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# WESTERN CLARION

Official Organ of

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

HISTORY  
ECONOMIC  
PHILOSOPHY

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## Where Are We At?

### ALBERTA NOTES

BY F. CUSACK.

A demonstration of the "new leadership" in action was recently staged in Calgary, the unemployed being used as "political fodder" in the tactical operation known as the "united front of Labor," which front (swamp is a more appropriate term), locally at least, advances the interests of that confusionist agglomeration known as the Labor Party, the representatives of petty shopkeepers and workmen who aspire to become rich via the real estate route.

A short time previous to the municipal elections, the Labor aldermen in the city council (with one exception) supported a resolution refusing relief work to single unemployed, or married men without families, whether residents of the city or not. Three of the labor aldermen who supported the resolution came before the workers for re-election to the city council. Here was an opportunity for the party which continually objugates us to consider the unemployed as being entitled to the right to live, work, full maintenance (at trade union rates) and various other "rights" too numerous to mention, to put in operation its avowed policy of "a synthesis of theoretical Marxism with revolutionary practise," a high ideal, we concede, not to mention the obligation imposed by the famous 21 points, to "expose yellow labor leaders."

In no field of human endeavour is comparison between glorious promise and pitiable performance so odious as in the barren one of labor reformism. Did the "party of the masses" rush resolutely to denounce the betrayers of the unemployed, the labor aldermen seeking re-election? No! Nothing so rash. Would you suggest that the united front be imperilled by such "impossibilist tactics"?

On the contrary, the victims of the resolution were organized, disciplined and "instructed" to distribute election dodgers exhorting all and sundry to "vote the entire Labor slate." The labor aldermen were re-elected. Now the unemployed affected by the action of the labor statesmen whom they helped to re-elect are petitioning those individuals to "do something" for them. The labor statesmen reply that the "people" approved of their policy by the fact of their re-election. Leadership evidently moves in mysterious ways, its wonders to perform.

The Rev. Wm. Irvine, M.P., delivered a lecture at the Forum on "The Race Between Knowledge and Disaster." We were told that we were now in the "midst of the Social Revolution." In Mr. Irvine's book, "The Farmer in Politics," published some two years ago, the author wrote that "Canada was on the verge of a bloody revolution." If the revolution we are now in the midst of is the bloody one we were on the verge of two years ago it is the most remarkable revolution ever; even the purveyors of "all the news that's fit to print" have not even discovered a "bum" explosion. All is not over with the bourgeoisie. There is still hope. There is still corn in Egypt. The revolution we are "now in the midst of" can be stayed in its fell course by the adoption of a "new credit system": Major Douglas's *for* instance. (Bankers please note).

Amidst this welter of confusion we are forced to

state our position as follows, so that those who read may understand if in the mood to do so.

This manifesto is issued by Local No. 86, S. P. of C., Calgary, Alta.

### WHERE ARE WE AT?

ARE you one of the few that are satisfied with present conditions?

If you are tear this up: but if not, do you understand them?

Do you find it hard to make both ends meet?

Again: do you know why it is so hard to make a living

Is security and comfort the lot of working men like yourself?

If not, do you think workers are entitled to them?

Are you getting any benefit from improvements made since you were a boy, by science and invention?

Are you unemployed, or likely to be?

Did you go to the war? If you did, are you better off than the fellow who did not?

Were your affairs considered at the Peace Conference?

What is the Labor Movement? and has it been successful?

In a word—are there any problems worth while thinking about, and, can they be solved?

### Past Effort and Achievement

Discontent and uncertainty are found in all parts of the world. Working men in every capitalist country are in the same degraded, poverty-stricken condition. Liberal, Conservative and Farmer parties alternately gain majorities in Parliament.

In civic administration, mayors come and go. Strike follows strike. Wage agreements follow wage agreements. Peace follow war, and war follows peace. Bad times follow good times, with disheartening repetition. Unions struggle with alternate success and failure for higher wages and better conditions, but: Where are we at?

What real achievements have we got to show for our endeavour to make living conditions better?

The efforts of the workers at organization have been tremendous: the achievement NIL,—except bitter experience.

Working men are in essentially the same position today that they were in 100 years ago.

Working men have followed this, that or the other political leader, have put their faith in this, that or the other promise; always with the same result: betrayal.

Shall we benefit by that experience? If so, what does that experience teach us?

Does it not teach us this:—

That every effort to gain "something now" by the "safe, sane and practical methods of reformers, or the antiquated tactics adopted by trade unions, with their narrow craft outlook, or through the lavish promises of political job-seekers, have proved a miserable failure.

England, the classical land of reform, a land wherein trade union organization has reached its

apex, affords a most striking illustration of our contentment.

There unemployment has reached an unparalleled degree; real wages are lower than they were before 1914; the cost of living has almost doubled; degradation and misery is the lot of the workers.

What is the reason for this ever-increasing misery?

The answer is to be sought in the Capitalist mode of production, whereby a small class owns the land, machinery, mines and all the natural resources—the property-owning class.

On the other hand stands the mass of workers, propertyless, their only means of gaining a livelihood being the sale of their labor power for wages.

All the products of labor belong to the Capitalist class, with the exception of the pitiful pittance doled out to the workers in the form of wages.

Through the introduction of machinery and the consequent competition for jobs amongst the propertyless workers, wages remain at the lowest possible subsistence level.

This is a point of view rarely considered by reformers, trade union leaders, et al., who hold that the conditions of the workers can be bettered under Capitalism.

With all the reform measures striven for and accomplished: The Old Age Pension Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Minimum Wage Law, the various Factory Acts, Wage Agreements between masters and workers, Prohibition, to say nothing of the Uplift,—the great problem of getting the essentials of life with certainty and security remains unsolved. As a matter of fact, workers are fleeing from countries which have "Reform legislation" on a large scale, to countries like the U. S. A. which has but few such reforms.

The future is blacker than ever, despite the assurance of our forward-lookers, right-thinkers, sunshine-brokers, professional boosters and prophets of the "Prosperity Around the Corner" type.

Now, can the great problem be solved?

There are many parties and organizations attempting that solution. But there is only one party in this country that recognizes the worthlessness of reform—the Socialist Party of Canada.

The Socialist Party of Canada holds that:—

Success to working class efforts can only be attained by correct action.

Correct action can be taken only if the problems affecting the working class are recognized and solved.

Working class problems can only be solved if the nature of modern civilization is understood.

The solution of working class problems is the task of the working class,—no lawyers, parsons, generals or journalists can do this for them.

The working class needs more than enthusiasm and courage, or leaders,—it needs knowledge. Ignorant it is helpless.

In everyday life, commonsense recognizes knowledge to be necessary to practical success. When we need a tooth examined we go to a dentist, who knows about teeth,—not to a blacksmith. But if we

(Continued on page 3)

# Propaganda on the Prairies

BY CHAS. LESTOR

## FOREWORD.

The year 1922 was a busy one for yours truly. The first six months I was spreading propaganda in the Old Country. I left England on the 2nd June; spent five weeks in Winnipeg speaking during the Provincial Election campaign there, helping Com. Geo. Armstrong, S. P. of C. candidate. After that, one week of propaganda in Calgary. Arrived in Vancouver early in August. Spoke on the street corner of Carrall and Cordova Streets every fine night until I started on the propaganda tour outlined below. I have heard a great deal of talk about action. Don't know whether this constitutes action or not.—but it keeps me busy.

I left Vancouver on the 27th of October and arrived in Kamloops early the following morning. Comrade Orchard met me at the station and took me immediately to the home of Comrade McNab. We held a meeting at night which was successful from every point of view. Mr. and Mrs. McNab did all they possibly could to make my stay a pleasant one and I was sorry when Sunday morning came and I had to leave this hospitable neighbourhood. There are some good comrades in Kamloops and I hope it won't be long before I have the pleasure of meeting them again.

I arrived in Calgary a couple of days ahead of time but I got fixed up at the abode of Bob Emery who looked after me when in town and took care of my literature, etc., while I was speaking in the small towns in the locality. The first place I went to in Alberta was Swallow and here I found an old timer in the movement in the person of Comrade Beagrie. He had a meeting all fixed up and although some religious outfit had a chicken supper on we had a good crowd, and everything passed off well. Comrade Beagrie is holding it down practically alone in Swallow. He is one of those steady reliable comrades upon whom we can always depend. I stayed at his place for the night, and he and his wife explained to me the farmer's position as it applied to them. As they have been farming for many years and reading the Clarion all the time they were able to provide me with good material for propaganda. The next morning I left for Trochu and was met at the station by Comrade Macpherson. Macpherson is a neck or nothing red. He has a car of a proletarian cut and he daily takes desperate chances. He never stops for ruts, fences or anything else. After a meal in a Chinese restaurant he took me eighteen miles to his home. He then whisked me eighteen miles back again to a meeting in Trochu which was held in a garage. The meeting was all right, but after it was over he shot me home again, another eighteen miles. This distance, of course, is nothing over ordinary roads and with a careful driver, but I was in the air most of the time and the only thing that Mac troubled about after every deep hole was to make sure I was still in the car. He never cared about which end up I was. I addressed three meetings in this neighbourhood and had the pleasure of meeting Comrades Bigelow and Smith, together with their wives. I also met Comrade Erwin. Mrs. Macpherson and the other ladies did all they could do to make me comfortable and I owe them much. I found the farmers here were beginning to understand that Capitalism held no hope for them. The Comrades in this district have been working faithfully and I hope my visit was of some assistance. The wives of the comrades here are faithful supporters of the cause and even the children are lining up in the right direction. The weather was now beginning to get cold and some of the journeys we had made were of considerable length. It is not the speaking that troubles the propagandist on these trips, but the travelling. You can imagine going twenty miles to a meeting in the bitter cold and then finding about a dozen people in a school house. The place is lighted by a miserable oil lamp. If you want a glass of water it seems to take an hour's work to get it because it has frequently to be fetched from a distance. The only compensating feature is that the farmers are good listeners. They don't

care how long the meeting last and, in the main, pay strict attention to all you say.

After leaving Trochu I went back to Calgary, and on the Sunday addressed two meetings there; one in the open forum and the other in the Empress theatre. Ambrose Tree was my chairman at the evening meeting which, for some reason or other, was only poorly attended.

The next day I took the train for Hanna and there met Comrade Roberts. This Comrade is young but has already developed considerably and gives promise of becoming an able propagandist. It was here in Hanna where I first met Comrade John Egge who afterwards did so much towards making the tour a success. His kindness and persistent effort are beyond praise. The S. P. of C. has been able to keep going owing to the fact that its clear cut propaganda attracts to it men of his calibre. There is a young Russian in Hanna who recently arrived there from the Ukraine. This individual was raised in the same village as Machno, the anarchist peasant. Comrade Ben Dworkin introduced me to him and acted as interpreter. I obtained some interesting details of the stirring events that recently took place in Ukraine. Two meetings were held in Hanna. The attendance was small but this was not the fault of the Comrades who did their best. The weather handicapped us and in one instance we had our meeting sabotaged. Comrade Richardson and Roberts looked well after me and I wish to thank Mrs. Richardson and Mrs. Roberts for making me so comfortable.

I went from Hanna to Stanmore and arrived there in the small hours of the morning. Comrade Burton was standing on the platform and immediately like a sensible man took me to his house and without unnecessary conversation sent me to bed. The next morning I met Comrade Donaldson and he had arranged three meetings in the neighbourhood which were all successful. Comrade Donaldson is a valuable member of the party. He is one of the level-headed men who can perceive what is necessary and do it. He is a source of inspiration to those of his neighbours who are seeking the light. I found around Stanmore some of the most delightful people I have ever met. Mrs. Burton is a well informed woman and can converse intelligently upon many subjects. Mr. Donaldson and many others take a keen interest in the movement. The general atmosphere around Stanmore is of a stimulating character and the seed sown here by the old propagandists of the S. P. of C. is ripening and will soon be ready for reaping. The audiences here could immediately grasp any point and this showed more than anything else could that the educator had been at work.

From Stanmore on to Youngstown, and here I found O'Brien's footprints. Charlie was here many years ago and his visit is still remembered. I had picked up Comrade Dworkin on the train and Comrade Wiertz who was waiting to receive me took us and introduced us to his daughters who are going to school in Youngstown. Comrade Wiertz and myself then went out to the Homestead about seventeen miles away. It was early morning when we arrived and I was dog-tired. The first meeting we held started at one o'clock in the morning. It happened in this way. R. Gardiner, M.P., had arranged to address a meeting and our meeting was to follow. Gardiner started at 9 p.m. and spoke three hours. Then we had supper and I started. Some interruption took place but we came out all right. The cause was an Englishwoman who left her country for her country's good and didn't know it. I stayed at the house of Comrades Wiertz, Hughes and Stopps. The treatment I received at the hands of the ladies was of the best. I was sick here for a few hours; the strain was beginning to tell. I am pleased to say that I managed to deliver the lectures arranged for me. I

also met here Mr. and Mrs. McClosky who attended two of my meetings. Traces were to be observed of the work done by Frank Cassidy both here and in Execl. The position of the farmer in this neighbourhood is bad indeed and he is good material for propaganda. The illusions are all dispelled and he feels and knows his position. In days gone by a speech by Alf. Budden would cause an audience of farmers to foam with rage; now his most caustic comments would be received with approbation. The farmers are being forced to take a revolutionary stand. Large numbers of them don't know which way to turn; they don't own a thing and many would leave their farms but they haven't the wherewithal to enable them to purchase clothes decent enough to travel in. It is hard indeed for the women, and we may expect a steady support from some of these from now on.

From Youngstown to Execl and after a meeting there to Seal. The meetings I addressed around here were all satisfactory. Comrade Hansen and Jorgensen are doing their bit. The audiences were attentive. The Comrades here are active and intelligent. Seal is in the neighbourhood of twenty miles from Execl and it was a trying journey in the bitter cold weather. This is a Hell of a country. I stayed at the house of Comrade Jorgensen and had every care and attention. I did my best to arouse an interest in the proposition whilst in Seal and I hope the results will be good. The comrades here deserve success. They are a credit to the party. After leaving Seal I was taken to Execl station and had to wait four hours. We arrived at midnight. The station was being painted and the waiting room was full of paint cans. The stove was red hot. It was 10 below outside and a slight wind blowing. When I couldn't stand the smell of the paint any longer I went outside. When I was about frozen solid I went in and thawed out. I have had the taste of paint in my mouth ever since.

The socialist propagandist has many faults, but some of these should be pardoned on account of the great woes he struggles through. I went back again to Calgary and spoke on the Sunday following at the Empress Theatre. The Municipal campaign was on and the wreckage of the Wreckers Party were trying to line up the slaves in support of a renegade red posing as the Labour candidate for mayor. The meeting at the Empress Theatre resulted in the policy of the S. P. of C. being understood and appreciated by many who, for the first time in their existence, realised that the reformer in whatever guise he may appear is an ally of the enemy. The wire-pullers who periodically launch new parties in order to occupy the lime light and bask in the sunshine of wage-slave ignorance are likely to pull off another stunt before long. What next I wonder? Comrade Dworkin and his family were extremely kind to me during my stay in Calgary as were also Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Emery. I can never repay them for their kindness and hospitality. In this, "the winter of our discontent," propaganda is made possible as a result of the sacrifices of unknown comrades, and it is well that their contributions to the cause should be recorded.

Everywhere I went men and women put themselves to all kinds of inconvenience to try and make me comfortable. The men are sometimes a little thoughtless and want you to talk too much, but the women wait until the time is opportune before they ask questions. The questions of both sexes are often about the comrades: Where is so and so? What is he doing? What sort of a man is so and so? Is he married? Sid Earp's contributions to the Clarion are eagerly scanned because they give a little news. I am not making any suggestions as to how the Clarion should be run or advocating any alteration in its makeup. I am simply giving my experience

and pointing out the fact that the reds on the prairies are anxious for news of each other and information for them is often hard to obtain.

After Calgary I went to Medicine Hat and on the Tuesday night spoke at the City Hall. Considering that meetings were being held all over the city and the municipal elections were pending, we had a good audience. I spoke by request on Unemployment and the next day the local press gave us a column. The next stop was Seven Persons and here I made the acquaintance of Wiley Orr. This Comrade has a sound knowledge of the proposition and is a tower of strength to the movement in this part of the country. We had a fine little meeting at Seven Persons. I then went forward to Whitla and there met Polinkos. We held one meeting in the town and he took me out to the farm where his wife and two children live. Polinkos is an Hungarian and Mrs. Polinkos a Russian. They are proletarians of a fine type and did all they possibly could to make my visit a pleasant one. Comrade Polinkos could not understand, however, why I refused to speak at a dance. The Socialist propaganda is too serious to deliver as a side show at a dance. If they are not willing to put off their dance for a lecture they are not worth talking to. We held another at the town beyond Whitla and after that I went back again to Medicine Hat where I spoke once more in the City Hall; this time on "The International Situation." We had a fine little crowd and I believe we shall have good results from this quarter. We also got another column in the local paper. I found a good type of red around here and desire to thank Mr. and Mrs. Allen Clark, Mr. and Mrs. Vosen, Comrade Lewis and a host of others for their assistance and hospitality. They certainly did their bit. Comrade Ronald of Fiske had sent down \$20, the fare from Medicine Hat to where he lives and I had to take the train back to Calgary and from there to Fiske. It was a long journey and I was glad when it was over. I held two meetings in Fiske both sparsely attended but this was not the fault of Comrade Ronald. He is a young man with a future and his whole heart is in the cause. Although only 21 he is reading the right stuff and I expect to hear much of him later. His father is also under no illusions. He has a shrewd mind and is a deep student of social problems. I stayed at Ronald's home and here as everywhere the treatment was of the best. From Fiske I went to McGee and there met Pat Hunt. It is many years since Pat and I first met. He reminded me of the fact that when I toured this part of the country before twelve years ago my hair was jet black. He is now bald headed and is allowing his beard to grow for the winter. He looks like Gribble. He has been about 14 years farming and is worse than broke. When I was last in Zealandia Pat and I slept on the floor in Riley's house and sure enough after the meeting at McGee Pat and I found ourselves in a bed on the floor. It reminded us of the days of yore when we were young in the movement. Pat has now five children, the eldest being about eight. The revolution is wanted by this family right now. It can't come too soon for Pat or his wife either. We talked most of the night, our conversation being of old Comrades; Menzies who is now in New Zealand, O'Brien, Charlie Crook and many others, some of whom have crossed the great divide. Mrs. Hunt takes a keen interest in the movement and cheerfully plays her part. She desired news of the Old Country from which she originally came. We had a happy time together.

My next stopping place was East Anglia and although it is only about fifteen miles from Fiske it took me a whole day to get there as I had to wait in Rosetown. Comrade LaMarche who arranged this meeting is one of the best. Together with Comrade Douglas he upholds the cause of the proletariat against desperate odds. A man who has the courage to openly stand out as a red when it means ostracism is entitled to our respect. Comrade LaMarche works on the track six months in the year. He has a wife and family. His better half is a worthy helpmate to her husband. I was sorry I could not remain longer in their society. I sincerely hope that

my visit encouraged Comrade LaMarche and Douglas. I did my best and the meeting was a good one in every respect. This trip has made me feel very humble and insignificant. There are hundreds of men on these prairies who have dedicated their lives to the cause and faithfully keep the light of knowledge burning amidst the mental darkness that is everywhere around them. The Clarion is their guide, philosopher and friend, and the honor of the comrades who are to some extent before the public they are ready at any and all times to defend at any cost. To meet them is an inspiration and on this trip I have had that glorious privilege. May we all prove worthy of the respect and confidence that is reposed in us by these worthy comrades.

I now headed for Saskatoon and found that I had to wait 36 hours in Rosetown. There is no worse place on earth than a prairie town full of scissor-hills and Rosetown is in this category. When I arrived in Saskatoon the unemployed were having a meeting in the Trades Hall. I spoke to the out of works for about 20 minutes and then struck John Egge and we together went and hunted up J. P. Hansen late of Coleman and Prince George. After consulting with some supporters belonging to the O.B.U., we went and engaged the Bijou Theatre. The meeting was held on Xmas Eve and a blustering snowstorm undoubtedly kept many away who otherwise would have attended. In spite of this however we had a nice audience and everything passed off satisfactorily. The Saskatoon Phoenix put in about a column on the speech. John Egge, Hansen and some O.B.U. boys had to dig up in order to meet the expenses which the collection failed to cover. I spoke in the O.B.U. Headquarters on the Tuesday following and we had quite an interesting little meeting. I now found myself on the rocks financially but Cusaek of Calgary, the most useful man in Alberta, responded immediately to my signal of distress and at the most critical moment sent the five dollars that saved the revolution. May this be recorded to his everlasting credit. On the day following I went on to Humbolt and made my headquarters at the home of John Egge. John was at work when I arrived but Mrs. Egge welcomed me most heartily and his little daughter straight away adopted me as her playmate. I remained at Humbolt almost a week and was treated as an honored guest. We held a meeting in Humbolt town hall on the Sunday, and took a collection of over eight dollars. John acted as chairman. He was disappointed at the size of the crowd but I considered the turnout was good considering there had never been a socialist meeting held there previously. The hall cost \$10 and Comrade Egge generously made good the deficiency and also helped me on my way. The next stop was at Kamsack where John made arrangements for another meeting. Comrade Gunderson lives here and Egge's brother Lem who is also a good red. The ground around Kamsack has been well prepared for our propaganda and we had a fair meeting. The audience was smaller than it otherwise would have been owing to the fact that the doors were not open in time and many went away being under the impression that the meeting was off. Everything passed off well however and after bidding Lem Egge good bye I headed for Winnipeg. I had tried to get in touch with the boys at Dauphin but for some reason or other I failed to do so.

I arrived in Winnipeg on the seventh of January, and write this in the Socialist Headquarters. The trip has been a hard one, the hardest in my experience, and that is saying much. I have toured the prairies on three previous occasions, also Alaska and the Yukon, but this trip has taken more out of me than any previous one. I have had to contend with bad weather and have been handicapped by sickness which almost prostrated me on several occasions. In spite of this, however, I am pleased I made the effort. I have convinced myself of the fact that the S. P. of C. has behind it some of the finest men and women that the country can at present show, and if credit is due to anyone it is due to them. I have no complaints to make. Remember me kindly to all comrades whose acquaintance I recently made and whose friendship I hope to permanently enjoy.

If I have delivered the goods to their satisfaction I am content. What greater pleasure can come to an honest red than the approbation of class conscious comrades?

And of such is the S. P. of C.

### WHERE ARE WE AT?

(Continued from page 1)

have a horse that needs to be shod we seek the services of a blacksmith, who understands this trade,—not to a dentist or a grocer.

And so with our social problems. Only those who understand the causes underlying modern evils can find the way to combat those evils.

We must understand them in the same way that we understand the things we work at. There is no difference, however, which should be clearly understood, to wit:—

In social life it is to the interest of some—the rich—to keep working men (the poor) ignorant of social matters, because the rich benefit from the existing state of things, however much the workers suffer from them.

Many barriers are raised against working men learning to study their own social affairs, but there is one barrier that every worker has the power to surmount: the barrier of apathy.

Has the continued failure of unions and reform parties made you apathetic? If so, here is a movement worth your while—the Revolutionary movement. Yes.—The Revolutionary Socialist Movement.

Perhaps you smile, but: Do you know that:—

The Socialist Party of Canada told the workers of Canada long before 1914 that the war was inevitable?

Told the workers that the Peace would be of no benefit to them?

Explained the commercial system under which we live, therefore enabling workers to understand the causes of their troubles?

(1) The Socialist Party of Canada, therefore, enables you to understand Capitalism.

(2) It is consistent.

(3) Realizing that the emancipation of the workers must be brought about through the efforts of the workers themselves, it has never left the path of independence for the morass of alliances with reformist or pro-capitalist Labor Parties.

(4) Prior to the Great War 1914-1918, it refused to join the Second International on the ground that the Second International was dominated by anti-socialist organizations: The British Labor Party,—the German Social Patriots and others. The action of those organizations on the outbreak of the war, in rushing to the defense of their masters' countries completely justified our position in the matter.

(5) It is the only party in this country which has consistently tackled the herculean task of educating the workers to their position in capitalist society.

Learn more about the S. P. of C. It cannot lead you out of your misery; nobody can. But it will help you to understand the contradictions of modern capitalism and enable you, in co-operation with your fellow-workers, to help yourself.

Do not put your faith in so-called "great men" any longer. "The great are only great because we are on our knees."

Let us rise.

For information concerning the S. P. of C., apply to R. Burns, 134 A 9th Ave., W., Calgary, Alta.

Economic classes held every Thursday 8 p.m. above address.

### ALBERTA NOTES.

Alberta and Saskatchewan P. E. C. of the S. P. of C. Secretary, R. Burns, 134 A 9th Avenue, West, Calgary, Alberta.

Local Calgary. Same address as above. Business meetings every alternate Tuesday, 8 p.m. Study class in Economics every Thursday at 8 p.m. Correspondence from all parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan is earnestly invited from all comrades interested in the organizational and educational work of the Party, and attendance at the classes and interest in their development and usefulness will be welcomed.

# Western Clarion

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VANCOUVER, B. C. JANUARY 16, 1923.

S. O. S.

**C**LARION readers, being perspicacious folk, are better able than ordinary people to see a point of importance when it appears before them, particularly so when it concerns the Clarion itself.

Over the past year or so we have wheedled, cajoled, threatened,—all to the end that the pitiable state of Clarion finance might receive more serious attention; we would have used eloquence too had that been at our command.

With what result?

Well, the truth is that our income has not met expenditure. Our subscription list is not big enough.

We are not without appreciation of the efforts made to get subs by comrades all over the country nor of the results of those efforts made, at times, under rather strenuous circumstances. Present requirements call for redoubled effort.

We have two courses open to us. One is to issue the Clarion monthly, instead of twice-a-month as at present. The other is to continue to issue it twice-a-month but to print only four pages instead of eight. Advertisements have been suggested, but it would appear from the masthead appeals made by the papers that carry ads., that, with the increased help needed to look after advertisements properly they are poor financial fodder—and all hands will agree they are not pleasant to look at.

We have had some complaints among the letters of appreciation of Clarion matter that have come our way. We have been asked to pass the word along to the Clarion writers that they should try to explain difficult matters in a simple way. Our complainants aver that hunting a dictionary all the time is an unpleasant task, and no doubt it is. But dictionaries cannot be altogether avoided, either by readers or writers and, while simplicity is a good thing at times, some effort on the reader's part is necessary also. It must be remembered that the Clarion is not now and never has been in the field as a labor newspaper. It deals, as its captions state, with history, philosophy, economics and current events, analysing the last mentioned through consideration of the others. Its good work in this field has drawn appreciation from all parts of the world and is acknowledged on all hands.

We are not disposed to make a long story out of this. We simply wish to advise readers that the continuance of the Clarion regularly at its present size is uncertain on the present revenue. We receive many appreciative letters—letters, in the main, from people in outlying districts who are in slim straits themselves and who continually hope the Clarion will find more readers.

So we pass the problem up to the readers we have now. An effort is necessary, and if the Clarion readers don't make that effort who can?

## HERE AND NOW.

**O**UR problem Here and Now is how to make ends meet? Our S. O. S. is out,—see above remarks. We must elude the baillif somehow. The following figures indicate the reason whereof:

Following \$1 each:—J. M. Sanderson, Martin Ophus, W. Bennet, F. H. Leavers, J. Pollock, W. H.

Herrmann, C. W. Blair, Geo. Silk, J. J. Egge, D. J. Sullivan, W. Clarkson, L. G. Atkins, H. C. E. Anderson, A. Gillespie, C. Saunders, "R.", A. M. Neelands, Isaacs Benson.

Following \$2 each:—Walter Ridout, H. T. Spencer, Wm. Livingstone, Jim Cartwright, C. J. Kolden, J. H. Moon.

M. E. Burger \$2.15; W. Hoare \$4; O. Erickson \$1.50; W. A. Pritchard \$3; Samuel Clements \$1.50.

Above, Clarion subs from 30 Decr. to 11th January, inclusive, total \$42.15.

## Book Review

AN OUTLINE OF MODERN IMPERIALISM. The Plebs League, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1, Eng. 2s 6d. net.

**W**ITHIN the past decade many students of the materialistic interpretation of history have been induced to make a special study of Imperialism, with the result that their efforts in this particular field are shown in the increasing literature bearing directly on the activities of the master class in various parts of the world. These activities are the outward manifestations of Imperialism—a term of ancient lineage, once associated with the power of the imperators of Rome, who could assemble a force formidable enough to beat an army ten thousand strong. But since imperators went out of business the power was transferred to or rather acquired by, a class whose ownership of the natural resources, the means of production, and the appropriation of the wealth produced by the workers from these two sources, gives this class a power no imperator or emperors ever possessed in known history. And such is the magnitude of this wealth which they appropriate that a surplus can only be disposed of in a world market filled with many competitors. In this market under such conditions as competition imposes, the natural spirit of rivalry and feelings of hostility are stimulated to an unusual degree; friction, due to many economic antagonisms, is engendered, and squabbles take place between them which require the assistance of the State to settle. So, viewing the history of Imperialism over a long period of time we can say that, despite our vain notions of progress, it is even more sinister in character today than it was in Ancient Rome. It threatens at all times the civil rights and liberties and the very lives of millions of workers; and the present indications are that it will become the arbiter of the fate of civilization and the social institutions. For, strongly impregnated with imperialism as all capitalist nations are, we do not see any signs that a spirit of co-operation will ultimately arise and change its course of development.

So far, the activities of the master class of the world invariably result in intrigues for the balance of power for the overthrow of each other in the world market, and in war. As a military power it is more wantonly destructive than any barbarian horde that ever swept down upon civilizations of the past, while in the field of politics it has never yet risen above the mean puerile and vicious policy of Protection, a device which breeds corruption and lends life to the damnable illusion that competition between nations is necessary for trade. The McKinley tariff served only the interests of the American financiers and the steel and textile operators, promoting for years the keenest competition between American and British producers in many industries, just as the Fordney Bill is designed to help the American financiers, the shipbuilders and woolen manufacturers, but the great mass of producers and consumers must bear the cost of this protection for a few. While the few themselves, receiving larger gains from such a policy, will always pay the politicians for the maintenance of this political pull. It is the same with the British Imperialists who dream of a time when trade within the Empire is only possible for themselves.

Lacking a social purpose, universal in its extent, and incapable of any great constructive policy in

politics this development of modern capitalism is worthy of the greatest attention, not only by the workers,—who should be chiefly concerned in investigating the numerous causes and effects of Imperialism—but it deserves equal attention from merchants and industrial supervisors. He who would write an outline of modern Imperialism must take all of these factors into his purview; he must have imagination, vision, ambition, capacity to take the great mass of knowledge at his disposal and so mould it that everyone, the general reader, the unattached student, as well as the student in the class room of a labor college will understand Imperialism for what it is. Frankly, we must confess to a keen disappointment in the "Plebs" new text book, "An Outline of Modern Imperialism"; it has suffered more from "community production" than any previous work from them. In design it is like a crazy patchwork quilt—if there has been a design then we, candidly, confess to having missed it. The treatment of this subject by the writers leaves an impression that "community production" is a blight on craftsmanship. The writers take us to all parts of the capitalist world, wherever the great economic interests of opposing groups of the master class are at stake, to Europe, the Near and Far East; Africa, from Cape to Cairo is traversed with startling speed leaving no time to review in detail the many material factors in the various problems of the master class in any one of the forementioned countries. British operations in China are disposed of in two paragraphs—under the sub-caption "Britain in China"—the only factors mentioned are British control of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking corporation and the joint British and Japanese control of the great province of Manchuria and the South Manchurian Railway Co., which, by virtue of its ownership of lands "telegraphs, steamships" (!) "coalfields and electricity, has become the centre and mainspring of a vast co-ordinated organization of capital which is the economic and political dictator of the province." Rather than tell us, even in brief, the story of such an interesting and remarkable development of this part of China, we are taken back to Europe again to consider "Anglo-German Peace Overtures," which are dealt with in two short paragraphs. We are next introduced to Germany where we are allowed to remain for a moment to take in the great expansion which marks the period of 1888-1914. Having caught our breath in this chapter we are made acquainted with the ambitions of the German imperialists in the Middle East, Morocco, Somaliland, Madagascar, the Congo and South Africa, still in the same chapter. With a suddenness that plays hell with our nerves, we are taken back again to China to see the extent of French Imperialism in Asia, which covers another paragraph, then back to Europe again to examine the antagonisms existing between France and (pre-war) Russia. The Balkan wars, 1912-13 are reviewed in three short paragraphs as the prelude to the great European conflagration of 1914-18. What we should like to see stated is a summary of the Balkan situation, comprising the economic, historic and political causes in that tangle of conflicting interests, and the same method applies to the problem of economic development of China.

The great shortcomings in this book are not those of material, of carefully ascertained facts, but in the construction of the work itself and in the absence of historical and political factors which must always be included if we are to understand imperialism. The activities of the imperialists in too many countries are considered which leaves no room for the special treatment of one group. If we get the workings of Imperialism of any one of the great powers today we can understand Imperialism in all countries. It would, from our point of view, have been quite sufficient to have treated the history of British Imperialism throughout the world, leaving other members of the Socialist and Labor movement to do likewise with the history of their countries. Yet, despite our cavillings with the presentation of the matter we can sincerely commend the book to students and propagandists in English speaking countries.

ROBERT KIRK.

# Which?

## PART II.

WHERE then, is the compromise of world capital? What is meant by world capital?

The association of several Imperialist groups for world supremacy? British Imperialism v. American Imperialism v. Japanese Imperialism? Together with various subsidiaries and dependents scattered throughout the world? And Soviet Russia battling for the Soviet revolution, scoring advantages from intimate capitalist necessities as opportunity offers. Politically playing one off against the other as occasion serves? Is that it? So that Britain, in alliance with Turkey, may preserve her Empire in the East; in trade with Russia challenge American commercialism; in the revival of Germany, strengthen her dominions in Europe; modify French Imperialism in the West, by French cupidity, and fear of the East; enable Anglo-Persian to smite the Western Eagle; and the armament ring to grow portly on its last crusade? While the American Textile Trust forces the doors of the Orient; the rivalries of corn and cattle and shipping grow keener; steel spreads its tentacles over wider resources; and oil more insistently pursues the power of corporate industry.

Everywhere there is the fusion of monopoly into greater monopoly; the increasing application of science to technical perfection; the elimination of waste movement; the general consortium of rising efficiency. Therefore shall production wait on the effective market; unemployment necessarily reach greater magnitude; social misery sink to deeper degradation and humanity plumb new depths of exhaustion. It is said that society can endure no lower levels of destitution. But the answer to that is that society can—and must—endure the piled up affronts of exploitation—if it does not know the cause of its misery. For without knowing the cause how can it move to its rectification? Without conscious perception of its slavery, how may it achieve freedom? If the suffering proletariat does not understand social relation and class status and if the social revolution must be the work of the proletariat, then it would seem that that revolution cannot be regarded as just at hand. Moreover, social understanding is primarily the fruit of social development, i.e., the development of technique, and the inevitable reorganisation of social relation and ethic. If, therefore, Capitalist development has not fructified social perception; social confusion and labor disunity need occasion no surprise. And party enthusiasm and impatience must abide the hour of its awakening—and use the present to cushion the shock of discovery, if it be a shock.

On the other hand, the impetus to further capitalist development cannot be long deferred. Not alone for reasons of social disturbance, but chiefly for reasons of competitive necessity. For just as it is the necessity of the proletariat to achieve its own freedom, it is also the necessity of Imperialism to substantiate its privilege. The particular route of this expansion is important only to competing capitals. To them it is economic life or death. But to society it makes no difference whether expansion is by way of Imperialistic rivalry or Imperialist monopoly. The result is the same—the reduction of its living standards. It would appear in the nature of things that this expansion would be rapid. If so, the awakening of social understanding would be proportionately quickened. This, then, implies social revolution at no distant date. But it also implies our initial contradiction. For, if, taking social misunderstanding as a basis, the revolution recedes into futurity; precisely the same basis, by allowing Imperialist ambitions to propagate, hastens it on. Where is the joint in the armor?

Clearly it lies in measuring society by the rule of the individual. But society is not a collection of individuals merely; but a combination of heterogeneous forces, temporarily in association. The sum

total of social psychology is not, therefore, a simple addition of all its component psychologies. It is on the contrary, the combination of associated forces, constantly differing in purpose, under the impulse and interactions of necessary development. And the outcome of that development is not the direct magnitude of common intent, but an unknown symbol of contingently modified relation and accelerated concept.

Thus social concepts follow social growth, accelerating-motive and purpose in mutual modification of origin and experience. The misconceptions of society and the greed of its rulers seem to indicate social collapse. But societies do not collapse like a building, nor despair like individuals. They may languish in class struggle, but the processes of life are not negated. Nor are their accomplishments wholly lost or forgotten. Rome was finally overwhelmed in a recrudescence of barbarism, but the institutions of Rome are interwoven in the life of modern society. So with capital. Its achievements, world-wide and interconnected, may languish in the restrictions of class need, but the full power of their efficient functioning awaits but the conscious guidance of the new social artificer. If capitalist greed compromises with capitalist privilege, it will do so only in futherance of a greater greed. In the working out of that compromise, through the merciless rivalry of competition, capital will fetter society beyond the limits of social existence, and in the abyss of that delimitation society will react to the new acceptances of fact and go on deliberately to the qualification of other social quantities.

In the actual state of world affairs, if the social revolution is delayed, society will be faced with sterner want and more drastic discipline. If it is delayed through Capitalist compromise, this will not save society from further sacrifice. Capitalist society will continue to sink into dissolution, in either case. It is this fear of delay, and the visible tightening of the Capitalist toils, which inspire much of the interest in Soviet Russia. Aside from impatient enthusiasts, apparently ready for anything, desperate or feasible, there is a section watching Russia with wistful eye, hopeful that Soviet example may fire the world's workers—less fortunately circumstanced—to bring on the revolution; while still others, knowing the vanity of such hopes, see in Russia merely a possible city of refuge from the gathering cares of proletarian existence. But natural as such ideas may be, they are not the concepts of revolution; nor are such hopes the means of its harvesting. They but prove that only in the grip of the rending antagonisms of Capital can society find its single interest of purpose, from its single identity of need. Society must be driven far beyond the stage of watchful waiting before a social change is imminent. Nothing will ever turn up; wishes will not materialize; revolution will never be real until society, as a whole, feels, knows, realises, single-heartedly and with the affinity of instinct, that there is no other way to freedom; and is ready, unflinchingly, to face the solemn and stubborn necessity, be the cost as it may.

However, backward and reactionary as the wide world appears to be, there is yet hope of the revolution at hand; and blindly though the workers may sway with the tumults of the hour, tomorrow they may march to the drum beats of reality. For in the savage struggle of bloated monopolies, or Imperialist improvisations, the world market is, ultimately, a visionary thing. In the freedom of the one, it cannot suffice; in the entanglements of the other, it cannot thrive. And thriving or not, and regulated or not, in its wake, continually more menacing, continually more irresistible, is the deepening need of society and the awakening wisdom of perception.

On its human side, the reactions of society are

not only to be computed in the negative equations of class obsessions. They may be confused, but not thoughtless; misguided, but not inept. They may be hampered by the sordidness of poverty, and foiled by the cunning of power. But at the spreaded table of daily experience, in the conquering of stubborn difficulties, and in the triumph of indomitable resource they are acquiring a weight, an influence, a power, which shall be invincible, touched by the morning fires of facts. The mechanical processes of development may be measurable by the engineering standards of profit, but the differential of ideation is quite unknown. Undoubtedly the machine age has quickened thought; probably the fettering of human necessity may quicken it still more. And as the insensate speed of profit production has made the mind plastic to its laws and technique, so the enhanced versatility of percept will as readily render it as sensitive and apperceptory to the greater psychology of creative need.

Hence, although social knowledge is the vanguard of social movement; the aptitude of percept is a determinant of time condition. Time-condition is a constantly increasing magnitude. That is why history never repeats itself—or as Marx has it “repeats itself only as a farce.” Because this time condition, this glowing stream of accumulating experience, is a constantly augmenting differential. But the definite force of conditioned knowledge is not to be confused with the varying quantity of time-differential. They are not equivalents, but complements; they are not interchangeable, but interacting; therefore, no substitute can symbolise their activity. No idea can independently dominate the mass; nor can the mass exclude the idea. Man and environment is the totality of time; their actions, reactions and interactions the summary of progress. Consequently in the coming of the social revolution, class consciousness of social status and relationship is fundamental. It is the necessity of movement; the re-agent of necessary progress. And be its requirement as it may, swift or slow, active or passive, it is the essential requirement of the social “will of power” and freedom. Thus the “which” of speculation resolves itself into the fact of understanding; and the eventuation into the conditional opportunity of time development. R

Why was it that in Russia the civil war did not begin to rage with all its intensity until after November 7th, so that subsequently in the north, the south, the east, the west, we had to wage civil war for nearly five years without intermission? The reason was that we had conquered power so easily. It has often been said that we have overcome our possessing classes. Politically speaking, Russia had but just emerged from Tsarist barbarism. The peasantry had no political experience; the petty bourgeoisie had very little; thanks to the Dumas, the middle bourgeoisie was somewhat better instructed in political matters; the nobility had organized its forces to some extent in the zemstvos. Thus the great reserves of the counter-revolution—the rich peasants; for certain groups, the middle peasants as well; the middle bourgeoisie; the intellectuals; and the petty bourgeoisie as a whole—the reserves were practically intact. As soon as the bourgeoisie began to understand what it had lost through the loss of political power, it endeavoured to mobilize the potential reserves of the counter-revolution, and naturally turned in the first instance to the nobility, to the army officers of noble birth, etc. Thus it came to pass that the long-drawn-out civil war was the historical penalty for the ease with which we had conquered power. L. TROTSKY

### CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Martin Ophus \$2; “Bill Jones” \$1; Anonymous (per Sid Earp) \$2; Samuel Clements \$1.50; St. John Comrades (Per M. Goudie) \$10; Isaac Benson \$1; Frank Cusack 50 cents; A. R. Snowball \$1; C. J. Kolden \$2.

Above C. M. F. receipts from 30 Decr. to 11 January, inclusive, total \$21.

# In New Zealand

I have just read J. A. McDonald's article in the *Clarion*, dated June 16th, 1922, and I am surprised at his conclusions regarding the officials of the Communist Party here.

While I believe that Com. McDonald did some very useful work in endeavouring to promote revolutionary ideas in this country, his comments concerning the above are not strictly correct and consequently are open to criticism.

"The Communist Party," he says, "is very small both numerically and intellectually. As is usual with hero-worshipping aggregations, the intellectual stock-in-trade is confined to a wearisome repetition of 'Lenin says,' etc."

Then he compares the coal miners of the North and South Islands, so it would appear, with the intellectual failings of the C. P. He tells us that the coal miners "are receptive of Socialist propaganda, and show a genuine desire to study the philosophy and assist in its dissemination." As if to say that the Communist Party and its officials were not.

The fact of the matter is that the officials are as intellectual as any group that can be found in N. Z., not even omitting the coal miners. Besides, coal miners have been officials in both the C. P. and the Marxian Association, the former of which superseded the M. A. that was.

The coal miners, in spite of their supposed revolutionary-intellectual propensities are at the present time one of the most reactionary organisations in the country and certainly more reactionary than they were some few years ago. One has only to cite the instance of the surrender of all principles to the dictum of the Arbitration Court, when only a few days before they were going to raise Cain. I am a coal miner myself and know something about revolutionary activities—thanks to a large extent to my past membership of the S. P. of C.

I have been in N. Z. seven years or more, and in that time have been among the miners in both islands and also among the officials of the Government Party, so I am in a position to talk. I assisted in the formation of the Marxian Association as well as acting as instructor to classes—perhaps for want of a better one—and I can safely say that while the officials were not all that could be desired at times, there was a steady improvement, intellectually, going on.

There are good individual students among the miners, but there are also some very poorly informed ones, and which are none the less bombastic and egotistical on that account. As is usual, those latter catch the eye and help to confound new students by the constant application of sophisticated arguments.

Everywhere I have been in N. Z. the same individualistic tactics are pursued, along with that dog-in-the-manger explanation of the materialistic conception of history which in their opinions, allows individuals to commit certain breaches on the job, which they calmly smooth over by telling people that when conditions get worse it will make the people think. This explanation is not only fatalistic but contrary to the Marxian explanation. "Marx says so" in "Value, Price and Profit." If Marx advocates the struggle, on the T. U. field, for shorter hours, higher wages, better conditions, etc., where are we getting off at if we, as Marxians, advocate non-acceptance of progressive union rules? Anyhow I would like a Party explanation of the materialistic conception of history in its relationship to individuals, especially "class conscious" ones. It might not only interest me, but others as well.

Com. McDonald, referring to the visit of Moses Baritz to N. Z. said that the party officials (of the then Marxian Association) who also to some extent became officials of the C. P.) did not appreciate the lectures given by that comrade, "a fact that leads me to the conclusion that the lectures must have been alright." I want to say that the lectures were appreciated, indeed it was the executive of the M. A. that arranged for Baritz to come to N. Z. from Australia. I think another comrade was waiting for

him on the wharf at Wellington, and apart from the trouble with the police, he had a fairly good time while it lasted. As far as Baritz was concerned, and even McDonald, they were intellectually far above us. But that is no reason why a wrong conception should be placed upon the ideas of the officials and individuals. Off the "stage" Moses Baritz spoke to the members as a student to students; that is more than the officials claim for McDonald. For McDonald to reason that Baritz's lectures were alright on the basis he did, throws him open to the suspicion of prejudice, does it not?

The officials are no hero-worshippers and it must be remembered that these same officials were studying the Marxian Philosophy, as best they knew how, long before they heard the name of Lenin mentioned.

One thing that troubles me at the present time is why McDonald, while on the West Coast, did his best to prevent those comrades from joining up with the Communist Party. At the present time I understand that this small mushroom growth is on the wane and the possibilities are that it will go the way of the C. P. itself. One thing must be stressed in relation to revolutionary activities in N. Z., and that is the utter carelessness that obtains in organisational work.

With the officials, with the classes, and with individuals, there seems to be only a very rudimentary idea of a definite plan of organisation, which leaves everybody isolated, and as Com. McDonald infers, there is room for comrades who can speak. Unfortunately those who seem able to speak here, are those who are after meal tickets either in the Unions or in the so-called Labour Party, with perhaps one or two exceptions.

In regard to trusts and monopolies I would advise Com. McDonald to look for it in the shipping circles of this country and there he will find it with a vengeance. He will also find that there are several industries here that are larger than the mining industry, and are not nearly so crude in method as mining is.

Finally, I have to say that in recent times there has been a migration of Marxians from N. Z. to Australia; these latter were more connected with the official group, than any other in N. Z., and McDonald told me himself that they were about the most progressive in Australia.

Yours for Socialism,  
ALBERT E. HART.

Huntly, N. Z., Nov. 7th, 1922.

## M'DONALD'S REPLY.

MY article, "In New Zealand" has evoked a mild storm of protest. The article was republished in the "Grey River Argus," and labor leaders in the columns of the "Argus" and the "Maoriland Worker" bitterly resented my references to the Labor Party.

While in N. Z. I continually attempted to engage the representatives of that Party in debate, but not one of them had the temerity to accept the challenge. After my departure they became very brave indeed.

The Workers' Educational Assn., is a dangerous offshoot of the universities, disseminating their pernicious doctrines in mining camps and other industrial centres. I exhausted every effort consistent with good sportsmanship to get the teachers of the W. E. A. to meet me on a platform, or in a Class room, but all to no avail. Now they squawk.

Now it is the C. P. In a recent issue of the *Clarion* a correspondent from Auckland, N. Z., deplores the fact that I did not lecture in that vicinity. So do J. Financial descrepitude, that never failing proletarian disorder, made it imperative to hasten my departure. Climate and scenery, though excellent factors themselves, are totally inadequate to supply vitality to even a Socialist propagandist.

The present letter of Albert E. Hart contains little of any importance. Two points necessitate a

brief reply. I am censured for saying that the miners' organization was revolutionary. Such a statement was not made. The article contains the information that the revolutionary movement in N. Z. is to be found among the miners. That anything more than a small minority of these are Marxists I have not inferred.

As to why I did my best to prevent the miners on the West Coast from linking up with the C. P., to put it briefly, that was the only attitude a Marxist could take. Nor was I alone on this position. Com. David Anderson and Eli Hunt, two ex-members of the S. P. of C., who have spent the past ten years in educational work in the mining sections of N. Z., very materially assisted me in this action. Comrade J. Sullivan of Petone, who, although never a member of the S. P. of C., is one of the most capable Marxian students in N. Z. also strongly advised against joining an aggregation of social and economic freaks like the C. P.

The opinions of these and other comrades, who were in a position to pass judgment on the matter, assisted me in coming to a conclusion that I would have arrived at anyway. Com. Balderstone, who had charge of activities during my stay on the "Coast," will gladly furnish information in regard to the stand taken to all parties while there.

Hart conveniently reads into my article what he thinks necessary to start an argument. I am too busily engaged in propaganda work to fall for such nonsense. My article, "In New Zealand," speaks for itself. It is my impression of the situation in that country as I saw it.

WINNIPEG, MAN.

Local Winnipeg, Manitoba. Secretary J. M. Sanderson, P. O. Box 2354, Winnipeg, Man.

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# "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution"

BY N. LENIN.

## Results of our New Economic Policy.

(Concluded)

I repeat: At that time, in 1921, this was still a vague idea. After we had brought the most important phase of the civil war to an end, and to a victorious end, there came a great—and I believe the greatest—internal political crisis in Soviet Russia; not alone were great masses of the peasantry dissatisfied, but also great masses of workers. What caused this discontent? The cause was that we had gone too far with our economic demands, that we had not secured our base, that the masses felt what we did not yet know how to consciously formulate.

After a very short time we also realized that the direct transition to purely socialist distribution of goods exceeded our powers, that we should break down if we could not find a line of retreat enabling us to confine ourselves to easier tasks.

In the spring of the same year we decided unanimously—I did not observe any great differences on the subject—to adopt the New Economic Policy.

What is the result? Has our line of retreat really benefitted us and saved us? Or is this not the case; is the result indefinite? I believe that this leading question is of the highest importance for all communist parties, for if it is to be answered in the negative, we are all ruined. I believe that we can all reply in the affirmative to this question with an easy conscience. The one-and-a-half years which have passed since that time have positively demonstrated that we have passed this test.

I now pass to the proofs. To do this I must make a brief survey of every part of Russian economics.

First I shall take up the financial system and the famous Russian rouble. I believe that we can call the Russian rouble famous, if for no other reason, than because the number of these roubles now exceeds a quadrillion. That is something in itself. An astronomical figure, I am sure that you do not even all know how much that is.

But from an economic standpoint we do not consider the number of roubles of importance, the noughts can be crossed out. . . . We have already performed wonders in this direction, and I am convinced that during the further course of events we shall perform even greater ones. What is really of importance is the stabilization of our currency. If we succeed in stabilizing the rouble for a long period, and then permanently, we have won. Then these astronomical figures, the trillions and quadrillions are nothing whatever. Then we can establish our economics on solid ground, and practice them on a firm basis.

With regard to this question I believe I am in a position to state rather important and decisive facts. In 1921, the period during which the paper rouble was stabilized lasted less than three months; in 1922, the period has already lasted over five months and the year is not yet ended. I believe that this fact speaks for itself. The figures which I have just stated prove that since last year, when we stood at the beginning of our New Economic Policy, we have learned how to advance. When we have once learned that, I am sure that we shall know how to make further progress, unless we commit some particularly stupid errors.

Thus, although our really systematic and properly formulated economic activity is only commencing now, we have none the less been successful in increasing the period of stabilization from three to five months, so that I think I have a right to say that we can be well satisfied. For we stand alone. We received and still receive, no loans. Not one of these wonderful capitalist states, which have arranged

their capitalist economics to such good purpose that they now do not know where to turn, lends us a helping hand. With the Versailles Peace they have created a financial system which they themselves do not understand. If these wonderful capitalist states carry on their economics in such a manner, then I am sure that we, the backward, the uneducated, may be well satisfied with having known how to accomplish the most important feat,—the stabilization of the rouble. And this is not merely proved theoretically in discussion, it is an actual fact.

I now pass to our social factors. The peasantry is of course the most important. In 1921 the great peasant masses were dissatisfied. After this came the famine, the very hardest trial for the peasantry. And naturally all the foreign countries exclaimed with one voice: We told you so. That is the result of socialist economy. . . . They naturally ascribed the famine to the civil war. All the landowners and the bourgeoisie, who attacked us in 1918, maintained that the famine was the result of the socialist economics. And how is the matter now, after this unusual and unexpected misfortune? It seems to me that the answer lies plainly before us, for the peasantry has not only succeeded in overcoming the famine in one year, but has also delivered up the taxes in kind to such an extent that we have up to now received hundreds of millions of puds, almost without the need of using force. The risings among peasantry, (of common occurrence in Russia up to 1921) have almost completely ceased. We may confidently assert that the peasants are now satisfied with their condition. And we believe that such proofs are much more important than any statistical proofs. The position among the peasantry at the present time is such that we have no fear of any movements against us whatever. It is of course possible that the peasantry may have complaints against or be dissatisfied with our regime, but there is absolutely no thought of any serious complaints against us in the peasantry as a whole.

As regards light industry, I may confidently state that a general improvement is to be noted. This all-round improvement in the position of light industries is accompanied by a distinct improvement of the position of the workers in Petrograd and Moscow. This is less the case in other districts, where heavy industry predominates, and the position is not so favorable.

The third question is the heavy industry. I must say that the position is more difficult here. A slight improvement took place in the year 1921 to 1922. We may thus hope that the near future offers better prospects. We have already collected a part of the requisite means for this purpose. In a capitalist country an improvement of the position of the heavy industry would certainly demand a loan of hundreds of millions. There would be no thought of an improvement otherwise. We have obtained no such loan, we have obtained nothing. Everything which has been written about concessions and so forth is only paper up to now. Despite this we succeeded in making a modest beginning, and our commercial activity has gained for us a certain capital, of about 20 million gold roubles. At any rate a beginning has been made. Our commercial activity gives us the means which we require for the improvement of our heavy industry. But this is still a dream of the future. At present our heavy industry is in a sad condition. But I believe it is of decisive significance that we are able to save something, and that we shall continue to save. It will often enough be at the expense of the population. We are working towards decreasing our state budget, our state apparatus.

I shall say a few words later on the state apparatus. We are aware that without the restoration of heavy industry we have no industry at all. Without the heavy industry we are completely lost as an independent country, this we know. The sole salvation for Russia is not only good crops for the peasantry, not only favourable conditions for light industries. We require the heavy industry. And it will take several decades of work to set it properly going. If we have no heavy industry we are ruined as a civilized country—I will not even speak of a socialist country. And in this respect we have taken the decisive step. The commencement made this year is but small. The sum which we have collected is less than 20,000,000 gold roubles.

I believe I am justified in drawing from the above the general conclusion that the New Economic Policy has already yielded a plus quantity. The proof is already given in that we are in a position to carry on trade as a state, to maintain firm positions in agriculture and industry, and to make progress. Our practical activity proves this.

For five years we have held our power, and we have been at war for almost the whole of the five years. This is comprehensive, as the peasantry as a whole was in our favor. They perceived that behind the Whites stands the landowner, whom they hate beyond anything on earth. But this was nothing much, it was only a question of whether the power should be in the hands of the landowners or of the peasants. That is not enough for us. They comprehend that we have taken over the power for the workers, and that we aim at the development of a socialist state of society by means of this power. For us the most important question has therefore been, economic preparation for applied socialism. We could not take a direct course for this preparation, but have been obliged to take an indirect one.

The state capitalism which we have created is a peculiar one; it does not correspond to the usual conception of state capitalism. We have all the highest positions of command in our hands, we have the land and soil; this belongs to the state. This is most important, though our opponents pretend that it is of no significance. They are entirely wrong. It is very important that the ground belongs to the state; it is also of the greatest practical significance, for economic activity and for other reasons. We have already been successful in rendering our peasantry satisfied, in moving trade and industry. Our state capitalism differs from state capitalism literally understood, in our having not only the ground in the hands of the proletarian state, but all the most important branches of industry. A few small parts only, mostly small and medium industrial undertakings, have been leased by us; everything else remains in our hands. With regard to trade I should like to emphasize that we are endeavouring to found mixed companies, and have already founded such,—that is, companies in which one part of the capital belongs to private capitalists, these being foreigners, and the other part to us. In the first place this gives us an opportunity to learn what we need to do if we are to carry on trade, and in the second place we always possess the power of dissolving the company, so that we risk nothing, so to speak. There is no doubt that we have committed an enormous number of foolish errors, and will doubtless commit more. Nobody can judge of that better or more objectively than I. . . . Why do we commit these foolish errors? This is comprehensible: 1. we are a backward country; 2. education is at a minimum; 3. we are without help. No civilized country helps us; on the contrary, they all work against us; 4. there is the question of the state apparatus. We took over the old state apparatus. But that was our misfortune. As a matter of fact it often happens that at the top where we possess state power, the state apparatus functions well; but further down the machinery works against us. Here nothing can be done in a short time, that is certain. Here we must work for several years, to perfect the apparatus, and to develop new life forces which we must bring into it. We are doing this at a fairly rapid pace, perhaps too rapid. Soviet schools and

(Continued on page 8)

## FIVE YEARS OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 7)

workers' faculties have been established, many hundreds of thousands of young people are learning, are learning too quickly perhaps. If we are not working too rapidly, then within a few years we shall have a large number of young people capable of changing the apparatus down to its foundations.

Should our opponents perhaps be inclined to throw it in our faces that Lenin himself admits that an enormous number of foolish errors have been committed, I should like to reply: Yes, but do you know, our foolish actions are of a very different kind from yours. We have just started to learn, and we are learning so systematically that we are sure of attaining results. But if our opponents, that is, the capitalists, and the heroes of the Second International, relate the foolish errors we have committed, I can give here an example taken from a famous Russian author. I shall alter this example a little, so that it has the following aspect: When the Bolsheviki do anything foolish, the Bolsheviki says: Twice two are five. But when the opponents, that is, the capitalists and the heroes of the Second International, do anything foolish, they say: Twice two is a tallow candle. This is not difficult to prove. Let us take for instance the agreement with Koltchak, the treaty agreed to by America, England, France and Japan. Are there any states in the world better educated or more powerful than these? And they promised to help Koltchak. That was a fiasco which even humanity's liability to err cannot explain. And as a second example: the Versailles Peace. What have the civilized powers done here? How can they now find any way out of the confusion and absurdity? I believe it to be no exaggeration when I repeat that our foolish actions are as nothing in comparison with those committed by the capitalist world in combination with the Second International. I am therefore of the opinion that

### The prospects of the world revolution are good

And, with one condition, I believe they will become better still.

In 1921 we passed a resolution at the Third Congress, relating to the development of the organization of the Communist Parties and to the methods and content of their work. The resolution is excellent. But it is almost completely Russian, that is, it originates entirely from the Russian phase. Therein lies the good of the resolution, but also the bad, for it is almost incomprehensible to a foreigner. It is too long; it has 50 or more paragraphs imbued with the Russian spirit; it is too Russian, too completely impregnated with the Russian spirit. Should an exceptional foreigner understand the resolution he cannot fulfil it. We have not found the way of passing on the results of our Russian experience directly to the foreigner. And if we cannot do this, we can make no progress. I believe it to be of the greatest importance for us all, Russians and foreigners alike, that now, after five years of Russian revolution, we have the opportunity of learning. I do not know how long the capitalist powers will allow us the possibility of learning quietly. But we must utilize every moment in which we are free from military activity, from war, for learning. We Russians know how to learn.

The whole party, and all social strata in Russia, prove this by their striving after education. It is a moot point whether it is proletarian or bourgeois culture. I do not exactly see how that is to be decided. But in any case, in my opinion, what we first need is reading and writing, and proper comprehension of what is read. Abroad they do not require this any longer. They need something higher. And what is required most of all is that which we wrote regarding the development of the organizations of the Communist Parties. Our foreign comrades signed this without reading it, without understanding it. To learn to understand it should be their first task. They must absorb a piece of Russian experience. How will this be done? Perhaps the Fascisti in Italy may for instance render us good service in this connection, and enlighten the Italians on the point that they are not so very cultured, since black bands still prevade the country. I am

convinced that in this sense we must say not only of the Russians, but that for other countries too the exigencies of the coming period demand above all that they learn. We learn in a general sense. They must learn in a quite specific sense, in order to really comprehend the organization, the construction, the methods, the substance of the revolutionary work. When they do this, then I am convinced that the prospects of the world revolution will not only be good, but excellent.

## The Clarion Mail Bag

BY SID EARP.

IN spite of the frequent assurances by professional writers to the daily press as to an approaching era of good business and prosperity, the fact of the utter weakness and unsuitability of Capitalism as a Social system is becoming ever more distinct. Confusion and strife, crime and poverty is growing apace; and the question in the minds of thinking men is "when and how will the end appear?" For our part we can only say that future circumstances will decide. The facts of the present we do know, the chief among which is, that the great mass of society clings tenaciously to customs and beliefs which are no longer justifiable in the light of common sense. To the clearing away of an outworn ideology and the inculcation of a scientific habit of mind must our efforts be directed. Truly a great and thankless task, but not impossible of achievement. While the opportunity is with us, let the truths of Scientific Socialism be spread abroad amongst the working class upon whom alone lies the heavy responsibility of social reconstruction.

Except for a notice of change in address from Hamilton, Ont., Eastern Canada is not represented in the "Mail Bag" this time. From Winnipeg comes a Clarion sub. and a short semi-business letter from Sec. T. Mace of the O.B.U. An encouraging letter comes from Craik, Saskatchewan, asking for particulars and samples of literature. May good results follow is our earnest hope. Moose Jaw is represented by a sub renewal from Com. H. T. Spencer. Alberta shows up well this time. A brief letter from Com. Wiley Orr of Seven Persons, Alta., speaks well of Lester's lectures in that district; they would like to hear more of him. Also encloses a dollar for twenty copies of the Clarion with Com. McPherson's article, "The Farmer's Misery" on front page. He considers this article as well worthy of distribution. From Innisfail and Sheerness, Alta., come a couple of sub renewals, and an order for literature from Com. Ed. Fiala, Retlaw. From Meeting Creek and Edberg also come orders for literature. Com. Geo. Donaldson sends greetings and a sub from Stanmore. From Swallow comes an order for literature, a Clarion sub and kind words for McPherson's article in our recent issue; copies are requested for distribution. Two subs come from Whitla and one each from Hardisty and Pakan. Two subs come from Com. C. W. Springford of Blackfoot and an order for pamphlets from Vulcan.

From Fernie, B. C. Com. Erickson writes a short note with two subs and literature order enclosed. Two subs also come from Vanderhoof, B. C. Com. C. P. Orchard writes an interesting letter from Kamloops, B. C., in which he expresses appreciation of the Clarion and the Party position. Also "Having heard statements to the effect that the worker was robbed as a consumer as well as a producer I would like at some time to see this explained in our journal for others' benefit as well as my own." We think Cusack might do this and oblige everybody! Com. Goodspeed, Balaklava Island, sends a sub renewal and a dollar for the Maintenance Fund, also kindly greetings to the members of the S. P. of C. From Ladysmith, Sam Guthrie sends in a sub.

Writing from Beaverdell, Com. W. Clarkson sends a renewal of his sub and asks that it be sent to Yorkshire, England. He says he does not want to miss a single "charge of ammunition." Two fifty cent subs come from Victoria. Com. Wm. Livingstone writes from North Vancouver enclosing sub renewal and cheque to cover dues to Local No. 1.

Two further subs also come from the North Shore. From Sunas, Washington, U.S.A., Com. L. G. Atkins sends kind words of appreciation and a sub renewal. He congratulates the comrades of Vancouver, "the whole bunch."

The Detroit Socialist Educational Society request that their Clarion bundle be cut to twenty copies per issue until the street meetings start again. From Blackwell, West Coast New Zealand, come two letters: One from Sec. Daly of the Communist Party enclosing two Clarion subs, and the other from Com. E. Hunt enclosing four subs and commenting upon conditions in that district. He says that the slaves are facing a grim struggle in New Zealand, and that the need for educational propaganda was never more urgent. Also refers to the splendid work done by Com. J. A. McDonald who was with them some time ago, and expresses great appreciation of the Western Clarion.

And so it goes: grim struggles for a mean existence in a world abounding with all that makes for a pleasurable, useful life. And they call it Christian civilization, which means a slave civilization. May its downfall be quick and complete.

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All above literature can be obtained from J. M. Sanderson, Box 2354, Winnipeg, Manitoba.