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# WESTERN CLARION

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 THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY  
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## Mr. Churchill and Colonel Golovin

ON Saturday the "Manchester Guardian," "Daily News" and "Herald" printed a very remarkable document, brought from Russia by members of the Labor delegation. It is a memorandum written by Colonel Golovin while Russian representative in London, and consists of a report, written for the benefit of the White military chiefs, of the attitude and activities of Mr. Winston Churchill as disclosed in confidential interviews with Colonel Golovin. The memorandum, drawn up some time in the summer of 1919, was apparently circulated to the leaders of the various Russian counter-revolutionary fronts by way of encouraging them, as it was well calculated to do.

Whether accurate or no in all its minor details, the memorandum gives a picture of Mr. Churchill's activities as Minister for War. There is nothing in it to surprise those who have followed Mr. Churchill's policy and career since the war.

Let us remind ourselves first of the general situation. At the beginning of May, 1919, the Government's Russian policy had been stated by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons as one of neither peace nor war. He had repudiated Mr. Bullitt, had declared that Russia's internal Government was no concern of ours. At the same time we were admittedly supplying and munitioning Kolchak and Denikin. The Peace Treaty was about to be presented to the Germans. The occupation of Hungary and the overthrow of the Bela Kun regime had just taken place.

Colonel Golovin begins by saying that difficulties in connection "with the formation of the Yudenitch front by Colonel Steele, who is greatly valued at the British Foreign Office," made him anxious to get into direct touch with Mr. Churchill.

As a medium of approach he addressed himself to Sir Samuel Hoare, whom he found at first dubious as to whether Churchill "would so far violate his outward cautiousness towards us" as to meet Golovin. But by May 4th Churchill had not only read Golovin's memoranda but expressed a desire to desire to meet Golovin at the War Office. He there, on May 5th or 6th, 1919, saw first General Radcliffe, Head of the Operative Department, by whom he was most cordially received, and with whom he had a most instructive conversation. General Radcliffe apparently did not repudiate the idea that the collection of detachments in the North could be done "under cover of the Red Cross," and agreed that any recognition of Estonian independence was impossible. The War Office had decided to send an important military mission to Judentich, similar to the Briggs Mission with Kolchak.

At 5.30 on the same day Golovin was received by Mr. Churchill. The conversation lasted about an hour. Mr. Churchill explained that owing to the political conditions of the moment, and in the interest of the "common cause," secrecy must be maintained. The most important part of the conversation was on the question of armed support. Colonel Golovin reported as follows:—

"The question of giving armed support was, for him, the most difficult one. The reasons for this were—the opposition of the British working class to armed intervention. But even in this matter, without promising anything, he would try to help. He had declared in the House of Commons that fresh forces were necessary for the purpose of evacuating the north. He would send under this pretext up to 10,000 volunteers, who would replace the worn-out parts, especially the demoralized

American and French troops; he will also postpone the actual evacuation for an indefinite period (but will not speak about it); and he agrees upon the help of the newly-arrived British troops being actively manifested. That in case of further advance by Admiral Kolchak he would be willing to give active support to the left flank; he does not reject the possibility of help to Yudenitch on the right flank. In short, he will do all he can, but again added that the success of our common cause demanded great secrecy. It was very difficult for him to send military forces to the aid of General Denekin because, as far as the North was concerned, he had a pretext—that of supporting the British troops already there. But the idea of supporting Denekin, were it even by Volunteers, would be carried out by him; he would send up to 2,500 Volunteers under cover of instructors and technical troops, and if these will fight side by side against the Bolsheviks—this will, of course, be natural."

Golovin's general impression was: "In Churchill we have not only a man who sympathizes with us, but also an energetic and active friend. . . . He told me that in all Russian questions he recognizes only Admiral Kolchak. . . . and said: "I am myself carrying out Kolchak's orders."

Questions in the House of Commons failed to extract from Mr. Churchill anything more than a suggestion that the report contains inaccuracies. But a Blue Book on the North Russian affair is promised. The really wonderful thing is that Mr. Churchill survives his costly failures. All his war gambles, all his expeditions, come to grief, his friends perish, and every movement that he patronises seems doomed to collapse.

—Common Sense, (London).

## Conference Doldrums

SINCE the armistice, the Entente Allies have been amusing themselves—and us—with economic juggling. One conference has followed another—each one frittering along the outermost edge of the issue involved,—each one dissolving ineptly away—and each one a failure, signal and complete, to amend the world condition, as obtaining under capitalist civilization—the very objectives for which they were called into being.

The reason for the failures is not far to seek. The so-called Allies are, in reality, allies no longer. The object which held them in temporary union has been accomplished, and now each ally is individually intent on acquiring the commercial supremacy or lately wrested from their vanquished rivals. Jealousies, aggressions, recriminations rampant in the camp of the Allies are not merely dividing the Allies, but shattering the wall of their Empire threatening the very existence of the civilization they are vainly perpetuate. Each individual ally seeks to remodel war ruined Europe in the formula of democracy most agreeable to their respective capitalist interests, unable, because of well founded suspicion, to reach any mutual solution; and all of them staying, by ways devious and dark to reconstruct the prostrate Europe of today, in the terms of the vitality of yesterday to continue a social tradition that is gone, as irrevocably as the Quetzal of the Peruvian. That is why failure and bitterness rest on the efforts of allied statesmen, proceeding in the faith of hypocrisy and deceit, to

serve the behests of their capitalist overlords.

The imperialist necessities of post-war capitalism are altogether different from the national necessities of pre-war times. Then nations were in process of making, now they are completely developed; then capital was reaching to fuller growth; now it has attained maturity. No single nation is, today, an isolated self-sufficiency. Capital has bound them all together in the ties of commercial intercourse, and a blow, vital to one, spreads along the nerves of trade to the uttermost ends of the earth, carrying injury or destruction to all, in ratio to their places in the schemes of imperialism. Great empires have arisen, with their congeries of "free" states and the maintenance and continuance of those empires, demand chameleon policies, conforming to the ever changing alignments of developing interests.

The ambitions of imperialism must conflict. The natural resources of the world are the prizes in the game of empire and as all cannot monopolize those resources, the conflict between the rivals ensues, putting its inevitable pressure on the exploited peoples of the world. Hence, big and bigger business is the order of the day, for only mighty accumulations of capital can successfully handle the plant and resources of industrial enterprise.

Those are the conditions, today, confronting capitalist councils, and they imperatively demand immediate answer. The expansion of greater industry forces imperialist capital to act. A rival im-

perialism checks, or overreaches its design, while the social forces of production, void of normal satisfaction, dispossessed and enervated in misery and degradation, seeth and riot and rattle, like a gathering volcano, under the throne of privilege.

The triumph of revolutionary Russia and the subjugation of Germany, have entailed the ruin of France. The quarrel over the spoils of Asia, have weakened the bonds of empire, while the recent defeat of Poland has thrown down the last barrier of the "ordon sanitaire," and brought all Europe well under the ascendant star of the new "social contract."

While capital continues the conferences of capitalist states must devise and decree for capitalist interests, and while capital controls, so long must the orgy of wealth accumulation endure and the natural sequences of its developed economies poison on the well-spring of all social being.

But every conference that is called and made idly away, not only fails to achieve its object, but advances the progress of the world, to the inevitable point where society must take issue on its own destiny, and build anew on the ground plan of social activity and ownership in the means of satisfaction of life and its desires. The climax is surely fast approaching, and while the hoof of the White Terror is ruid upon our necks, the certainty that his kingdom is passed away is like strong wine in our hearts.

# The Sinn Fein Situation

OPPOSITION to the capitalist form of society is the chief characteristic of the Socialist programme. Understanding our class position within this system, and the impossibility of removing the social antagonisms that prevail without effecting a change from class to social control of the means of wealth production, our attack is necessarily directed against the system of society known as capitalism.

This concerted attack on the system itself does not, however, entail a cessation of interest in connection with the various modifications proposed by rival cliques and groups within the ranks of the ruling class. Wherever such proposals are pressed forward as being "steps in the direction of socialism," "certain means for liberty," "phases of the age-long struggle for liberty," etc., we make it our business to throw aside the veil of hypocrisy that enshrouds the issue, and reveal the true significance of the question at stake. We oppose capitalism. This also involves an opposition to all that capitalism stands for, and all that stands for capitalism.

The issue we intend to deal with in this article is one of comparatively recent origin—the Sinn Fein movement. The advocates of self-determination for Ireland have done some extensive advertising in the past few years. When it comes to making known the virtues of what they have to offer, the makers of Beecham's Pills, Wrigley's Spearmint, and Post's Grape-nuts, have nothing on the Irish republicans. Scarcely a day passes without recording some new encounter between the forces of imperialist England and republican Ireland.

So consistently and well managed has this advertising campaign been carried on in the United States, that political parties, newspapers, syndicates, religious and fraternal organizations, and other centres of public opinion are vehemently protesting against the wrongs inflicted on struggling Ireland by their ruthless oppressors. Only a short time ago this truculent attitude was confined to organizations of Irish origin, emphasized occasionally by the intrusion of eloquent propagandists from the old land, who were seeking finances for Erin's cause.

In those days there was not the same incentive to arouse the emotions of our moralists and statesmen as we find at present. England and America were not such keen competitors in the field of commerce. The presence of other rapacious market hounds had a decided tendency to force a closer relationship between the ruling classes of the two countries.

But, now, the scene has changed. The onslaught of commercial Germany has been stopped for the moment, and face to face for the first time in history stand Britain and America as the leading contestants for the lion's share in a greatly contracted world market. Every weak spot in the financial, legislative, administrative, moral and ethical policy of Britain is magnified a thousand fold, and dilated upon with vigor and alacrity, by those whose interests are enhanced by crushing the aspirations of British capitalists. India, Egypt, and especially Ireland, loom on the horizon as dark malignant clouds of oppression that must be dispersed. The moral nature of the proposition never assumed sufficient proportions to warrant an expression of opinion until the economic problem defined a relation.

But this campaign for "Irish freedom" is not confined to the organizations representing the interests of American capitalists. Working class parties and papers have caught the tune, and flagrantly display their ignorance of the social malady by joining in the chorus for more freedom for the struggling capitalists of Ireland.

In no single instance have they presented evidence to prove the Sinn Fein to be a revolutionary working class movement. Nothing has been placed on exhibit outside a sickly, sentimental humani-

arianism that manifests itself through weeping and wailing over the gruesome effect, without any understanding concerning the cause. Even though their knowledge of the Sinn Fein movement was confined to a perusal of the speeches and literature disseminated by its devotees in the United States they could find, even here sufficient material to exclude them from the category of revolutionary organizations.

During the days when the Peace Conference was in session at Paris, and delegations of Irishmen, with Gaelic names, were attempting to have Ireland represented in the negotiations, the "Irish World," in New York, was publishing thrilling narratives of how England sought to prevent their settlement of the war. Even the Bolsheviks of Russia, their hands reeking with the blood of innocent citizens, and waving the red flag of anarchy in the face of a Christian people, denying the existence of any power above themselves, were looked upon kindly by England who made overtures on their behalf while suppressing the aspirations of Christian Ireland.

This same paper, realizing the futility of gaining England's consent made a fervent appeal to France for assistance. They had good reason to expect aid from this quarter. When the anarchistic mobs of Paris took possession of the city in 1871, and threatened the existence of responsible government, was it not Ireland that contributed General McMahon, who was, in a large measure responsible for restoring law and order?

The Sinn Fein propagandists who have toured this side of the Atlantic have repeatedly assured their audience that nothing resembling the state of affairs in Russia would ever be contemplated by themselves. Their ideal of republican government was to be found in the United States. That liberty of speech and assembly, so charmingly exemplified in every penitentiary throughout the land; that freedom from autocracy is well illustrated in the annals of Wall Street; these are the goals of Irish ambition, and not social control of the means of wealth production.

A glance at the recent history of Ireland will suffice to corroborate the assertions of their doctrinaires in America. It is not possible in a short essay to go deeply into the causes of estrangement between England and Ireland. For several centuries the conflict has raged. England, seeking the dominant position in industry and commerce, was compelled to curtail the manufacture of goods in Ireland, just as she found it necessary to pursue the same policy in regard to America. These countries must be made to function as the base for supplying food and raw materials to the manufacturing population of England. Whatever attempts were made to establish industries on those islands were crushed with a ruthless hand. Shipbuilding, saw making, cotton, woolen and silk manufactures, were alternately attempted, but all to no avail, as the political powers in the hands of the English rulers was quite adequate to legalize their dictates.

Suppression, however, did not signify surrender. If legal means of redress were prohibited, then, illegal means must be resorted to. Secret societies became fashionable. The Peep-o'-Day Boys, the Defenders, the Eight Boys, Steel Boys, Threshers, Ribbon-men, Terry Alts, Molly Maguires, Rokitias, and many others sprang into existence, in most cases for the purpose of defending the farmers from the landlords. But the powers of Westminster could not see the necessity of decentralization in government, and a well equipped force was continually on hand to hunt down and disperse these secret societies.

A story of the different agitations, and the orators who advocate them, would fill a book. Suff-

ice it to notice that out of centuries of strife and bloodshed resulted the Home Rule for Ireland movement, with Parnell, Redmond, O'Connor, Dillon, and Devlin as its eloquent champions. The main object of this movement was to secure for the landed and manufacturing class of Ireland, the privilege of conducting their internal affairs to suit themselves, without being subject to the whims and caprices of English law-makers. It was never their intention to sever relationship with the Empire, nor to extend their sovereignty over the department of foreign affairs. The methods proposed for attaining this object were political, and Home Rule for Ireland became one of the important issues in British politics.

Safe, sane, and respectable as the Home Rule programme was designed to be, it never developed to that stage where the privilege sought became the law of the land. The different British political parties, in several election campaigns, made use of the Irish question to enhance their own interests, but never seriously attempted to solve the problem to the satisfaction of its spokesmen. Even the chauvinistic utterances of Parnell and Redmond proved inadequate to stir the legislators of Westminster to grant the moderate demands of industrial Ireland.

This failure to attain their ends by peaceful means, while retaining their position as part of the Empire, stimulated the handicapped Irish manufacturers to adopt a more drastic programme and, turn their desires into legal enactment by more forcible methods. To perform this function the Sinn Fein movement had its origin in the early part of the present century. Complete separation from England, and the fullest measure of self-determination for Ireland was demanded. The national resources must be released from foreign control, and Irish industry given an opportunity to develop and take its place side by side with the other nations of the world.

Religious and moral phases of the question were shoved in the background, and the economic basis was clearly revealed. With the breaking of English fetters manufacturing would flourish, and soon the population would increase at a terrific rate. Twenty millions of people could easily be accommodated under the new regime. To the capitalists in Ireland, whose efforts were thwarted by their fellow capitalists in England, this extension of industry, and consequent increase in the number of those who must be exploited, would no doubt be a matter of considerable import. But, so far as the Irish workers' position is concerned they need only look at the condition of their fellow slaves in England, where industrial development is freely assisted, and a large population exists, to see what is in store for themselves when that glorious stage of self-determination is ushered in.

In the parliamentary election of 1918 the Sinn Fein Party was accorded a notable support at the polls. Seventy candidates were elected to promote the cause. Out of this large delegation there is not a single member of the revolutionary working class. Not one who is in any way connected or concerned with the abolition of class society. The landed, manufacturing, and professional classes are all represented, and all are determined to keep in existence the present form of society. All that interests them in regard to the Irish workers is how they can best continue their exploitation, and maintain them in a state of apathy and indifference to their class position.

The Provisional Government formed during the Easter Rebellion of 1916, in its declaration to the people of Ireland, clearly portrays the character of the movement. Not a line in that declaration to lead one to believe that classes exist in Irish society.

(Continued on page 3.)

# Economic Causes of War.

Article No. 9.

THE United States entered the war to save the world for democracy. President Wilson was re-elected because he had kept his country out of the war, and when he did allow the United States to fight, it must have been for a very worthy and righteous cause.

America had never entered world politics to the same extent as the European Powers, because she had room for expansion within her own boundaries. She had, however, taken a part in opening up world markets as far back as 1858. In Thorpe's "History of Japan," pages 173 and 193, I find this: "In July, 1858, not only American but Russian men-of-war arrived at Yokohama, to be specially followed by the English and French, all intent on forcing the proud Japanese to concede treaties of commerce; and if those treaties could not be obtained peacefully, they should be extorted by force of arms." "Not satisfied with their work of destruction, the envoys of the four belligerent nations demanded of the puzzled and displeased Japanese an indemnity of three million dollars, which amount America took seven hundred and eighty-five thousand, although the cost of their war demonstration was only twenty-five thousand dollars."

The United States made a great display of neutrality when the war was in its first stages. It was to her economic interests to do so. She was supplying a vast trade to both sides of the fight, and mostly to the Allies after the Central Powers were blockaded. When trade with the Allies was endangered by the German submarine campaign and the Atlantic ports were stocked full with commodities as a consequence, then the United States discovered that it was a war for the freedom of small nations and for democracy. As a matter of fact, it was a spiritual interpretation to the economic factor, that if the commercial interests could not deliver the goods because of the submarine warfare, the easiest way to dispose of the surplus was to enter the war themselves on the side of the Allies.

Roland G. Usher, in his "Pan Germanism," 1913, page 139, says: "An understanding was reached that in case of a war begun by Germany or Austria for the purpose of executing Pan-Germanism, the United States would promptly declare in favor of England and France, and would do her utmost to assist them. The mere fact that no open acknowledgment of this agreement was then made need not lessen its importance and significance. The alliance, for it was nothing less, was based upon infinitely firmer ground than written words and sheets of parchment. . . . It found its efficient cause as well as its efficient reason in its continuance in the situation, geographical, economic and political, of the contracting nations with each other. On page 144, after giving a detail of conflicting interests of the Powers in Europe, he says: "In all this the United States has unquestionably no part. Not her strategic position, not her military strength, but her economic position makes her an ally particularly indispensable to England and France." Page 145: "Allied with her (U. S. A.) they could not be starved into submission nor bankrupted by lack of materials to keep their rooms running." Page 147: "Fortunately for England and France the United States, whose economic assistance is positively imperative for them, finds their assistance equally imperative. In the first place the United States depends upon the English merchant marine to carry her huge volume of exports, and should she not be able to use it would suffer seriously. . . . Again, a market as certain and as large as that of England and France for raw materials and foodstuffs is absolutely essential to her, and the outbreak of the war which might close

those markets to her, would precipitate unquestionably a financial crisis. . . . Furthermore, she needs a market in England and France for her own manufactured goods. . . . She cannot afford to take any chance of losing her markets in those two countries, nor has she ceased to hope for privileges of some sort in English and French dependencies which other nations do not have and which, if wrongly should come to the worst, she could undoubtedly obtain from them as the price of her continued assistance."

When Luther deals with the States taking Cuba, he points out that that island possessed not only a commercial but a strategic importance. The Philippines, owned by a weak nation like Spain, were ideally suitable for a German base of operations in the Far East, and the Allies could not allow such a prize to fall into the hands of Germany. The general European situation and the position of Spain in the Mediterranean made it impossible for England or France to undertake a war with Spain, and Luther says: "The colonial aspirations of the United States, her anxiety to share in the opening of China to European enterprise, her traditional hope of securing Cuba, all pointed to her as the natural guardian of the interests of the coalition in the covering and concentration resulted in the withdrawal by France and England of their objection to the States building the Panama Canal. The United States built a naval base in the Philippines of sufficient size and importance to permit the maintenance of a fleet large enough to be a factor in the Pacific. England and France could not spare the ships and Japan would not tolerate a Russian fleet in those waters, so the United States was the only power which could represent the coalition there consistent with her own safety."

The United States strengthened her position by annexing the islands between her shores and Asia for coaling stations. The war with Spain over Cuba was placed as of a liberating nature, but Frederick Emory, chief of the U. S. Bureau of Foreign Commerce, says in "World's Work," January, 1902: "Cuba was in fact a stumbling block, a constant menace to the southern movement of our trade. To free her from the Spanish incubus was therefore a commercial necessity to us, and as we became more clearly alive to the importance of extending our commerce, the impatience of our business interests at such obstruction was waxing as strong, that even had there been no justifying cause of an emotional kind, such as the alleged enormities of the Spanish rule or the destruction of the Maine, we would doubtless have taken steps in the end to abate with a strong hand what was seen to be an economic nuisance."

When the Senate discussed the Philippines question, some said they could not admit semi-civilized people into citizenship, and that permanent military rule would be violating the spirit of the American Republic and also a serious danger of getting into war with European powers over questions arising about the islands. But the majority held that the Philippines would be safer if they became a part of the United States, "as the war (Spanish-American War) has made us a world power, and our trade interests in China and the Far East demand that we should own the whole Philippine group."

The Japs are blaming the Americans for the anti-Japanese agitations in Korea and China, and their newspapers say the object is to offset their rivals in trade and get control of Chinese markets and construct the Hai Lan railway. America is also largely interested in the exploitation of Outer Mongolia.

President Wilson's fourteen points were not well received in Paris. He said the day of secret cov-

erants was past, yet he accepted quite a few of them. He said: "Victory would force a peace that would leave a sting; . . . that equal right of freedom and security and self-government and the participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination." These quotations are from a reply to the Pope, August 27th, 1917. This is the same Wilson who, while making such public utterances, was secretly negotiating the transfer of the Danish West Indies behind the backs of the people of Denmark and the United States, and also without giving the people of the Danish colonies the opportunity to express whether they desired to be brought under a new sovereignty. He was no wonder in Paris by deeds in the game of diplomacy who kept company with Winston Churchill, who, a speaker in Glasgow said, was the most persistent, insistent and consistent liar in the British Cabinet. I suggest that President Wilson read that part of his election address of 1912 wherein he says: "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the records of Congress; it is written all through the history of the conferences at the White House."

PETER T. LECKER.

### SINN FEIN SITUATION.

(Continued from page 2.)

merely a mass of meaningless, nebulous phrases, asking the support of Divine Providence and guaranteeing religious and civil rights, and other parts of a similar kind.

To the Socialist, then, there is nothing in the Sinn Fein programme to warrant our support. We are not concerned at this date with the factional squabbles of the ruling class. The Socialists of the world have today but one platform upon which they stand; but one programme they wish to cooperate, and this means nothing less than the overthrow of class society in every section of the globe.

Where workers of any nation decide to pit their strength against that of their masters, our sympathy and support are with them; our interests are identical wherever we are.

J. A. MELL.

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## EDITORIAL

### THE RUSSELL APPEAL.

THE appeal for hearing of Comrade B. B. Russell has been dismissed by the Privy Council, and it would seem that labor as a body have had their ultimate lesson in the law, and are now left to re-adjust their notions as to justice itself. We shall not be surprised to find that many workers still consider the scales as being a little rusted, but the time is here for labor bodies to set themselves to the understanding of the principles underlying a system of profit production, whereby they may learn that the justice of the law must needs bear down as heavily upon them in its application as the maintenance, through them, of capitalism, produces the misery and unhappiness of their daily labor.

There is no doubt that the next step of the government, now that its action has received the inevitable approval of London, will be to find a suitable excuse to release the prisoners, an excuse, that is, that will enable the government to maintain its cast iron dignity and yield at the same time to the menace of the popular will.

Some talk there has been of a "pardon" and release. There can be no consideration given by labor to any suggestion of pardon for offences that, however the law may view them, must arise again and again, or as long as working men and women are forced into organized co-operation for mutual support against the crushing weight of capitalism.

All workers who took part in the strike of last year will cheerfully proclaim themselves as being equally responsible in their actions as the men in general. And there can be no reason in any pardon issued to men who have been conspired to action that is independent of their individual will. By this we mean that men act as circumstances dictate. And that these circumstances change from time to time in detail, presupposes that action must change in accordance. The alignment of the classes in society must undergo change as the foundation, the economic structure, moves. The workers write in pain as the fetters close in upon them. They suffering under their thraldom finds ever new expression which, happily, as the days go on, betokens a clearer understanding of the conditions of their everyday life. These conditions call for a clear understanding on the part of labor, and that understanding will correspond to the material circumstances of the process of production and the factors of life that rest upon it.

The explanation for the actions of labor lies in the developing forces of production. To understand the workings of one is to estimate the quality of consciousness of the other.

### THE MALAYS.

SOME time ago, Karl Radek said that the time was approaching when news items would announce the mental fatigue and breakdown of prominent allied statesmen. We have seen that Mr. Wilson has suffered somewhat since he came back from Europe, while several premiers have fallen back upon the rest cure to escape the insistence of post-war measures. Even an office boy functionary like the Canadian premier has had his worries, and now Mr. Lloyd George is "a very sick man."

Now we are not taking the temperature of these gentlemen because we are especially interested in

their welfare, but we like to note that convenient excuses substitute sometimes for capable handling of awkward situations.

The Soviets have travelled a long way since they made their peace proposals to the Allied governments, through Mr. Bullitt, on the 14th March of last year. Then, and before that date, they were willing to conclude peace upon the bandit terms dictated by the Allies, and to that willingness, then, as before that time, they could not even secure publicity, let alone consent.

Last March Russia proposed an armistice, which Poland rejected under pressure of an offensive. Today Poland seems ready to accept anything, and, in Russia's dealings with the Allied governments she has compelled attention and she continues to be the attractive news feature, if for no other purpose than to lie about.

As the dagger goes on the strength of the Soviets increases, and their position is rendered more secure. And this is the real dark shadow that meant conference for the German bourgeoisie at the recent Spa conference. The Allies are plainly worried. They have every reason. Their premiers are sick—sick of Russia.

### THE "CLARION" ABOARD.

The following is part of an article published in the "Abendpost," Rochester, N. Y., which appears in that paper on the 12th July, 1920, under the title "Declaration of the People." The paper is printed in the German language and its translation has been kindly made for us by Comrade O. J. Mengel.

The article is not presented in full because its appreciation is offered from a nationalist viewpoint, although it is not altogether confined to that. As to the matter of republishing the series in pamphlet form, we have already announced our intention to do so. Perhaps, by the time the last issue is printed the still smouldering embers of nationalism may have died out.

IN as much as English propaganda is carried on in this country at present, just as actively as during the war, and much more actively than before the war, which is very significant, it has already been attempted by the English for the last 20 years, to utilize the press of this country, and, according to an article in the "Irish World" (New York) of last Saturday's edition, not less than 300 British or Canadian editors, of so-called American journals, it is of the greatest importance that the inhabitants of this country, who are not greatly enamoured with England, should understand the world-wide intriguing carried on by England during the last 20 years. A good opportunity to do this is available. The "Western Clarion," a semi-monthly paper, issued in Vancouver, B. C., publishes since March, a series of articles entitled, "The Economic Causes of War," that will open the eyes of all who read them. The paper is a Socialist paper, but the articles deal mainly with historical events, and the writer confers his authorities for his statements.

The paper has also subtitled here, and I got a copy by chance, and in consequence I obtained the same containing the rest of the articles; generally copies of a journal published weeks previously are unobtainable. The journal can be obtained here (Rochester, N. Y.) at No. 580 St. Paul St.

I consider the series of articles so important that I send a request that the articles be re-published in pamphlet form and sold throughout the States. My object in mentioning this matter is to induce the subscribers here, to back up my request to the journal by a similar request.

### STATEMENT BY L. C. A. K. MARTENS.

Representatives in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

July 8, 1920.  
I welcome the announcement by the State Department that the restrictions which have hitherto stood in the way of trade between Soviet Russia and the United States have been removed. I must say frankly, however, that the statement published this morning, as it stands, does not at all dispose of the problem of establishing trade between Russia and the United States. There is no indication in the statement as to how or whether Russia is to be permitted to pay American business men for goods purchased in this country. We have

long been prepared and willing to establish credits in favor of American manufacturers in Balthina. The Federal Reserve Board, however, some time ago, issued a warning to all American banks advising against honoring any drafts drawn upon Balthina banks. In this manner all plans for the payment of American goods by drafts on Balthina banks were effectively checked. We cannot establish credits by the deposit of Russian gold in American banks so long as there is danger that these deposits may be molested. The statement published this morning gives no assurance that any practical credit arrangements may be effected. It is further stated that postal communication and travelling facilities are not to be restored. It is plain enough that trade cannot be resumed if there is to be no opportunity for the establishment of the essential means and facilities for international commerce. Trade is dependent upon an intricate machinery for transfer of funds with proper guarantees and securities on both sides, and commerce cannot be successfully carried on without postal and cable communication and the ordinary facilities for travel and international intercourse. The announcement of the State Department, while ostensibly setting aside restrictions, appears actually to announce a policy of continued restriction.

Although the question of diplomatic recognition in all its formalities and niceties may be indefinitely postponed, the effective resumption of trade relations must depend upon the establishment of a certain minimum of political relations. The English and Canadian Governments in their commercial negotiations with Russia have already recognized this fact. Mr. K. R. Meade, Canadian Minister to Moscow for the very purpose of perfecting the political arrangements essential to the resumption of trade. The Canadian Government has announced the establishment of a Commercial Bureau of the Soviet Government in Canada and has officially approved the commercial arrangements already entered into between Canadian business interests and the Russian Government.

This morning's announcement of course has excited much interest and we have been overwhelmed by inquiries from American business men who desire to know just how resumption of trade opportunities for trade with Soviet Russia. We can only refer them to the American Government for a further explanation of its policy. The Soviet Government is ready to enter into trade relations with America. We will gladly go more than half way to meet any practical arrangements. All we ask is the right to buy goods in the American market, have them shipped to Russia and to pay for them. If the statement is composed with its many reservations we are heartily glad. But the spirit in which the statement is composed, with its many reservations and ambiguities, compel us to draw developments before deciding upon its practical outcome. — "Soviet Russia."

## PLATFORM

### Socialist Party of Canada

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

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist appropriation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and is inimical to the capitalist class. The capitalist class remains in power by the force of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend the property rights in the means of wealth production and the control of the means of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-increasing stream of profits and to the worker, an ever-decreasing stream 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 effected. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of the present property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled instruments.

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

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

1. The transformation of the present property in the means of wealth production (capitalism) into socially controlled instruments (socialism), and the abolition of the wage system.
2. The organization and nationalization of industry by the working class.
3. The abolition of all property in the means of production for use instead of production for profit.

## Want and Plenty

IN order that the working class may understand the necessity as we find it today, is founded on the class majority for them to acquire a general knowledge of the interrelations and contradictions that are inherent in the conditions upon which this system is based.

Society as we find it today, is founded on the class ownership of the means of wealth production in the hands of a small unproductive minority. The great majority—the working class—own nothing excepting their energy, or labor-power. Between these two classes, the producers and non-producers, a continuous struggle goes on over the divisions of the product of labor. This inevitably results in the non-producing, i.e., the master class, securing an ever-increasing share of the world's wealth, while the share that finds its way to the producers is, accordingly, ever diminishing, relatively to their successful operations, as producers, of the machinery of wealth production.

To explain this condition of affairs—the everlasting gap between the two classes, producers and non-producers—we must examine that method of wealth production prevailing some centuries ago, and make a comparison with that of today. About the seventeenth century, the production of food, clothing and shelter, and the useful things of life generally, was not the highly complex process known to us and experienced by us in mill, mine, factory or workshop, or on the farm today. Then, a large and important part of the work was done either right in the worker's home, or the product was completely made in small shops. The organized armies of disciplined industrial workers operating steam and electrical machinery, each group of workers interlocking with and being dependent upon each other in the process were then unknown. Attended by man, the machinery of wealth production was then driven by power obtained directly from nature, through waterwheels, windmills, or by simple horse power. The worker's laboring time was then taken up in the greater part in providing for his own immediate needs leaving a very small proportion of the working day as a producer for his master's use.

Today the workers operate a colossal mass of machinery in the process of production, which, while it lightens the burden of social labor, widens the gap between the classes and renders the process of production ever more apparent as primarily a process of exploitation. The problem in production is no longer handicapped by the limitations of primitive processes. Today the problem is to dispose of the products. And while there is the ability to produce a superabundance of food-stuffs and the general essentials of life on the one hand, the system of private ownership demands that the disposal take place on a profit basis. Consequently we see wealth in abundance around us, and at the same time human want and distress.

The workers are studying the problem for themselves nowadays. They do not require to have it stated to them that they can produce enough. Their only problem is to acquire ownership over it once it is produced.

## Class Conflict Within Society

PROFESSOR JENKS in his book, "A Short History of Politics," gives the following definition. "A society is a certain group or mass of people bound together by a certain common principle or object."

This definition might be good enough for professors or college students, but it is just a little too mixed with professional ambiguity for a thinking class-conscious proletarian to accept.

Human beings are not the only ones possessing a society. Many animals and birds are bound together by a "certain common object" into societies, and, furthermore, they have "certain principles" which have arisen from the "common object," and which are rigidly observed.

In speaking of human society, we usually mean

the political form of that society, and in dealing with it from this aspect we divide it from the purely animal one which has been forced upon man and several species of beast alike in their struggle for existence. Jenks says: "By politics, we mean the business of government," so that if we deal with political society, we see that there must be classes within that society or there would be no need for a governing and a governed class—a subjective mass and a subjecting group.

Since the advent of Marx and Engels and the discovery of the historic formula as embodied in the "Communist Manifesto," published in 1848, we proletarians who have given study to their works look upon society from a far different viewpoint than do our worthy professors. We become very critical, and just as a chemist analyses matter by separating it into its different elements in order to understand the law of their combination and action, one upon the other, so does the Marxist subject society to the same scientific scrutiny.

After studying the past history of mankind, we find that it has been anything but a happy family "bound by a certain common principle or object." This statement might perhaps have fitted a description of primitive communism, but since the dissolution of that form of organization we find that there have been embodied several groups within societies, bound together by a common object or material interest, which sooner or later led them into conflict with other groups within that same society with a view to gaining political control in order that these material interests could be safeguarded.

These internal and external struggles have been going on continually in the process of man's development, eliminating first this and then that group, first one nation and then another, until we have at last reached a stage in the institutions of mankind, known as capitalist society.

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms; it possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat."

In other words, exploiters and exploited are rapidly reaching a stage where an open conflict for supremacy is sure to take place.

J. CONLAN.

## Industrial Unrest

AT no time in the world's history has industrial unrest assumed such large proportions as is prevalent today. Although the problem of production has been solved and human wants can be produced in greater quantities than ever before, we witness greater poverty in the world than was ever known.

Experience is rapidly compelling the workers to enquire into the cause of these sad conditions. Slowly but surely an ever-increasing number of the wealth producers are being forced to acknowledge the fact that their status under the present system is that of a mere piece of merchandise and that the wages they receive are governed by the same economic laws that determine the value of all other commodities.

The cause of unrest amongst those who produce is not due to agitation, or agitators, but to the capitalist industrial system. It is impossible to conceal this truth that the ruling capitalist class, who control all avenues of wealth production and distribution, represent an oligarchy more despotic and powerful than did any Kaiser or Czar. The liberty and freedom cannot exist under a system wherein a few own and control all these instruments that man must have access to in order to live.

Capitalism has developed within society; and it is no longer possible for a child of the working class to become anything but a member of the economic dependent mass. The force of competition has now brought into being a few who have it within their power to determine the lives of the

many. Owing to the fact that all wealth producing agencies are now in the hands of monopolists, these owning and non-producing few can live a life of ease and luxury, and like the dross fatten upon those who toil. This system has nothing further to offer those who produce but an "existence of uncertainty, of poverty, misery and slavery. This competitive system can no longer guarantee unto the slaves its means of subsistence."

In spite of all the improvements and inventions which have made labor so productive, the social status of the wage earner remains that of a slave. Instead of these up-to-date appliances lightening labor's burden they have only intensified the struggle. It is now possible to create a greater quantity of commodities with fewer hands and with less effort. The result is that women are replacing men, and an ever fiercer competition reigns amongst the workers for the fewer remaining jobs.

Even at the best of times, prosperous so-called, there exists capital's reserve army, the unemployed, who at all times are a menace to those who have a loan on a job insofar as they act as a bulwark against the workers who are allowed the privilege of working, from raising their standard of living.

Wages, the price paid to the worker at all times, fluctuate around the cost of subsistence. Under this system, society presents the aspect of a battle in progress, the producing and non-producing class on one side and the non-producing but owning class on the other. Between these contending forces a conflict rages, the principles to be decided being capitalist supremacy and slavery versus socialism, co-operation and freedom. To that side which exercises the greatest amount of intelligent organizing abilities belongs the victory, for the rank and file of such an army will be least mauled by its own forces.

The class war we are now engaged in will not abate until the causes are removed. No man can be true to his class interests and remain neutral. Material conditions will eventually compel every worker to take conscious action. To talk of an foolishity of interest between capital and labor is as foolish as to say there is a brotherly bond of friendship existing between a vampire and its victim. The interests of the two classes are so diametrically opposed that peace under capitalism is an impossibility. Material conditions will eventually compel the working class to action; they alone can bring the struggle to an end; it is your duty at this hour to play your part in the class war.

If only the working class would consider over these facts they would be better equipped for the struggle; knowledge of your class position in society is necessary to all those who desire to acquire their emancipation from slavery. Class conscious knowledge alone will prevent you from falling a victim to bourgeois parties who refuse to acknowledge the existence of the Class Struggle.

BEN TROMANS.

### HERE AND NOW.

Following, One Dollar each—P. F. Leckie, U. L. Local, A. Moseley, Church of the Univ. Fellowship (Los Gatos, Calif.), C. Macdonald, J. R. Linn, J. C. Budge, J. Mather, K. Deng, R. W. Wilson, P. McBurnet, O. Erickson, J. Schuthuis, Joe Watson, A. Harris, R. Sinclair.

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# Traditional Philosophy

THIS article is in large part based upon a reading of an essay on philosophy, religion and art, by Horace M. Kallen, entitled, "Value and Existence." Those who care to read the essay will find it in a collection in book form of eight essays on the "Pragmatic Attitude" in modern philosophy, published by Henry Holt and Co., New York, under the title "Creative Intelligence."

Each essay is written by a specialist from the point of view of his particular department of thought, the leading essay being by Professor John Dewey, chief spokesman in America for the so-called new Pragmatism. This school, whatever its worth, at least appears to have rejected the idealistic illusions of Bergson in favor of a materialist basis as a starting point in their philosophy. So far so good.

Traditional philosophy is a difficult, and, to many workers, an unfamiliar subject, and one which, in addition, they may consider as having no bearing on the revolutionary struggle. In truth, the study of philosophy has never been popular with so-called practical minds because, on the surface it appeared to drag a long and lengthening chain after the practical affairs of a work-day life. And other readers, regretful of what they regard as mis-spent time, may with old Omar mourn:

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument  
About it and about it, till my brain  
Came out by the same door where I went."

Nevertheless, my plea must be that the winds of old doctrines still circulate among us, to the prejudice of a sane and scientific approach to the solution of social problems. To the Textmaker's disciples of today, and to others who may decrie the discussion of philosophy and like abstract subjects, I will quote Joseph Dietzgen from the opening paragraph of his essay on "Scientific Socialism":

Says he, "... yet I beg (you) to consider whether it is most valuable to engage the more advanced minds and to gain qualified thorough-going comrades as to strive for great numbers by publishing popular articles. Both these aims, I think, should be kept in view. If the party is really of opinion that the emancipation from misery cannot be accomplished by mending particular evils but by a fundamental revolution of society, it necessarily follows that an agitation on the surface is inadequate and that it is moreover our duty to undertake an enquiry into the very basis of social life."

In his essay Professor Kallen only discusses the initial and fundamental impulses of philosophy, religion and art in relation to the general social situation out of which they arise. The subsequent history of the adventures of philosophic and religious thought, the forms which they take on, the various systems into which they have been erected under the influence of the industrial and institutional character of society, do not enter into that phase for discussion. We are thus taken to the heart of the problem and provided with a criteria; a point of approach for reviewing traditional philosophy in general or any of its particular systems.

Philosophy, as is religion, is a social fact, and like the latter receives its impulse from complete social situations. It is this fact that gives to the philosophers of various periods their social significance, and also, that they in turn, reacting back, influence the course of events. They have thus served as among the causes which determined the subsequent history of philosophy.

In this world man finds himself, in an environment, social and organic, of which change, the arch-enemy of a life which struggles for self-preservation, is the one unchanging law. A part of this environment constantly menaces him and frustrates and obstructs the realization and expression of his propensities, while another part is utterly

indifferent, though potentially hostile, to him. Bound to earth by the chains of necessity, positive as well as negative evils encompass him; repression, hunger, pain, disease and death wait on him to the end of his day. In repugnance to this material environment, winged imagination takes flight; repressed instincts, propensities, emotions, feelings and desires find expression in compensatory ideals (which Professor Kallen terms "value forms"). These ideals are expressed concretely in religion, philosophy and art.

In religion we find man's compensatory ideal in the promise of another world after death where all the things of his heart's desire, of which he has been cheated in this world, are to be realized.

Religion's handmaiden, traditional philosophy, evolved the conception that the things of the world were only "appearances" behind which the real "reality," spirit, God, vital spark, or the absolute, of which, experienced phenomena were only the material manifestations. Thus the mind, confronted by the perplexing menace of the variation of experience which complicates existence, reconstructed the environment and came to rest in the conception of unity of the world; or, in other words, behind the changing, alien materiality, was conceived a spiritual unchanging world where the soul of man would feel at home through all eternity. Such a world is a better world when it is conceived as of the same stuff as the spirit of man, for the mind is more at home with mind than with things. Religion, which has fought against the elimination of the devil and his works from the cosmic scheme, was giving expression to this trait of the mind, for no horror can be greater than utter alienity of nature. The humanization of Evil into Devil mitigates Evil and improves the world. Unity, spirituality and eternity are the "value-forms" which the philosophic tradition gave to man.

But philosophy also promised more. Out of these forms evolved other compensatory ideal values. In order to gratify deep instinctive desires, philosophy expounded the preservation of individuality by the means of "immortality" and "freedom." Fear, which made the gods, made also the immortality of man. Professor Kallen considers it most probable that the fear of death, at least among civilized peoples, springs from unsatisfied hunger of the living rather than a condition of the dead, who, alive would have satisfied this hunger. The will for self-expression, obstructed in the world, conceives the souls potentialities as actualized in immortality.

A few words on the "freedom of the will" by Professor Kallen, who thinks this last value-form may be the inspirational basis of all the other forms.

"The primal significance of the ideal 'freedom of the will,' he says, 'has been obscured by the Christian controversy of its problem of 'freewill' and the entanglement of this ideal with the notion of 'responsibility.' [For the Ancients the free man and the 'wise man' were identical, and the wise man was one who in all had so mastered the secrets of the universe that there was no desire of that which was not actually realized, no wish the satisfaction of which was obstructed. No freedom and wisdom in this sense is never a fact, and ever a value. . . . Freedom, then, is an ideal that could have arisen only in the face of obstruction to action directed toward the fulfilling and satisfying of interests. It is the assurance of the smooth and uninterrupted flow of behavior; the flow of desire and fulfillment, of thought into deed, of act into fact. It is perhaps the most pervasive and fundamental of all desiderata (compensatory ideals), and in a definite way the others may be said to derive from it and to realize it. For the soul's immortality, the world's unity and spirituality and eternity, are but conditions which facil-

tate and assure the flow of life without obstruction. . . ."

It is any proof necessary that these value-forms are not the contents of daily life? . . . In fact, experience as it comes from moment to moment is got one, harmonious and orderly, but multifold, discordant, and chaotic. Its stuff is not spirit, but stones and railway wrecks and volcanoes and Mexico and submarines and trenches, and fright-fulness, and disease, and waters, and trees, and stars, and mud. It is not eternal, but changes from instant to instant and from season to season. Actually, men do not live forever; death is a fact, and immortality is literally as well as philosophic discourse not so much an aspiration for the eternity of life as an aspiration for the elimination of death, purely immortality (not death). Actually the will is not free, each interest encounters obstruction, no interest is completely satisfied, all are ultimately cut off by death.

"Such are the general features of all human experience, by age unwithered, and with infinite variety forever installed. The traditional philosophic treatment of them is to deny their reality, and to call them 'appearance,' and to satisfy the egoic human interest which they oppose and repress, reconstruct an imaginative world of generalized value-forms and then to eulogize the reconstruction with the epithet 'reality.'"

We live in an age of transition and "idealism" philosophy; traditional or modern is in full career towards disintegration because the social situation out of which it arose is passing away. Only among those to whom the fruits of labor come spontaneously without labor or knowledge of productive processes: only among them and their parasite or servile following does it still linger on as fit apologies for the great game of "something out of nothing." Modern science, its method and the result of its labors in all fields of knowledge, perhaps most notably in biology, together with the application of scientific knowledge for useful ends known as technology, in the mechanistic process of modern production since the industrial revolution, are influences which are moving progressively forward to complete control of the mind of the coming age. The circle of those coming under these influences grows ever wider and wider, and those affected by them possess a range of principles and preconceptions utterly alien to the metaphysical fundamentals of both religion and "idealist" philosophy.

In a future issue, I may deal with the nature of the principles and preconceptions induced by the new social situation, and with the outlook on and social phenomena held by those whose minds are possessed by them. C. S.

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# The Gap

SOME speakers and writers often refer to the "great gap" that exists between civilized man and our barbarian progenitors. They point to our great buildings, then to the hut of grass and boughs, or the tent of skins used by savages and barbarians. They tell of the precarious existence and violent life of early man, with its limited methods of acquiring food, and his blood feuds; of his abject superstition and his narrow outlook, and then point to the wonderful progress made in developing new sources of food supply, and the complicated machines used to day in the production of wealth. They also elaborate in glowing terms on our artistic outlook and the discoveries of science.

It seems a long stretch between us and early man, but let us scratch away a little of the veneer of civilization, and we will find how closely related we are in our mental outlook.

While we may understand something of thunder, earthquakes, or the movements of the solar system, a large number still hold that even the movements of planets, and the operation of the elements, are under the control of a supreme being or an all-powerful will, while legal philosophy, I believe, describes earthquakes and storms at sea as "acts of God."

If we look with contempt at the savage's devotion to fetiches, or his practice of human sacrifice, we would do well to remember that no Roman Catholic church is complete until it has beneath its altar some fetich in the shape of the bones of a long dead saint, and the offerings of these persons abound in the churches and temples, and pilgrimages are made to shrines in various parts of the world for the miraculous cure of sickness. Catholics regularly sacrifice their god, and then eat him in the mass, or eucharist. Puritans partake of communion to commemorate the sacrifice and to get close contact with their deity.

Those who want a fuller idea of the origin of ceremonial cannibalism, will find the subject dealt with in an interesting manner by Grant Allen in the essays on "The Worship of Death," contained in the collection of writings bearing the title "The Hand of God."

As to the violent life of the barbarians, it is not necessary to do more than point to the slaughter during the war just completed. If we needed more illustrations of violence in present day society, we could find them plenty by looking at the huge numbers of workers continually being maimed and killed in "peaceful" industry through the lack of safety appliances. In passing, we might note that we still owe all the honors and decorations to fighting men, or at least to those who command the fighting men, and let many inventors and artists die in poverty and obscurity.

Looking at the implements by which men procure their living, we might say that the gap between the savage and ourselves is wide indeed, but it can be bridged by tracing the development of the crooked digging stick used by the first horticulturalists, to the tractor of modern farms.

Similarly the great plants with complex machines turning out hundreds of autos per week, are linked directly to the race of barbarians who learned to smelt iron ore, and whose in turn are connected with much earlier savages who discovered the art of making fire.

The voyages of Columbus and other discoverers could not have taken place, had not the despised savage made a dug-out canoe, from which our "floating palaces" have developed.

Almost every step of the march has been met by bitter opposition and oppression from those in unmarked territory, the men who first learned to throw spears, were accused of stirring up demons, while many of us can remember that a few years ago some people said that if God had intended us to win wings, he would have provided us with wings. When in recent times the locomotive was first used, it

was described as "work of the devil, so to-day the Socialist is \_\_\_\_\_ with trying to overthrow civilization."

True enough, the life of early man was precarious, he had to subsist largely on what nature provided ready-made, but there are ominous signs that the coming winter will find many a face to face with privation, and cases of death from starvation are common enough. In periods of prosperity we are slowly poisoned by heavily adulterated food, something totally unknown to primitive peoples.

Floods and droughts caused famines in past ages. Today, so much has the machinery of wealth production and the organization of industry been improved, that we are largely independent of climatic conditions.

A comparatively small percentage of society can, in addition to providing—after a fashion—for their own wants, produce a surplus to feed and clothe an army of parasites, such as soldiers, policemen, preachers, politicians, flunkies, etc., as well as keep in luxury the small ruling class of capitalists.

With all this power of production the vast majority of us are not certain of our livelihood from day to day.

The gigantic and complicated machinery by which modern society produces its sustenance cannot be owned by individuals as was the digging stick or bow and arrow of our forefathers, or the small hand tools of the medieval artisan.

All history shows us that the products of labor go to the owner of the instruments of labor. The ownership of the means of production of today is in the hands of a comparatively small group, and to them therefore go the products of the labor of the rest of society—hence the uncertainty of our livelihood and the misery and poverty that is the lot of most of us.

Here we will also find the basic cause for wars, for repression in India and Ireland, and for the violence used against Socialists in well-nigh every country but Soviet Russia.

Our propaganda calls for the ownership of the products of labor by the whole of society, so that the products of labor shall belong to all.

This change accomplished, we shall be assured a plentiful supply of life's necessities, and our mental vision widened by the removal of obstacles to learning, we will at last be in a position immeasurably superior to that of our primitive ancestors.

W. H. C.

## Mobilization For The Class Struggle

WHILST the war was on it was quite common to be sagely told by casual acquaintances that we were living in great times and that those who emerged from the Great War would see great changes. Most of these comments were the reflections, gravenly repeated as opinions, that had been galled from the magazines and newspapers. Nationalizing of industries and greater freedom for the common run of mankind were assumed on the basis that the war was for Democracy.

It was waged for Democracy, but what democracy meant is only just now dawning on the great mass. Democracy is business, and business has to be democratic in its own peculiar way, which means freedom to buy and sell. The workers, being warring for purchase and sale must of necessity be subject to the influence of business democracy and their freedom can permit them to seek the most favorable market for the disposal of their energies. To know that all such markets are controlled by others who are also champions of freedom should quite naturally appeal to those who fought for this principle. Having triumphed for

(Continued on page 8.)

## The Glorious Fourth

THE 4th of July was a beautiful day. I mean the weather.

The bourgeoisie turned to their golf, or went to the mountains. Like wise men, they fled from the rotten inferno called cities, from the noise, racket, and glare, to cool green shades, inviting streams, with none but the birds to bear them witness, and played or fished, or just rested from the grind of business.

Not so the proletariat. They do not know how to rest, or they have perverted ideas of the same.

They crowded every flat-wheeled street car, and with the patience of their kind hung on to straps, shifted the babies from one arm to the other, sweated and waited—Job like—for the end. They were going to see the parade.

In the city the streets were lined with them all craning their necks, and straining their eyes to get the first glimpse.

Presently it came into view. A line of heavy footed policemen led, chewing stolidly, and trying to make as military an appearance as possible.

Their presence was no doubt necessary too, as some misguided patriot might try reading the historic declaration with its rolling periods: "All men are created free and equal," and so forth.

There are individuals who have tried it, quite ignoring the difference of time and place. But the police knew how to handle them. Then came a band, leading a company of serious faced militiamen, with their rifles at the shoulder, and their gaze straying to the police quip often.

It should be noted that the blue-coats had threatened a strike a few days before.

More solemn faced men, flags galore, cheers from the sweating proletariat. Hats off occasionally as the great joy was carried by. Enthusiastic applause when the bear-skin hats, and spears coated and killed warriors swept proudly along.

Something different. An agreeable brain shock. Two or three auto loads of innocent childhood; sanctimonious slaves at the wheel; inscriptions on the sides: "First Presbyterian Bible Class. We stand for Christian Patriotism."

Four victims—so young, and full of possibilities.

Then came the real thing. Decorated cars, with pretty maidens, and samples of the advertised wares.

"Try Money Bags Macaroni!" "Have you used Grafters' Gum Drops!" "Patronize Home Industry. Buy, Buy, Buy."

There was the outstanding feat of the celebration. All the idealistic patriotism, the loud shouting and parading of the Sacred Fourth, degraded as all other one-time noble sentiments have been, to a mere boasting or booming of this or that commodity.

The slave still retains his sentiments; it furnishes a relief, a relaxation, from this daily grind. But his master!

One motto will serve him: "What is there in it for me?"

The parade was gone. The cars were again changing and groaning along, pecked to the stop with the usual long suffering, god-natured freight, bound to the park for this afternoon. There to lie on the grass till the evening, drinking pop, chewing pop-corn, peanuts, sandwiches, pie and other hold-overs.

Then, afterwards, the same scurrambling rush to get a "teeloh" for the ride home.

Sleepy tired men and women, crying children, all sure they had spent a happy day.

Back for a final night's slumber, broken too early by the alarm clock's dismal din. Back to the factory, to produce more wealth for the boss to appropriate and advertise. And proud, no doubt, of the "independence" they so fittingly celebrated.

## MOBILIZATION FOR THE CLASS STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 7.)

this principle what has become of the great changes predicted? Those who shouted the most about them are the most anxious to hold back. "Wait and see" is now the cry of those who were before crying "Carry on." It is obvious the basis of freedom has changed since those days. Great changes are in view but not in the way originally assumed.

As the standard of freedom falls from the hands of the capitalist class in order that they may hold aloft the true banner of their class interests, "Repression," the new standard is unfurled for freedom, and as the eyes of the people look upward to see this flag that now challenges all the forces of repression they see that it is Red. The battle of Democracy is on, and it is this struggle that is ushering in the great change. Behind this Red Flag is being mustered the Iron Battalions of Industrial Democracy and their cry is now "Carry On." The great recruiting expert, General Economic Conditions, has not his equal in any period of history, and his mobilization orders are being carried out day and night. The battle ground is vast, but in every area the forces are preparing and the drilling is so unconscious to many that they do not realize that the Class War is on. No sound of cannon is heard, except in the skirmish on the Russian front, and occasional manoeuvres arising over the conditions prevailing amongst various units of this great army. Trained experts in the Class Struggle are watching all movements and some of them are held captive in the dungeon of the enemy. The spies of the enemy are active in all quarters, but as all those forces are coming into being openly in the sight of their masters their services are useless. No sensational posters promise the impossible. The possible is the objective—the ownership and control of the means of life.

Has General Economic Conditions appealed to you?  
H. W.

## Literature Price List

- Communist Manifesto. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.  
Wage-Labor and Capital. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$2.00.  
The Present Economic System. (Prof. W. A. Bongers). Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.  
Capitalist Production. (First Nine and 32nd Chapters, "Capital," Vol. I. Marx). Paper, single copies, 50c; cloth, single copies, \$1.00; cloth, 10 copies, 75c each.  
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.  
Slave of the Farm. Single copies, 10c; 25 copies, \$1.50.  
Manifesto, S. P. of C., single copy, 10 cents; 25 copies, \$1.50.  
Red Europe. (F. Anstey, M.P.). Single copies, 50c. Ten copies or more 30c each.  
The Story of the Evolution of Life. (T. F. Palmer). Single copies, 10c.  
Evolution of Man. (Prof. Boische). Single copies, 20c; 25 copies, \$3.75.  
The Nature and Uses of Sabotage (Prof. T. Veblen). Single copies 5 cents, 25 copies \$1.  
Ten Days that Shook the World. (John Reed). Per copy, \$2.00.  
The Criminal Court Judge, and The Odd Trick (E. B. Bax). Single copies, 5 cents; per 25 copies, 75c.  
Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen), 55c per copy.  
Ancient Society (Lewis H. Morgan).—\$2.65.  
Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (F. Engels).....30c  
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)—Single copies, 15c; 25 copies, \$3.25.  
Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy (Engels).....30c  
Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.  
Introduction to Sociology (Arthur M. Lewis), \$1.75.  
W. A. Frychard's Address to Jury, 25 cents per copy.

(All above post free.)

## Anent the "Clarion."

THERE has been some little criticism, lately, regarding the clarity of the matter appearing in these columns. Such criticism is quite in order. With an open mind on all subjects, we are perfectly satisfied to apply to all subjects the acid test of logical reason.

We do not shun, or ignore, criticism—especially such criticism. For if, as is alleged, the matter published in the CLARION, is beyond the comprehension of the worker, then to continue writing and issuing such, were the height of folly. We do not appear in print (as has been mildly suggested) for show purposes. We have an entirely different goal in view, and, as far as the light within us will permit, we steer for that goal, with an earnestness of desire, and a doggedness of purpose, which we would gladly see spread over a goodlier company—critics included. That goal is the education of the workers in the fundamentals of social organization.

One objector has stated that it would be easier and wiser to refer the student to the masters on sociology. I agree that it would be easier—and that is the course most of us follow. Whether it is wiser is a question of relationship—the decision of which does not rest with us. If the average worker does not care to put forth an effort to understand the "Clarion"—which is simple and general, what reason is there to suppose he will wrestle with the masters who are abstruse and particular? If his intelligence collapses before a definition of a straight line, how will he fare when he faces an equation of Marx?

Herein lies our main issue with the critics.

The CLARION is not an organ critical of this or that phase or epoch of society and its development. Its purpose is not even primarily to show the worker his class position in capitalist society.

Indeed the CLARION cannot do so. The aim of the CLARION is to educate the workers correctly, and as diffusely as possible, on the essentials of social organization; to point out the evolution of society from age to age; to demonstrate the causes productive of such vital changes, and reveal the laws through which those causes operate. The knowledge thus gained, becomes the key to the mysteries of capitalism—to unravel the complexities and discords; its inequalities of class and wealth. When the understanding of the worker is clear on that evolution, and his interpretation of those causes correct, he will, at the same time, clearly grasp the meaning and operation of contemporary society, and abundantly realize his slave status in its vaunted democracy. Then, but not till then.

The idea that the worker is a slave in modern society, is by no means a self-evident proposition. It is, on the contrary, the conclusion of a long and patient analysis, not merely of one society or epoch, but of all known forms and times. And the study of prior social forms was necessary, to give the clue to the secrets of social transition, just as only a clear comprehension of the present can indicate the trend of the future. It has been said—something ineptly—that all the worker requires to know to attain his freedom is, that he is a slave, and that he is exploited at the point of production. Quite true. But, under present day circumstances, with capitalist dominance in all fields of activity, in all channels and sources of information, the matter appears as a mere result of various efficient causes, and finally drifts off into the cloud mists of idealist reform.

The understanding of the fundamental is, therefore, of first importance. For, just as phenomena, in whatever branch of science, are correlated in unbroken sequences of causation, and utterly unintelligible in isolation, so the phenomena of the body politic can only be interpreted in terms of its essential fundament, and comprehended, alone, through the nexus of cause and effect.

Always has man followed the vagary of detail; always has he been baffled by the illusion. Prim-

itive man found many languages, and explained them by the phantasy of Babel. Primitive man observed the sun circling across the heavens, and gave us geocentric cosmogonies. By lake and plain, primitive man marked his dodging shadow, and conceived the principle of duality. He found himself adrift in the mysterious spirit land, and laid the bounds for the ghastly tragedies of religious sacrifice. Man watched the wandering stars, and said they were impelled by spirits. Man saw the falling body and accounted its fall to its weight. He stated the theory of air pressure by saying that nature abhors a vacuum. He alleged that the universe was static, and men have rotted in dungeons, for doubting it. Wiseacres in the British parliament argued that a railroad train was an impossibility, and endeavored to impede the irresistible march of social progress. And all of them were wrong. Wrong, not because they were fools and blind, but because they lacked knowledge on the fundamentals that are essential to establish a true conclusion.

It is because of this human peculiarity to chase shadows, to regard phenomena in isolation, that we are compelled to go over the course of social evolution, in our endeavor to educate the proletariat to social understanding. We must show that social conditions change, not because of idealistic inspiration, but because of the social dialectic of production, since it is impossible to convince society through the aftermath of developed detail. We must make the ground plan of the social fabric clear or the superstructure cannot stand. Surely the last five years have proven that beyond cavil. The powers of state, the sagas of tradition; immemorial custom, and class desire; idealist schooling,—even social sentiment, are all lined against us, all deny us a hearing, all thrust aside the material realities of determinism. Therefore must we wait and explain, wait till the mills of the machine age drive society to foredoomed revolution.

Not the CLARION and its scribes which will bring revolution, but the social forces capitalistically developed to their fullest expansion. Not the CLARION that can educate the proletariat as to its degradation, but the utter destruction of class sentiment, of inherited tradition and false philosophies, through the powerlessness of capital to render to society even its necessities. But the CLARION may soothe the sufferings of society in travail. Its message may be as oil on the stormy seas of transition, and the bread we are now casting on the waters may return to us again.

In conclusion, let us say, the columns of the CLARION are open to all who care to expound the philosophy of Socialism, to all who welcome the advent of social society. Their co-operation is invited. They will be received with open arms, and their exemplars will meet with an hospitality to be found in no other publication.

All speed to their pens; all power to their efforts.

## RUSSIAN PRISONERS.

The daily press announced on the 26th July, that the 15 Russians held in Westminster under the charge of belonging to an illegal organization were to be deported to Vladivostok via the Pacific route on the 29th. The following telegram has been received in reply to ours—

Ottawa, Ont., July 28.—E. MacLeod, Vancouver, B. C. Replying your wire Minister Justice Department has been negotiating to secure guarantee of safe conduct of deportees to Eastern Russian territory. As matter not yet arranged to our satisfaction deportation has been delayed until we assured safe conduct arranged. W. D. SCOTT.

## NOTICE

The postal address of the Alberta Provincial Executive Committee has been changed from Box 786, to 10015—3rd Street. Address Committee, F. Maguire, Secretary.