less can suffice. And by the same token there can be no intermediate political steps." Because Capitalist Society—the society of wages—necessitates political supremacy; and in the face of that supremacy no reform can be inaugurated subversive of its rule and interest. The society of wages is the livelihood of privilege. The security of privilege is the sanctity of law. And in the social ethic of law it is folly to dream that it should suffer its privilege to be beguiled, or its power to be legislated away for the benefit of an impecunious proletariat, the minister of its luxuries.

True, social reform has modified class conditions. But this is no admission that reform is a "good thing," nor does it imply an effort to obtain it, since, being obtained, we obtain but the east wind. The demand for social reform is the fruit of social evolution. Its initiation is the necessity of class. And its effect is the foster growth of dominant interest. Naturally, since the institutions of society are built up on the perception of class interest and with the conscious knowledge of privilege. Understanding what class form and convention signify, it is the prime business of the ruling class, which benefits from those forms, to prevent their overthrow; and to resist the abrogation of principles which, to them, conserve and sustain the "best of all possible worlds."

Political society is class society, privileged in the means of life. And political action is action which sustains that privilege—or action which seeks to change it. Not any action is political action, any more than any society is class society. Just as the "run of the rig" determines the type of the vessel, so conditioning circumstance determines the nature of the action. A vote, to the ruling class, conscious of its significance, is a political act: to the proletariat, conscious merely of political "democracy," it is an empty gesture. A strike, to ownership battling for the control and direction of industry, is a political act. To the workers, struggling only for the conditions of contract, it is but the hammer of misery. A delegation of manufacturers to the Government for a revision of their trade charter is not necessarily a political act. Nor is a delegation of workers to the same source for the application of a reform measure. An assembly of the same manufacturers to nominate a member elect is very likely to be of political import: a gathering of workers, for the same purpose, not necessarily so. Because the class interests of the former are, of necessity, political in nature and consciously identified; while the latter are sorely confused with the industrial conditions of wage existence, conscious of the job rather than its control. Capitalist magnates who countenance "sane unions" and "safe leadership" perform a political act. The workers who support the proposition merely perform. It is a travesty of the principles of social economy, and has no bearing on the objective of the proletarian struggle. The color of the act altogether depends on the quality of the understanding; and as a consequence, both social and individual concepts are weighty with the unsocial traditions of class discipline.

Hence political action is primarily the understanding of political status. Without the latter we blunder on the jagged reefs of the former. The pains and penalties of the present have always impelled us to their solution in the transient terms of the immediate. Like primitive man we have attempted the solution of problems whose founded laws we did not know. We have taken for granted what had to be proved. We have grasped at the shadow of near desire, and troubled not at all with substantial reality. In so doing we have completely reversed the economy of things and the age of the ideal, unlike the eye of nature, never rectified the original impress of perception. To see straight, the retina of social perception must be axial with social fact. And so long as we continue to nourish the philosophy of classic idealism we must continue to entertain a prioristic "angels" unawares.

Experience is the mother of truth, and in the light of that experience, derived from constant failures, countless disappointment and repeated disillusionments we shall be forced to the analysis of effects, tracing them backward, with achromatic realism, to their rooted causes. We shall draw strength and confidence from necessity as naturally as the flower draws life and beauty from kindred earth. And the process itself shall give us an accumulating assurance that the ways of truth and the unity of life are coincident only with the appreciation of material reality. We are being made to realise that the climax of capitalist society is the climax of capitalist inadequacy to social exigency; and that the mere recognition of its laws and economics is impotent until the more imperious recognition of its abortion flashes dynamically on the apathy of its victims. We are being taught, through the painful schools of fact, that the end of slavery comes only with the end of political dominion; that political dominion can be abrogated only with class conscious understanding of social relation and necessity; and that to attempt a unity of dissociate interests or an organisation of society, witless of their meaningfull conventions, is but an attempt to sidetrack the forces of progress. Political action is intelligent action; it is the point of departure of effective movement. For without class conscious knowledge of status and institution we are divided against ourselves, and lay ourselves open to capitalist vengeance "fierce as the evening wolves." The aim of revolution is social regeneration. But social regeneration is the consummated blossom of social comprehension. To be achieved we must be economically free. To be free we must vanquish political society. And the conquest of political dominion, let it take form as it will, is the conquest of social conventions, molded by the time-needs of yesterday, controverted by the time needs of today and refashioned in the ringing mills of life by the modified concepts of another humanity.

R.

We regret to announce at the moment of going to press that we have just received word of the death of Comrade Tom Kennedy, an old time member of Local No. 1. Comrade Kennedy had been lingering in the hospital for some time. His death will be regretted among his many friends.

"WHY WOMEN DON'T WRITE."

Comrade Editor:

While I was visiting the States recently I made it my business to visit the Labor Temple in the locality near my temporary residence.

The day was Sunday and I thought your readers might be interested to know what some of their fellow workers were passing their time in doing.

When I arrived at the temple there was a fairly large audience sitting and a few selling literature; in a corner of the hall a lady was seated at a table and at intervals she gave and received some books; it was a free library and the literature was educational. Across another corner of the hall was a temporary stage and a playlet by the junior labor college students was about to be given, also one by the older ladies entitled "The jazz of patriotism" which I was not able to see concluded.

There were several short addresses from different men, all very interesting, one showing how for 10 cents one could have the secret process of laying aluminum on steel, thus rendering it almost indestructable, on ship bottoms, automobiles, etc. The process or manufacture cannot be taken up as the steel trust will not sell the steel nor the "aluminum trust" their product. So there you are—what's the use? We will have to wait till the next war in order to save on paint.

This article may not be scientific enough for Clarion readers, but it may possibly indicate the "Why Women Don't Write." Want of knowledge how, or a subject with which they are familiar outside of the drudgery of cleaning, etc., for the male wage slave.

BESSIE McMAHON.

* * * *

Editor, Western Clarion:

It was the "Woman's Letter" of last issue that "inspired" me to write this—so don't blame me. I don't know whether it was the antagonism expressed towards the "mens point of view," or the impatience for the revolution, or the fact that the writer in closing stated (of women) "they are, generally speaking, apathetic."

For this last, in view of the fact that it comes from one who knows enough to call herself a "slave" and to admit the "drudgery" of her every day life, I would like to ask how she ever got the idea into her head that every other woman could undergo precisely the same agonies and remain satisfied?

Realizing that the word "apathetic" does to some extent apply to women it will be best to make a definition. To begin, there are those women who belong to what the Socialist describes as the owners of the machinery of wealth production and distribution or, the Capitalist class. They have no responsibility as far as house or family budget may be concerned and, being thus **economically free** they are apathetic as far as the rest of humanity is concerned.

Then there are the women who belong to what we know as the producing or slave class. This woman's existence depends entirely on her ability to operate in some manner or other the machinery of production and distribution, i.e., she is compelled to work in a factory, producing things, or it may be a department store where she would be "distributing," and in either case she receives wages.

To the woman of the working class at this stage in her history could be applied the term apathetic, for in the majority of cases they are young women, and working for wages is looked on by her as a temporary condition; her goal is—marriage; up until now she has been dreaming of a rose covered cottage, and an end to her worries. It is not until after marriage that she really does any "thinking," for now comes the struggle with the budget,—familiar to all housewives. It is to this daily struggle, in the course of which she is forced to see things in all their soridness, that she will owe her freedom, and the harder the struggle the keener also is her desire for change.

When we read of her activities during a strike

(Continued on page 8)

Somewhere on the Western Front

THE current issue of the Clarion came to hand only a few hours ago and a much shorter time has elapsed since your editorial column was read, and passed around to the rest of the "crowd," in this instance, three in all.

In order that you may properly judge our status as writers, we want to say that not for many years, if ever, have we been guilty of even attempting to write an article of any discription, but your wide invitation, that grammer, spelling, composition, etc., is of little moment, makes us brave enough to try and convey, something of an idea along the lines suggested, in your editorial invitation.

We write this with no expectation of it being published owing to the many shortcomings which it will contain, but we are satisfied to do our best in conveying our idea of the present situation, and leave it to the "scientific word hounds" of Vancouver whose language in stating Scientific truths is so sublime that it frequently succeeds in obscuring them from the layman. Science is the classification of knowledge, but we believe it is the work of the propagandist to also simplyfy it, that is, to simplify the classification if you choose to put it in that way.

We too, like a writer whose letter was mentioned in a recent issue of the "Clarion Mail Bag" deplore that the Clarion lacks circulation and is more or less continuously hampered in its work by poverty.

The reply to the letter, that this was the enevitable condition of a working class paper not running football competitions or such like, was very amusing we will admit, but not very satisfying or enlightening.

If your present attitude of "purity" keeps you in poverty and may later lead to extinction as a publication, then the carrying on of the work will be left to those papers who adopt a different attitude. And they can carry on educational work even though one-tenth of the space be devoted to corrupting the workers morals as taught in the capitalist schools.

However, we do not want this discussion to center around football competitions, we are merely using it as an illustration.

But looking at the thing in a general way, we admit that the adopting of such an attitude is a compromise, but is there not a vast difference in compromising with the capitalist class and compromising with the lack of understanding on the part of the workers?

We can harken back to the days of our childhood, when in school we were taught grammer, and could pick up the book and parse a sentence to the queen's taste, but is it necessary to say to you who are reading this, that outside of school both then and now we use the most atrocious English. This is an illustration of having certain knowledge but not knowing how to apply it.

We do not want to criticise the attitude of the S. P. of C. in past years, even though it may be defined as dogmatic, under the circumstances that gave rise to it, it was no doubt necessary and beneficial; but as conditions change so must tactics change, for while our ancestors may have hung from tree branches by their tails is no reason why we should try and imitate them today.

The mission of Socialists is to reach as large a number of workers as possible with their propaganda of revolution, their failure or success is not to be explained by the mental density or adaptability of the worker, as much as by the methods of applying this knowledge.

First and foremost, you appear as objectivists (or shall we say teleologists?) your objective is the revolution, but you find difficult in having the bulk of the working class interest themselves at this time in such an objective.

Do the working class as a whole consciously betray themselves to the capitalist class? We think not; every day they struggle to better their condition and this struggle is expressed in a fight over wages and conditions of employment; this is the thing that does interest them, and appears vital to them at this time, and any organization adopting the attitude that this fight is none of their affair or concern cannot hope for much support from the workers.

To interest yourselves as an organization and actively participate in the every day struggles of the workers does not appear to us as compromise by any means, but is the proper tactics for revolutionists to adopt at this time, for the workers are more technicians than teleologists.

To illustrate as best we can in our poor way, let us say that the teleologist has the idea of moving this table across the street, and on stating it to the worker, the latter notes the stated fact, nothing more, then concerns himself with ways and means; he will first clear the table of what adorns it, measure the table and door through which it has to pass, etc. Each particular in its turn appears to him as an objective in itself, and following out this process of working and reasoning he reaches the objective, practically without thinking about it, or at least not giving it in itself a great deal of thought. This we believe is the process of producing wealth today and the workers' process of reasoning as a consequence.

While it is good for a man to examine himself, to see if he is a thorough going Marxian, he must not stop at the doctrine of surplus value, exploitation at the point of production, materialistic conception of history, etc., as though this were an objective in itself and the consummation devoutly to be wished; he must go on applying his knowledge to prevailing conditions, to the objective of socialism. Ways and means of obtaining the objective are just as necessary as a knowledge of the objective itself.

Is Socialism only a philosophy; are there no dynamics to it? Are we just to devote our time trying to produce a few philosophers? We fear that the attitude adopted by the S. P. of C. is producing this result only, for we have met men who boast of their knowledge of the tenets of socialism as laid down by the S. P. of C. and proclaim themselves as revolutionists, but who will not dig down for a copper to support the movement, and even go so far as to openly or otherwise play the master's game, in the workers' everyday struggle, who, dispite their proclamation as revolutionists are marked as traitors by the militant workers on the job.

We could, now that we have started, go to greater length in this article, but having in mind your request for brevity we desist, but hope we have succeeded in conveying sufficient of an idea to start the ball rolling towards the end that may create a stronger bond between those who have attained a knowledge of the tenets of socialism, and are now content to sit back and wait "der tag," and those who at least know a few of the fundamentals and are trying to put them to practical use.

ON THE FIRING LINE.

Editor's Note. The above was "set up" for last issue but was left out through lack of space. It is apparently intended as a response to some editorial remarks under the heading "A Revival of Learning?" in the Clarion of 16th March last.

In making those remarks, however, we had in mind matters other than mere Party tactics affecting either the S. P. of C. alone or the movement as a whole. We had in mind the generally conceived fundamentals of Socialist thought as now coming under review in the Socialist movement itself. Our correspondents will see the point if they re-read the article that set them going.

In connection with some remarks made in the "Mail Bag" column to a correspondent who was concerned about our poverty and the means of its cure we think our correspondents have not worried much about what was said otherwise than merely the jest of the matter. We repeat here that there is no warrant for supposing that simplicity of expression—however that may be achieved, and we do not TRY to be obscure in our utterances—betokens the certainty of financial success. Nor can it be said that "purity" keeps the Clarion poor. Last month a Winnipeg labor paper shut up shop through lack of funds; last year a Vancouver labor paper suspended publication for a time for the same reason!

Yes, we agree that "as conditions change so must tactics change." But that points no moral in particular unless you show that conditions HAVE changed. Nor does a recommendation to "interest ourselves as an organization and actively participate in the everyday struggles of the workers" help without reference to the method of performance. We mean by that a workable, helpful method, and not the prevailing shibboleth of leadership imposed upon, say, a trade union membership by an outside organisation. Before agreement or disagreement is possible on such a question as our correspondents suggest here the element of practice must be advanced.

Surely our correspondents have met more than those few philosophers—even in North Battleford—who acknowledge our intellectual parentage. We have no desire to protect scalawags of any sort, but a critical examination of every charge is a good thing among workers, and of every assertion also. We are not suggesting that our correspondents are suffering from the illusion but it is well to be sure that there is no confusion between militancy and just noise.

Our correspondents have evidently considered their letter unworthy of publication, owing to delinquent spelling, composition and such like. There is not, of course, anything specially meritorious in such delinquency, but we are nevertheless hopeful that they will write again.

A SHORT ESSAY ON THE CHAMELEON.

THE Chameleon is a lizard, but differs from other lizards in having a shorter neck, having only five vertebrae instead of eight. A long neck is needed to enable an animal to turn its head easily from side to side. The chameleon does not need a long neck, as its eyes act independantly of each other. It can look straight ahead with one eye and sideways with the other, or up with one eye and down with the other. Its ancestors were most likely politicans who are known to be able to fix one eye on the people and rivet the other steadily on the main chance.

For a long time the Chameleon was thought to live entirely on air, but now it is known to eat insects. It is an adept at catching them too. It has a long tongue with a club-like end to it covered with a glutinous substance, and when it sticks that tongue out like gun shot about five or six inches and hits an insect, that is the end of that insect's career. But though it cannot live on air altogether, it can live a long time. A week or two does not phase it. I know of only one other animal its equal, or should I say its superior, in this respect. This is a much larger animal, and is known to science as the American Sovereign Citizen. This animal has been known on more than one occasion to live on one good fill of air, from one election to another. The chameleon has a very big head for the size of its body, but not so big in proportion as the A.S.C.

The chameleon lives in Madagascar and the warm parts of Africa, and the A.S.C. must at some period have lived in the tropics, as, though it lives chiefly on air, it prefers it hot. If it had only good sense, how thankful it would be that it has got to its present habitat where there are so many factories able to turn out air at the right temperature and in such quantity.

But just as it was a mistake to suppose that the chameleon lived entirely on air, so it would be equally wrong to think that the A.S.C. does not vary its diet. There is a succulent weed grows luxuriently in all parts of the U. S. of which the animal is very fond. The percentage of nutrients it contains must be very low, as it is well known that the more the animal depends upon it the poorer it becomes. It produces often a disease known as Lantern Jaw, which gives the animal an extremely meagre look about the gills, and is invariably accompanied with a far-off vacant stare.

I intended to say something about the power the chameleon has of changing its color, but am afraid to trespass on your space.

GEORGE ASPDEN

Disturbing a Reviewer

BY DONALD MACPHERSON,

AN editorial in the "Farm and Ranch Review" of February 5th, commenting on the U. F. A. (1923) Convention held in Calgary, makes very interesting reading to those who indulge in the social, political and economic studies from the working class point of view. This farm journal of the conservative type has no reforms or palliatives to offer to ameliorate the sufferings of wage and farm slaves under capitalism. It stands for pure, unadulterated, legitimate exploitation in terms of untrammelled legitimate business, legitimate profits, legitimate protection of private property, legitimate poor and rich, legitimate everything that will not encroach upon the safe working of the complicated mechanism of capitalism. Basing their reasoning on capitalism as a premise, they are logical when they ridicule the annual occasion on which the farmers display their voluminous outpourings in their resolution factory. Be it noticed also that they (the F. and R. R.) bewail the $15,000 or $20,000 that is spent annually by the farmers that they may meet in convention to be relieved of a twelve months accumulation of pent up hot air. To the "F. and R. R." this is sheer waste of good hard cash these hard times, when the farmers are asking for charitable aid from governments and municipalities. This money, according to their viewpoint, should make a nice deposit on tax arrears. To quote a passage from the editorial in question, one can see at a glance the logic of their argument against the piffle that is doped out at these conventions by freaks, quacks and ignorant sentimentalists who are upholders of the present system.

"The subjects ranged all the way from scrapping our entire financial system, and adopting a new fantastic fad in its place, down to amending the divorce laws, and calling for government inspection of the locks on hotel bedroom doors, &c., &c." It further says: "And yet the convention expects public men, and the public generally, to take its formal conclusions seriously. It is simply pathetic."

If the "Farm and Ranch Review" were not so conservative they could see at least one bright hope for the big capitalist interests they so ardently represent. As long as the farmers have U. F. A. conventions and other plans of amusement wherein to spend their energy harmlessly, peddling pure bunk, the citadel of King Capital is safe. It is a mere safety valve to let loose the energy generated by stress of economic forces, which not only moves the farmers to formulate organizations and conventions, but also moves the industrial workers to do likewise. When ever the farmers and the rest of the working class become conscious of their real ignorance of social and economic laws, and direct their attention towards scientific knowledge of how to become emancipated, the death knell of capitalism will have been sounded. The more advanced statesmen and other shrewd capitalistic interests realize this fact, and instead of combating the U. F. A. and trade unions harmless activities they rather encourage them, use them, and best of all they control them at times through their leaders and officials who in turn become dangerous parasites on the backs of an unconscious working class.

A passage in this luminous editorial of the "Review" sounds rather comical to anyone who attended the talk fests of the U. F. A. It says: "The frankly communistic attitude of many of the speakers, particularly during the discussion on the bank resolutions, cannot fail to seriously affect the credit of the province of Alberta, **and every farmer living within it.** The "red" element was apparently largely of **foreign birth,** with a sprinkling of Yankee. If there has to be a "red" faction, I would much prefer to see it composed of Canadian and British born. It would look healthier."

The scribe who saw red at the convention must surely have been suffering from hallucinations, seeing visions of Bolshevik gold, red whiskers, other people's money being spent to incite the farmers to action, insurrection and what not. If this piffle on the financial question by delegates at the convention is communistic, then communism is poor dope. It does not stand the test of scientific analysis. Major Douglas, the arch exponent of this financial bug, the other day, talking before the financial commission at Ottawa disclaimed all connection with Socialism. These so-called "reds" couldn't possibly be Marxian Socialists if they blamed all the ills of society to the financial system. In regard to the farmers being adversely affected by the credit of the province. How can they when 97 per cent. of them are bankrupt and have no credit? The preference of the "Review" to British born "reds" is a little joke. The master class ignore nationality; these imaginary geographical boundaries are held conspicuously before the eyes of the slaves and generate and keep alive age-long bias, prejudice, spite and race hatred. If the slaves lose their nationality they will also lose their patriotism, which is so necessary to perpetuate and protect their masters' property, whether it be in Timbuctoo or in China. Millions of these so-called foreigners have been brought here to be fleeced by the master class. I am sure the working class of America did not bring them here, and could not if they desired to. "Farm and Ranch Review" please take note.

The function of the workers is to produce all commodities and get in return the bare necessaries of life. Profits and more profits is the constant cry of the capitalists. He is an inveterate cosmopolitan. Nationality and patriotism is only for docile wage slaves.

In conclusion, I may say that the U. F. A., like all other reform movements that don't reform is not destitute of material. The hard conditions imposed by capitalism on the farmers for the last few years is awakening a nucleus of the young element. This field is fertile for the propagandists who understand the peculiar nature of this beast of burden. This young movement, when it gathers momentum, will ditch the old fossils from the movement, processes of clarification will go on until master class farm journals will view with real alarm the insecurity of capitalism. The dawn of day will arrive; the last vestige of slavery will pass away forever.

Clarion "Mail Bag"

THAT small adornment of the well-dressed lady, known as a vanity bag, would with care contain the whole of our correspondence since the last issue. But we should worry! Rather should we cheerfully grin while we relax and take stock of ourselves and that which is about us. If in the struggle for the riddance of that principle of wage payment by which the exploitation of the working class is most surely accomplished, our efforts have not produced the results that we all desired, no good will be served by lamentation. If the workers have failed to recognize those revolutionary truths which our propaganda reveals, the deficiency lies with them and with no others.

Cold shower baths are repellant to those of weakened or anaemic constitution; and as unpleasurable to the minds of free wage-workers are the cold facts of capitalist society. To be enthused by fine and glowing sentiments is yet more preferable to informative studies. Mankind still delights in the spectacular and glories in the illusion; his real motives always does he strive to hide. And he will not be denied the keen pleasure of setting up on a pedestal, his heroes; nor the exquisite joy of knocking them down again.

In our day the revolutionary urge will bring forth the strange and the fantastic; religious justification may be easily procured for the removal of property rights when the big battalions move—as they inevitably will move. Ritual and dogma can well be used to break down the intangible forces that resist even in this age of great achievements; high and fancy flying, far and accurate seeing, etc., etc.,—and Marathon dancing.

In the necessary readjustment of social affairs, however, and for a more equitable distribution of wealth than obtains at present, it is certain that a greater degree of understanding must be in the possession of the working class. As revolutionary Socialists our material needs are composite, and our activities are but the practical response to a social urge from which we cannot escape. That which is spoken of as apathy is incidental and should not be viewed with alarm. Like the ominous quiet in Nature, which to the weatherwise presages the coming storm, so might we correctly observe the prevailing attitude of indifference among the great mass of the workers. A fundamental break in social relationships must come, by no form of witchery can it be avoided. Then will apathy give way to a mighty struggling for balance and security. Free access to the means of life will furnish that security; and around that need and its fulfilment must the warring factions rally for good or ill. Meanwhile our task is incomplete. Unpopularity is not evidence of the failure of past efforts. The emancipation of the working class is our objective, and to those who in the gloom are striving with us, in good faith and fellowship we cry: "All hail!"

Letters from Eastern Canada are few, but very welcome to us. Comrades in Billtown and Cape Breton send subs. and support for the Maintenance Fund; also appreciative remarks concerning the "Western Clarion." Toronto and Cochrane, Ont., are represented in a like manner.

Comrade Glendenning writes from Winnipeg in reference to the state of the movement in that city. While admitting that things are not satisfactory just now, he is hopeful for future development. That is the spirit we like. Stay with it Glendenning! this camp is all for you. Battleford, Sask., sends a sub. for the Clarion, but Alberta is without representation this time. British Columbia is in a better mood. Subs. come from Spences Bridge, Telkwa, Potlatch Creek, Lund, Cumberland, also a nice letter and donation to the Maintenance Fund from Courtenay. J. M. Wilson of Telkwa, sends regards to Pritchard and W. Bennett.

Writing from Seattle, Washington, Com. McCabe encloses a sub. and two dollars for the Maintenance Fund, also best regards to Chris. Stephenson. A sub. also comes from Elma, Washington. A very fine letter comes from Com. J. Knight, of the San Francisco Labor College. He says in part: "We are holding by far the biggest radical meetings in the city at present, and although it means a lot of work on a few shoulders, we intend to stay with the game and do our best to promote a spirit of investigation and activity among the staves of Sunny California." He encloses the Labor College prospectus for March and April, showing a splendid series of Sunday night lectures, also eighteen dollars for the Clarion Maintenance Fund (acknowledged in last issue "Here and Now"). Mr. Knight, you suit us uncommonly well; don't hesitate about writing again, and give our kind regards to the rest of the gang.

SEEK SCIENCE—FIND SOCIALISM

SCIENTIFIC working-class political thought surely leads to Socialist action. As the word's Latin origin shows, a scientist means one who knows and can use knowledge. Just as with a dwellinghouse, to build the house of knowledge it is first necessary to have the materials and, therefore, to place those materials together into position. It is by induction (drawing in) that we get the knowledge materials; and this we do by means of our five senses—seeing, hearing, etc.—in contact or experience with many sorts of objects. Having thus gathered together our stock of knowledge, the next step is to use it; which is done by deduction, meaning "leading down"—to truths. The more capable we are of thinking deductively, the greater right have we to call ourselves scientists; because that means we are skilful at "figuring out." Of accurate deductive thinking, it may be said that "a little goes a long way," for this process gives us fore (before) and far sight, and even all-around sight. Let a real scientist see only a fragment of bone from some pre-historic extinct animal, and he can describe therefrom the entire creature it once was a part of. Sometimes it has been possible to build up an all-embracing truth that has acted as a foundation for some beautiful and imposing thought structure of great usefulness to mankind.

For example, a little more than five hundred years ago it was generally believed that the earth was flat. But Christopher Columbus knew the earth was round. His belief, drawn from a number of proofs was an all-embracing truth or, as such is called, a generalization. So, by reasoning from it deductively, he "figured out" that as he was standing on land, if he journeyed due west upon the circular earth, he would be bound to reach some other land again. But, as is well known, he was so long afloat, that his crews mutinied against him. However, being sure, a far and foresighted scientist, he could not be hindered by threats, doubts and fears. Therefore, on October 12th, 1492, he became the effective (though it seems not the only) discoverer of America!

Now, to enjoy the best that life can afford is the most constant object of mankind's efforts; and scientists have said that, even unknown to themselves, the human race—suffering and stumbling—was and is travelling, and is compelled and ought to travel, in a certain definite direction—onwards to Socialism! The generalization these statements are figured out from, is called the Negation of the Negation; which is a universal three-change principle and means that the second change negates or takes the place of the first; and that the third change takes the place of the second. It is important to note that the first and last forms are alike, except that the third is more developed than the first. Marx' friend and co-worker Engels in "Anti-Duehring"—which Prof. Labriola calls a most accomplished work of critical Socialism and containing in a nutshell its whole philosophy—devotes several pages to explaining the principle. Here is a farming example: First, a grain of barley; when sowed becomes (second) negated into the plant; and, thirdly, the plant becomes negated by many grains of barley again. Here we see a spiral change from one grain to many grains. In the case of other plants, Engels points out that the third change results in not the same quality, but in an improved and more perfect kind of seed than what they sprang from—as above explained.

Take an example, now of interest to all readers of the Clarion; nine-tenths of which is set up for printing by a linotype form of machine. The metal that is moulded into, not single old-style tpyes, but a solid "line o' type," comes in long bars that can be broken off, for convenience, into small bars—the first form. The bar is then cast into the machine's melting pot and so dissolved—the second negation change. Finally appears the third change—the perfect solid type "slug" ready for printing with. Again we have a spiral course from solid metal in the bar, up to the perfectly moulded and solid slug. Then follow another series of change; for when the type slugs—the first form—have become printing press worn and ink soiled, they also are melted down—the second change—and finally appear—the third change—as clean, perfect slugs cast with different type matter and ready to print with afresh. The spiral is completed from old, dirty and worn slugs to new slugs again. In large-scale printing where stereotyping is used, still another series of negations take place.

We also find this principle applying to mankind, who are said to be at least 250,000 years old. Just like many species of lower animals, and for scores of thousands of years, as Morgan points out, man lived in the condition known as Primitive Communism. This became negated by different forms of private property and social classes—slavery, serfdom, wage-slavery—and, with the present collapse of capitalism, it is plain that we are ripe, and meant to head, for the last negation form, which is that higher, machine-equipped kind of communism that we mean by modern Socialism. Government, too, has passed through and calls for a corresponding series of changes; for it was, at first, merely a tribal economic committee; then it evolved into the oppressing private property protecting and administering State; and it will, as at first, but on a higher scale, again become a body of social property administering experts, devoid of cruelty and graft.

Furthermore, on referring to the above printing example, one may note that both end similarly with the clean, perfect, type slugs; but they begin, at different points—one starts from the crude bar of metal, but the other starts, higher up the scale, from worn and soiled slugs. Now in Vol. 1. of "Capital," Marx himself gives an example of the negation principle; and here he also does not commence at the starting point of Primitive Communism, but at a period thousands of years beyond it. He speaks of small, private property and individual production and appropriation by means of feeble tools. This stage was negated by capitalist private property production, and appropriation upon the backs of ruined individual workers. Marx then says that, with the inexorability of a law of nature, capitalist production begets its own (the third) negation, which does not appear the same as its starting point—small, individually owned private property—but spirals up till the wealth producers become individual shareholders in the tremendous powers and acquisitions of the capitalist era; but based upon **co-operation** and the possession in common of the land and the means of production. Thus we see he does not lead us from Primitive Tribal Communism; but from individual ownership and well-being up to National Ownership and well-being—in other words, Socialism.

Having scientifically proved that the path to Socialism is the correct one, it is both wisdom and our duty to follow it. We are now, if we please, at liberty to dismiss from mind the various proofs that led us up to our belief; and then simply remember and act upon the generalization we have now gained; because this saves us from a lot of thought—labor. 'Midst the difficult and stormy scenes of capitalist life, it is certain that most of us shall often be blown out of our courses. So it is advisable, as Shakespeare in "Julius Caesar" says, "that noble minds keep ever with their likes; for who so firm that cannot be seduced?" This means that if we cannot personally mix with fellow Socialists we should at least keep in touch with matters socialistic by reading, supporting and spreading the proper literature; for the latter is quite within our "spheres of influence."

The fact is that the truths of Socialism must form for us a kind of religion—that which obliges or binds. There are times when, as Burns says, we may be blinded to religion, "but when on life we're tempest-driven," **((Socialist)** religion ("is sure a noble anchor!" To continue our paraphrase of this poet; the fear o' capitalism's a hangman's whip, to hold the plug in order; but where ye feel your **Socialism** grip—let **that** aye be your border!

PROGRESS.

"WHY WOMEN DON'T WRITE"

(Continued from page 5)

we interpret it as an attempt to express, by parading and picketing, what she undergoes from day to day, and in doing so she has already recognised a common interest. True, we do not hear much of her and are expecting nothing from her more than the word co-operation implies (though that will be no insignificant task). To be able to co-operate when the great change comes we must first prepare ourselves for it by an understanding of the condition that we would abolish or discard, and women of the working class, instead of "waiting 'till they are sick" as the "Woman's Letter" puts it, will find out what is delaying the change.

We will have to depend on "the male of the species" for most of our information but, when once seriously interested we will recognise that the quarrel doesn't lie in that direction at all and, with the fact before us, as "R" puts it, that there is "no royal route to victory," we will abandon the "leadership" theory, for, in the end, it is only sheep who are lead.

M. M.

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