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FIVE CENTS

The Will of the People

SHORTLY, we shall be called upon to decide the political policies to be adopted in these trying times by "our" country. The issues and slogans are now being prepared, and, we have no doubt, many wonderful things will be promised, many agreeable changes predicted, with the advent of a new government, "safely and sanely" elected by the democratic will of constitutional usage. Of course! We are a free and a great people, having things done in this, "our" country, just as we, "the enlightened people," desire them. Not at all like these unfortunate "Bolsheviks," under the dictation of a fanatic clique of extremists, drunk with power, who have twice ruined Russia—being the occasion of a blockade which denied the means of production to those sweet people; and the direct cause of this present famine. O, "Bolsheviks," how shall we give you an accounting?

Some of us proud British born possess the prerogative of suffrage. But the possession of a privilege carries with it the advantages of its powers and benefits. If we use the former at all, the profit of the latter must surely accrue to us. In these circumstances therefore, the present social condition of society must be the "will" of society. Is that so? If so, why is society restless and discontented, riotous and unruly? Why does it manifest such aversion to its own "order"? Why this continual need for the appearance of change? Why so many laws enacted contrary to majority interests? If the "people" are responsible, why are they ignorant of their own enactments? And their fateful consequences to themselves? It will not do to say it is "original sin." That is the antithesis of the premise—the intelligent majority. And it does not explain how the derivable advantage is invariably on the upper side. Nor is the "will of God" any better. That is but another "Bolshevik" usurpation of the "people's" authority. For, it surely cannot be contended that since we are an enlightened and democratic people we cannot control our own social organization. Especially when human control is everywhere evident.

Yet, nevertheless, the "will" of God is the cause—albeit it is neither the "God of Bethel," nor any other human abstraction, but the omnipotent "god of the machine." We cast a ballot, it is true, and change the name of the government. Which signifies nothing. Because we were not informed enough to elect and vote for our own nominees.

One or other section of the capitalist class always nominates the members-elect. They are selected either directly from the ruling class itself, or from its pendant following of capitalist ideation. Individually they have, therefore, the same class viewpoint—and interest—private property. The "class" provides its nominees with a "platform" and a "watchword," with propaganda and campaign necessities. The former is the transient economic interest, and the key and motive of its monetary "philanthropies" and hurrying activities; the latter is the veil and orange blossom with which that interest is bedecked and jewelled, so that we may be enticed into matrimony with the painted consort. For by that union is the privilege of property guaranteed. The ruling class, through personal initiative, private influence, and publicity wailing, puts forth every effort to get its representative elected. For this suddenly important individual is, in reality, their class representative—the political expression

of their economic interest, the embodiment of their sovereignty of power.

The ruling class—as a whole—possess all the means of education, all avenues of information and knowledge, all channels of publicity and research, and to the fullest of its ability—which, in this direction is of a high order—it uses those means to distort the fact, to suppress the truth, to veil the issues

course, that their greedy quarreling over the spoil draws unwelcome attention to their methods, and its fruits, but it is the fatal necessity of capital to educate its support, both theoretically and practically, and for it (capital) education becomes the "snare of the fowler."

On the other hand, through the blindness and apathy of the slave class itself—a product, of course, of capitalist evolution—through the general conditions of adversity and the constant necessities of livelihood, the labor press is so circumscribed and narrow orbited, its influence (because of its poverty) so negligible, and local and working class ideation and effort so awry and disjointed, that no efficient organization can be put against its opposing propagandist to clothe and dignify the new ethic of the rising social power with visible authority. Or, to put it better, to gather the disjointed efforts and vague aspirations of social production into the coordinated invincibility of Socialist society. For, the power of the capitalist class lies in its control of the forces of the state, i.e., its authority is the state itself. A fact which proclaims the futility of all reform within the sphere of capitalist activity, and which, in due time, under the increasing pressure of economic circumstances must compel us for our emancipation, to the assumption of State authority. Our changeable times are hastening on that necessity to the ripest maturity, and the forward pressing social forces cannot be much longer restrained in the seething abyss of effete capitalism.

Hence it comes that our minds take on the hue of our capitalist environment. So we are confused with the shifty, kaleidoscope of capitalist property right. So we eagerly run after the fleeting rushlights of transient self-interest. So the social traditions of a vanished past, bind as to the individualist present. So the partial equality of a rising era veils our social evolution, and sacrifices us on the developed antagonisms of class law and to the harried slaves of today presents, as a Utopian dream-world, the kindling aspirations, the fore-glimpsed grandeur, the achieved fraternity that "trails a cloud of glory" on the certainty of the Socialist humanity of tomorrow.

The working class of today has no identity of interest with any other section of society. It possesses neither "right" nor "equality," and on its economic inequality its political subservience hinges, and its social disadvantages automatically follow. The wage slave is allowed to vote. Yes. But he cannot vote in his own interest. Because he does not possess the data necessary to form a true judgment. Because the knowledge necessary to sift the issue—the one issue—at stake is suppressed. Because the trained powers to detect and expose the subtlety of treachery around him is denied to him. And (because of those things in turn) he lacks the principle of public interest wherewith to determine public freedom. That is why all of us burn "strange fire" on the altars of ancient gods.

For those reasons the "popular" will is an illusion. In political democracy, the representation of all interests is an impossibility, because constitutional government signifies the law of the ruling class, symbolizes the dominance of the modern capitalist class and its exploitation of wage-labor. The government is the council board of that class, and it is almost entirely composed of class members with

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"IT IS TIME, POSTUMUS---!"

A POINTER FOR PRE-ELECTION AUDIENCES

A correspondent sends along this item to illustrate the condition of affairs here, now that we are being massaged with words concerning our welfare—our future welfare of course. If windy utterances contained food values, the working class would be well fed at election times. When are we to hear the dinner bell ring?

Dear Mac,—I send along a biting epigram of the ancient Roman cynic Martial, being the reply of a peasant to a windy lawyer, which I find quoted in the last number to hand of the "Freeman." Working class readers who understand the false-faced politics of the old line parties will appreciate the Roman's satire. Substitute for the Roman peasant, Canada's working masses; whose ever-present problem is one of livelihood, for, "the common man has won the war and lost his livelihood"; and for the windy lawyer, substitute Messrs. Meighen and Mackenzie King, spokesmen in politics for "the hard-faced interests who did well out of the war"—and their respective camp followers, the subsidiary and auxiliary parasites and mercenary riff-raff of ward politics. Those who read the windy speeches of the above named gentlemen, having not the least bearing on working class problems, and the accounts of the tom-tom beating in the nomination caucuses, will appreciate the neatness with which the old Roman's epigram caps the pre-election fatalities in Canada today:

"My suit has nothing to do with assault, or battery, or poisoning, but it is about three goats, which I complain have been stolen by my neighbor. This the judge desires to have proved to him; but you, with swelling words and extravagant gestures dilate on the Battle of Cannae, the Mithridatic war, and the perjuries of the insensate Carthaginians, the Syllae, the Marii, and the Mucii. It is time, Postumus, to say something about my three goats."

of reality, in order to preserve intact its sacred right of property. To be sure, between the capitalist factions there is considerable "muckraking" continually going on (which becomes very marked during elections, for the savor of plunder is in their nostrils) but they contrive that nothing inimical to their common capitalist property even sees the light of day. Not if any means can obliterate it. They see, of

What is a Point of View?

Part 2.

BY G. STEPHENSON

(Note: This is the second and concluding part of this article. Part 1 appeared in the "Clarion" of September 1st.)

I have, in this article, to make use of some more or less unfamiliar terms, therefore, to commence with, here are their dictionary definitions, as follows:—

ANIMATE—Living; Possessed of animal life.

INANIMATE—Without animation or life.

ANIMISM—A theory which regards the belief in separate spiritual existence as the germ of religious ideas. The belief is considered to have arisen from the evidence of the senses, interpreted by the crude and child-like science of the savages.

(Latin—*anima*, the soul).

ANTHROPOMORPHISM—The representation of the Deity in the form of man or with bodily parts: the ascription to the Deity of human affections and passions. (Greek—*Anthropos*, man, *morphe*, form).

Also, as additional authoritative testimony on "Animism" I quote from a small volume published by Constable & Co. London, one of a series on "Religions: Ancient and Modern." The volume in question treats of, "The Religion of Ancient Greece." The author of the volume is, Jane Ellen Harrison, honorary degrees Aberdeen and Durham, staff lecturer and sometime Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. Says the author:—

"The study of comparative religion shows that man does not at the outset attribute complete personality to the things he worships. Personality comes with the giving of human or animal form. Before complete impersonation, we have "animism," when the gods are intangible Things, powerful but not personal, dwelling anywhere, everywhere. These Things are scarcely, in our sense, gods; but they become gods when man enters into relation with them, localizes them, fixes them by some form of worship. Wholly personal they scarcely become until an artist makes of them some image, however rude, or a poet takes them as material for a story. With animism is closely connected fetish-worship. Man imagines that the spirit things he vaguely conceives of dwell in chance natural objects, and chiefly in stones or trees."

This article is part two and conclusion of my discussion of the nature of a point of view, the first part of which saw print in the issue of the 1st of September. In that issue I tried to describe a point of view as a system of principles and standards of judgments, which served as the bases of opinion upon any social facts brought to our attention. Such principles and standards of judgment, I also tried to show, were mental prepossessions (a bias possessed beforehand) which, in the main, were acquired unconsciously under the disciplinary influence of habits of life enforced by the manner of procuring a livelihood, and by those entailed in conforming to the conventional institutions and standards of conduct pertaining to any definite form of social organization. Under the long term disciplinary influence of habits of life, such mental prepossessions as make up a point of view become habits of thought and as such there is resort to them without conscious effort when opinion is expressed upon any matter.

The principles and standards of judgment of a point of view acquired in this way are held unquestioned and uncritically, being not of reasoned conviction. Nevertheless, their hold on the mind is perhaps all the more tenacious, as inflexibly right and good and common-sense principles, because they are a matter of unreasoning habit. Such is the genesis and nature of those unreasoned out principles and standards of judgment, as well as the quality of their hold on the mind, with which men rise to a reasoned consideration of facts. In part I, I also endeavored to throw in contrast the bourgeois point of view and the socialist point of view as, in their principles and standards, fundamentally op-

posed to each other. I pointed out that the bourgeois point of view being the traditional point of view, was maintained in the minds of the people by the inertia of habits and by control of educational institutions and other means for forming opinion in the interest of a parasitic social class, long after the material conditions had passed away which had given that point of view what validity it may ever have had. I pointed out also that the socialist point of view, on the other hand, was born of the social facts of today and that its principles and standards struck the note of a new order of social life based on production for use instead of for profit. I further stated that the socialist task was to remove the bourgeois point of view from the minds of the working class and to substitute in its place the socialist point of view; and that thus the nature of a point of view had a bearing on our educational work both as to its character and our methods.

To throw further light, if I can, on the question, "What is a point of view?" I deal in this issue with "animism", a point of view on external facts of man's environment which found universal expression among primitive savage peoples; and which, moreover, is so natural to man that it has still persisted in varied forms down through succeeding ages, though with continually lessening force. I selected animism because I thought the simplicity of its elements and the artless quality of primitive man's thought reactions to his environment would be easily comprehended, more so than that, in those respects as well as others, there remains a good big chunk of primitive in us yet.

Though I am dealing with Animism, I am not giving any complete survey, however brief, of that conception of things. My account of it will be of the sketchiest, just what I consider necessary for my purpose, but sufficient, I hope, to be suggestive and provocative of thought on my primary theme.

Students of Primitive Society tell us of the enormous part played in it by animal tales, myths and cults. The primitive savage of the infancy of the human race, dramatised the things of the world coming under his observation. His view of them was what is termed, a subjective view, that is, he saw them not in the objective matter-of-fact way of modern science, but through the medium of his own personality. Both inanimate as well as animate things were conceived to be possessed of spirit. Streams, rocks, trees, fire, etc., as well as the animal kind, were credited with having a life of will and purpose, and of fears, loves and hates like man's own. External objects were believed to do things, or rather it was believed they were seen to do things. It was to that way of conceiving of inanimate things rather than of animate things to which has been given the term "animism."

The beliefs of many savage or semi-savage tribes today illustrate this trait. The Pueblo potters (women) are said to believe that certain clays have likes and dislikes for each other. Such a conception arises, no doubt, from some such experience as that certain clays will not properly amalgamate, and also that one kind of clay may be necessary as tempering material for another. Many primitive peoples also impute spiritual qualities and magic virtues to their tools and weapons. Perhaps vestigial remains of that trait are retained by us to this day in our habitual use of the feminine gender in referring to machines, engines, etc. It is still customary with us to refer to a ship in that way; and the old time deep water sailor's superstitious regard for the spiritual qualities of his ship is at least a matter of repute, if not now a matter of fact with his degenerate successor. Then there is the wholly illusory, though edifying and consolatory belief so prevalent today in regard to social affairs, that there is an ameliorative trend in things—almost it is primitive animism again, stripped of anthropomorphic elements—a trustful faith in evolution as though the evolutionary theory postulated developmental progression only, and not also retrogression, as is required in the conception of modern science of a process of mechanical causation.

In the course of immense periods of time under the disciplinary influence of matter-of-fact experience, less and less of spiritual endowment is imputed to inanimate objects themselves, and anthropomorphic or man-like agencies are conceived to carry on their life and work in some degree of detachment from material objects. The principle of animism, which is only a more archaic form of anthropomorphism, is maintained, but is now expressed in anthropomorphic terms. At this stage, approximately, anthropomorphic religion definitely makes its appearance in human affairs. There is then

much further and more elaborate myth making until, as Veblen with dry humour puts it,

"In the course of elaboration and refinement there may emerge a monotheistic and providential Creator seated in an infinitely remote but ubiquitous space of four dimensions."

The trait or propensity of man for projecting his personality into external objects, found a much more favorable field for expressing itself among animate or living things than among the inanimate. In respect of animate things, for obvious reasons animism maintained itself longest and in greater force. Savage man regarded the animal kind quite literally as a part of his community and with having a "consciousness of kind" with himself. His myths and legends of animals tell us that, captured or killed in the chase, they yet let themselves be so done to. Thus were produced not merely the multitudes of tales and legends of savage peoples dwelling affectionately upon the activities and features of animals, but also those elaborate rites and cults which made animals ancestors, heroes, tribal figures-heads and divinities. Man, down even to this day, is an inveterate nature-fakir, as the late Teddy Roosevelt knew, but time and the cultural disciplines of work-day habits of life entailed in tending, breeding and improving stock, and of using domesticated animals, as well as the disciplines of other modes of life brought on with the progress of the industrial arts, have weakened that animistic habit. Those matter-of-fact disciplines have induced more matter-of-fact mental prepossessions also in regard to animate as well as inanimate phenomena. The saying that "familiarity breeds contempt" is true in its rigorous meaning only sometimes. It is more universally true that familiarity breeds matter-of-fact knowledge, and is thus the dispeller of illusions ofttimes mere matters-of-make-believe.

At a certain stage of social development, long after the magic and myth making of savage society is left behind, we arrive approximately at a point when certain forms of man's beliefs and ceremonial practices may be characterized as definitely religious. At this stage, the anthropomorphic gods who walk with the children of men are innumerable; gods that were tribal ancestors, gods of health, of the seasons and the elements, gods of war and of industrial pursuits, gods malevolent and beneficent. But gradually, with the increase of knowledge born of experience with external facts, the spirit powers are pushed further into the back ground of observed phenomena, many of them to be dispensed with altogether. This process is also furthered by the amalgamation of the tribes and the federation of independent towns and cities into political unities, and by the growing intercourse among peoples through trade and commerce and travel, followed as a result by the exchange of ideas and the growth and general diffusion of knowledge. And last, but not least, it was also furthered by the political needs of the great Imperialisms, which, antagonistic, demanded unity in religious ideas as well as political in the interest of the centralized State. So finally, there emerges triumphant over the autonomous gods the monotheistic God, Supreme overlord of the universe. And, as evidence of the effect of a highly institutionalised social organization on the mental outlook, the people of the middle ages conceived of God, and of the subordinate spiritual powers of the upper and the nether worlds, as organized according to the feudal model of status. And in respect of the science of the time, speaking of the ancient, but more enlightened Greeks, and their conception of universal laws having a guiding control over the course of things human and in nature, Professor Dewey has this to say of the related conception of the Middle Ages:

The Middle Ages added to this Greek idea of control the idea of a command proceeding from a superior will; and hence thought of the operations of nature as if they were a fulfillment of a task set by one who had authority to direct action."

With the passing of years since the middle ages, the Animistic preconception continued to lose force as a result of the influence of scientific thought and enquiry, together with the increasing control over natural forces exercised by man through modern industrial processes. So that it has come to be said that the modern working class, especially those in the mechanical trades, are irreligious by occupation. The old anthropomorphic conceptions of a personal God and personal Devil only continue to exist in

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History of the Art of Writing

IN THREE PARTS—PART I.

By Katherine Smith

THE art of writing, and its progress, superficially considered, may appear a trivial subject for investigation, but without the art of writing the labors of our ancestors, in every branch of knowledge, would have been lost to us and our best thought contributions would fail to reach posterity. The word of mouth method gave us tradition, but not authentic history, as the latter can only be compiled from written material.

The art of writing is as old as civilization itself. Indeed Morgan uses it to mark the introduction to civilization. It is thought probable that in North Babylonia the pictograph or hieroglyphic stage had long passed eight thousand years ago. We are told that seven thousand years ago in Egypt, Babylonia and Persia, both reading and writing were of hoary antiquity. The written word has always been of mysterious significance to the savage. Among such peoples the person who could use symbols for communication was next to the gods; hence written languages ministered to forms of worship and remained sacred in the church. In this way the currency of civilization and learning became written language, consequently the revered part of education has not been the sciences of first hand studies of reality, but language and books have been made the prominent constituents of the curriculum until very recent years.

Writing has evolved through the same general stages as the evolution of speech. First, there was the gesture language, corresponding to the signal system of the animal herds, to give alarm and a means of communication with fellows; next there was the onomatopoeic, or growl writing, ideographs in which forms of actual objects were united, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the picture of a man was drawn to represent the idea of man, etc. This is a note or word formed in the evolution of language. Gradually intonation was added, accent for extra meaning or emphasis; this stage in its earliest development is well illustrated in the Chinese representation of complex ideas.

The really important factor in human progress has not been so much the discovery of a method by which words can be recorded as it has been the invention of some facile, graphic device, such as the alphabet, by means of which the art of writing can be so far simplified as to become attainable before the age of adolescence has passed. A people may possess the art of writing without the knowledge of an alphabet, but such a system of non-alphabetic writing will be so limited in its power of expression as to be of little value, or else be too difficult, complicated and unsuitable for general use. The methods of writing used by the early Egyptians, Assyrians and Chinese go to prove that without the alphabet any complete system for the graphic representation of speech is an acquirement so difficult as to demand the labor of a lifetime. Under such conditions, science and religion necessarily tend to remain the exclusive property of a priestly caste, extended culture becomes impossible, and such a system of writing, instead of being the most effective means of progress may become one of the most powerful means of enslaving the masses.

The hieroglyphics system of the Egyptians, although it is the source of all existing alphabets, is far from being the only graphic system invented, or the only one which attained the alphabetic stage of development. Various races have succeeded in inventing methods of writing independently of one another. The characteristic fact to be remembered is that the starting point and general direction have been the same, i. e., all systems of writing have been found to have had their beginning in rude pictures; these pictures being conventionalized, more or less gradually came to be used to represent words and later became the symbols of more or less complex and abstract thought.

Let us enquire briefly into the primitive forms of writing from which all alphabets are abbreviated descendants, to instance similar stages found among the nations of today, and to show how our own alphabet has reached so high a stage of perfection. After a survey of a long period covered by the development of writing we are able, for convenience and brevity, to arbitrarily divide the whole into three stages:

- 1.—The mnemonic, or memory aiding.
- 2.—Ideograms—
 - (a) Pictures of objects.
 - (b) Pictorial symbols, or words.
- 3.—Phonograms,
 - (a) Verbal signs.
 - (b) Syllabic signs.
 - (c) Alphabetic signs.

1.—**The Mnemonic Stage:** In this some tangible object is used, as a message or for record, between people living at a distance from each other, and also for purpose of accrediting the messenger. This stage borders on and anticipates the symbolic stage of expression. Good examples of the mnemonic are "quipers" or knotted cords still used by the Peruvian herdsman of the Peruvian plateaux to register their herds. The history of the "quipers" is long, the idea being still with us in both the rosary upon which the Roman Catholics count their prayers, in the knot tied in our handkerchief to help our weak memory and in the sailor's log-line. The device was of widespread use, reaching its most elaborate form amongst the ancient Peruvians, from whose language the term "quipers" meaning knot, is borrowed. The following is a description from the story of the alphabet, by Clodd:

To the main cord at given distances are fastened thinner cords of different colors, each cord being knotted in divers ways to represent special purposes and each color having a peculiar significance of its own, i. e., red for soldier, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, etc., while the meaning of a single knot was ten, double knot one hundred, two double knots two hundred, besides being a convenience in reckoning they were used for keeping the annals of the Empire of the Incas, for sending orders, for preserving records of the dead in old Egypt, etc.

At the present time small cords are used by the native tribes of Arid in West Africa, while other African tribes have devised message sticks similar to the well-known Australian types, more highly developed knot reckoning is found among the Mexican Jumi and in more primitive form among some of the North American Indians. A generation ago the Hawaiian tax-gatherer kept account of the assessable property throughout the islands in cord from three to five fathoms in length. The Chinese used the knotted cord prior to the invention of writing, and its use is also found depicted in Egyptian hieroglyphics. In 1231 the houses of Parliament were destroyed by over-heating stoves in burning up an accumulation of tally-sticks that had been used to keep the accounts of money lent to the government. In Scotland fifty years ago the baker boy made a notch on his "nick-stick" for every loaf of bread left on his rounds. Thus the use of objects was almost universal in the distant past, and still survives in some measure.

Because of our familiarity with the wampum of the North American Indian little need to said on the subject. The use of wampum belts is not widespread. The belts consist of handmade beads or perforated shells arranged in various patterns on bark, filament, hemp or deer-skin strips, the ends being selvaged by sinews, or fibres of hemp. The patterns are usually pictorial symbols recording events in the history of the tribe or treaties between tribes. The Iroquois developed the wampum belt to quite a high degree of art.

2.—**Ideograms:** These are pictures intended to represent either things or thoughts. They are of two kinds: (1) pictures or actual representations of objects; and (2) pictorial symbols suggesting abstract ideas. The earliest actual record known of any actual event is the scene depicted on the fragment of an antler which was found in the rock shelter at Langerie-Basse in Auvergne. It portrays a primitive hunter covered with hair creeping up to a gigantic urus, feeding in the grass, and the hunter is seen in the very act of casting a spear at his un-

suspecting enemy." It is evident that primitive man, in his attempt to record and transmit his thoughts in a graphic manner selected such objects within his environment as were most frequently encountered in his struggle for existence. Clodd writes: "The necessity of identifying personal as well as tribal property, especially in land and livestock led to the employment of various characters more or less pictographic which have their representatives in signaries used in ancient commerce and in manufacturers' trade marks." In the marks used for branding cattle can be recognized survivals of Indian writing. Prof. Ernst of Caracas says "that in tattooing, aside from its symbolic and religious significance marking the connection of the man with his clan-totem or individual totem and also its decorative purpose, there is also a utilitarian purpose. It is known that certain red tribes of Red Indians tattoo both sexes so that the captured individual may be identified and ransomed in case of war. The grave of a chief is indicated by his totem scratched upon a slab, tribal boundaries are marked by stones engraved with the totem of the tribe. The very curious records on Pictish stones of Scotland; the pictures on the magic drums of the Laplanders; the drawings found on rocks in Australia, Siberia, Peru and Arabia not only show how keenly men of different races have striven to record some lasting memorials of their deeds, but these drawings are also of value in proving the essential similarity of the means used by different people to give effect to their desires."

A further extension of the system of picture writing became possible when it was discovered that complex ideas could be conveyed by combinations of simple ideograms.

(To be continued.)

THE SOAP BOXER

Of the different forms of society which are open to the adherents of the Socialist movement, that of the street corner propagandist, or "soap boxer," possesses a remarkable attraction, and much value. Not only is it effective in familiarizing the workers with the truths of Scientific Socialism, but it also serves as a valuable aid in broadening and deepening that understanding of the working class mind, which is so necessary to the student of society and its affairs.

In Vancouver, aside the squalor of the downtown district, hard by the slave market, where the workers in mine, field and forest have the privilege of reading on the employment boards, the price and terms upon which they shall render up the use of their bodies in the process of production, the work of education along scientific lines has been carried on for many years. Old timers in the revolutionary movement often refer to the argument and discussion that used to rage around "Lester's Corner," in the days when the movement in Canada was very young, and many of them can point to it as the place where they first developed the habits of thought and viewpoint peculiar to revolutionary Socialism. And it is of the utmost importance that this street corner propaganda should be carried on. Here it is that the migratory worker can be met and appealed to under circumstances which make his mind more susceptible to new ideas, and his miserable precarious condition as a wage worker is revealed to him in a manner that cannot be disputed. With a keen recollection of hard and brutal tasks performed for a wage barely sufficient for his most simple needs, and doubtful as to his ability to secure even this in the future that seems to await him, he will eagerly join the crowd that gathers when the street corner meetings begin.

But the Socialist speakers are not alone in their claims for a hearing. Here also come the religionists of different, but not conflicting creeds, clamor-

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GET IN AND HELP

While the orthodox political parties all over the country are talking to a bewildered working class about the lying habits of each other, the working class, patient and hungry, are wondering when the three-meal-a-day period is due to set in. Meighen is touring Eastern Canada talking about how the country has been run, and Mackenzie King, in the same area has been talking about how it should have been run. If words were nutritious, the working class would have enough to carry them from one election date to another.

Explanations aplenty have been made as to why it is that a vast working population of wealth producers in this country is turned out of mill, mine and factory, the chance to earn a living taken from them. The war in Europe and the ensuing difficulties of "re-establishment" have come to be the stock-in-trade excuses of the politicians for the hunger and want that follow unemployment to the mass of the workers. The true explanation lies deeper than that. The workers have served a full apprenticeship in listening to wind bag politicians in the years gone by. If they will attend to the campaign conducted by their own class candidates in this election they will come to an understanding of their own troubles, of employment as well as unemployment.

The nominees of the Socialist Party of Canada are now hard at work in B. C. and Manitoba. Alberta comrades are making their preparations for the campaign. They are likely to have three or four candidates in the field. Campaign funds are hard to gather, and earnest support from all interested workers is required. So far, the nominees of the S. P. of C. are—

B. C. CONSTITUENCIES:

NANAIMO—W. A. Pritchard

VANCOUVER, (3 Seats)—

Burrard: J. D. Harrington

Centre: T. O'Connor

South: J. Kavanagh

MANITOBA CONSTITUENCIES:

WINNIPEG (3 seats)—

H. M. Bartholemew

R. B. Russell

Chas. Stewart

SECRETARIAL NOTES

Local Vancouver study classes are under way. Economics, every Sunday at p.m. History, every Thursday at 8 p.m., at 401 Pender Street East. Come all, and welcome! Bring with you any interested workers of your acquaintance. No fees. Membership in the S. P. of C. is not essential to class membership.

Classes about to be formed anywhere will do well to consult the article by "Geordie" in this issue, reprinted from "The Red Flag." This should prove helpful and it answers many questions as to how classes should be conducted. "Geordie's" series "Morning Value," will be continued in next issue.

The case of the "B.C. Federationist, Ltd." and of A. B. Wells, manager, has been adjourned again for a week. Funds for defence are urgently required.

Federal Election, 1921

Socialist Party of Canada Manifesto No. 1

In entering candidates for the forthcoming Federal Election, the Socialist Party of Canada reaffirms its position; and has neither promises to make nor apologies to offer.

We contend that modern society is divided into two major groups: the owners of wealth producing machinery who receive its benefits in the form of surplus values, and the operators of that machinery, the modern wage-working class, who receive for their labors, when working, sufficient in the form of wages to represent mere subsistence.

These relative positions are today maintained by virtue of the fact that the coercive powers of society (the State) are held and wielded by the representatives of the master class. It does not matter to our present argument that divisions between certain sections of the masters produce struggles on their part to obtain or maintain (as the case might be) control of the administrative and governmental machinery.

This is well exemplified at the present moment. During the early days of last year, several of our party members were given jail terms in the City of Winnipeg for allegedly engaging in activities which supposedly resulted in setting class against class in the community. Now, today, behold the tariff! The present premier of Canada has deliberately launched an election campaign which has for its object the setting of the industrial (town) against the agrarian (country). Over against this position is set the righteous indignation of Mackenzie King, one-time expert for the Rockefeller interests, who decries tyranny and desires freedom.

But what is this all about? A whole host of gentlemen (and ladies), some distinguished for what they have said, some for what they have done, and still others for what they have neither said nor done, now spread themselves throughout the land, beseeching the listening ear. They are all apparently solicitous, too, for the welfare of the dear worker, the back-bone of the country, the horny-handed son of toil. When before, one might enquire, was such interest displayed on behalf of the workers? And come to think of it, 't would seem as though such performances were indulged in only at election time, when working class votes are sought for the purpose of giving sanction to master class purposes.

Members of the Working Class! We desire, as workers together with you, to deal openly, candidly, bluntly. At a time when the means of producing those things necessary to human sustenance have developed to a degree never before thought of, unemployment, with all its devastating misery and degradation for you, as workers, stalks abroad through the land with all its irritating unpleasantness. Is this not an appropriate time for asking (and having answered) the question as to why such a state of

things exist? Will the spell-binders of the master class supply this answer? Will they even as much as attempt to meet the question? They will not. They cannot. They dare not.

But we dare, and we will.

Things are today produced not because of their utility to mankind, primarily, but because of the profit that can be realized in their disposition. Not the needs of hungry men, women and children, but profit, profit—that is the guiding principle of modern commercial life. The worker's wages representing merely sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, on an average, to maintain in working order a worker and his dependents, are merely a fraction in value of the result of that worker's labor. This surplus (the difference between the value of what the worker gets and what he creates) must of necessity find its way to the world market and there, in competition with the products of other workers of other nationalities, seek a purchaser. The result of this situation is a market glut, industries close down, workers are thrown out of work in their thousands, unemployment results. And the present period of unemployment is remarkable for the feature that it is universal in its scope and applicable to all industries.

A high tariff and a corresponding high cost of living, or a low tariff and a corresponding low cost of living, are questions of import only to our masters. They do not affect in any way the position and real interests of the working class. Does not your own bitter and painful experience tell you, plainer than any theorising might, that when you can live cheaper you can work cheaper: a lower cost of living means a lower price for your labor power!

All these various schemes and palliatives are useless. Even if they possessed any merit they are damned in their making by their authors. Think seriously if you will and tell us whether the alleged reforms and acts of parliament that have been passed in the last quarter of a century, ostensibly for YOUR benefit, have resulted in any benefits to you; or have they not rather tended to fasten upon you in still firmer fashion the chains of wage slavery?

The only question worth while for you is: Shall those who work the machinery of wealth production own that machinery and thereby benefit from its functions; or shall the present masters (whether represented by Liberal free traders or National tariff-mongers) continue in their ruthless work of exploiting labor for the sake of profits?

If you are desirous of registering a protest against a continuance of the present system of production and exchange, you will do so by marking your ballots on election day for the candidates of the party of your class—The Socialist Party of Canada.

Contributions sent to this office will be forwarded.

A book has reached us entitled, "Farmers in Politics," by Wm. Irvine of Calgary, Alberta. A review should prove interesting during these election times of such a book, and we promise to devote a column or two in an early issue.

HERE AND NOW

Some wisacres long ago said that "Silence is Golden." We've tried it out and our conclusion is that the ancients didn't have to worry about "subs" or they wouldn't have framed that text for future use. If they'd had printers to face day by day, presenting an appalling bill of costs, they'd have started a yell for "subs" there and then. We're yelling for "subs" here and now. Look at our totals. If the adding machine companies depended on us for trade they'd be bankrupt and starving, with nothing to add up but their accumulating worries.

Let the truth be known. The best way to spread it around is to increase the sub. list.

HERE AND NOW

Following, \$1 each—C. L. Pearson, F. Harman, Mrs. G. Kolonn, J. S. Lidgerwood, B. Penke, C. Lee, W. G. Lindsay, J. Wedin, F. Kisack, A. Beaton, A. Legge, W. Truscott, A. Manson, S. R. Davy, J. Greenwood, T. Richardson.

Wm. Craig, \$3; Parry and Sim, \$3; J. Henderson, \$2; Sid Earp, \$5; H. Norman, \$2; R. C. McCutchan, \$2; Gus. Johnson, \$2; W. Hoare, \$2; W. E. Dickens, \$2; W. Lewin, \$3; W. Scott, \$2; J. J. Albers, \$3.

Above, Clarion "subs" received from 29th September to 13th October, inclusive—total, \$47.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND

"B.L.J.," \$2; A. C. Rogg, \$2.50; "C.S.," \$10. Above, C. M. F. contributions from 29th September to 13th October, inclusive—total, \$14.50.

Study Classes in Political Economy

SOME SUGGESTIONS IN METHOD AND PROCEDURE

By "GEORGE"

(From "The Red Flag," October 4, 1919)

There is, at the present time, a very noticeable increase in the number of classes and in the interest displayed in the study of economics. This is the more gratifying, as it has always been recognized in well-informed Socialist circles that the systematic study of Political Economy and kindred subjects was the most effective, if not the most attractive method of propaganda.

Now, this being the time of year when classes are in process of formation it has occurred to the writer, who has had some little experience in this matter, that it would be well, for the guidance of classes forming for the first time, to give here some of the results of that experience. I am the more impelled to do this because I am strongly of opinion that the method of study is of as great, if not greater, importance than the subject matter, so far as beginners are concerned. That is to say, that one of the main objects to be attained is the development of a certain attitude of mind—the scientific method. Possessing this attitude of mind, believing nothing, questioning all things, insisting on clear and accurate definitions, testing every statement by an appeal to facts, the student is in a position to securely pick his way through the mass of lies, misrepresentation and clogged nonsense which is modern popular literature.

The matter of class-organization and methods may, I take it, be left to the commonsense of the class itself, but the procedure will, in general, consist of reading in turn from the text book, followed by questions and commend by the members. As to the text-book, "Wage-labor and Capital" will probably be the best for a start, but, if this book is used, it will be well to get a sufficient number of the revised edition recently issued by the S. P. of C., as most editions of this book are very defective. For advanced students, the first nine chapters of "Capital" could be studied. "Value, Price and Profit," starting at the sixth chapter, is also very good. Other standard works ought to be at hand and the class should possess a really good dictionary. Every word has, and every statement ought to have, a meaning, and it is the business of this class to find it. No portion read from the text-book ought to be passed up unsifted and the chairman should, so far as possible, see that every member of the class is satisfied before proceeding. Many controversies and most arguments will be found at the bottom to consist of a question of definition. Many words and terms in general use have so wide an application or may mean so many different things that for the purpose of scientific statement they must be limited to invariably indicate one thing or category of things. Such words as "Wealth," "Commodity," "Value," are of this nature, and will often be found used to indicate very different things by different Economists. Where the consensus of authorities has given any term a definite significance that meaning should be ascertained and the term used in that way but in any case some definite meaning should be attached to it and the word or phrase used invariably in that sense. While this method may be followed in the case of a word, the case is very different when we come to a statement of fact. The statement or proposition is true or it is not true, that is to say, it agrees with the facts or it does not, and no amount of authority will help it in any case.

It is customary to quote strings of authorities in support of this, that or the other proposition, and it is a weakness with many Socialists to quote a tag from say, "Capital," and to imagine that the question is thereby finally settled. The opinion of an accurate observer and painstaking investigator such as Darwin or Marx has, of course, due weight, but should always be accepted with the reservation that an appeal to the facts is the only proof of which any proposition is susceptible.

No statement is worth considering that can not be expressed in good, plain, simple English, and the class should be encouraged to use this mode of expression rather than the cryptic and exotic terminology so much affected by many members of the Marxian School.

The selection of a chairman is rather important. It is his business to see that the discussion does not wander from the matter in hand; that no one, including himself, monopolizes the time of the class; to encourage timid, bashful members to take part and see that the discussions are carried on courteously and in regular form. I do not, for one, approve of the appointment of a teacher or instructor, but the class would be as well to have a director whose function it would be to be responsible for the work done. It would be his business to look up in advance the matter liable to come up, to verify the definitions, etc., and be prepared to initiate and carry on the discussion. This office may be combined with that of chairman, or if there is no one willing to act permanently, individual students should be made responsible for the proceedings at each meeting of the class. That is to say, that the work of each meeting should be laid out in advance and some one member made responsible for it.

It has been my experience that classes of this kind are liable to be infested with a variety of freaks and cranks of one kind and another. These people, of course, should have a courteous hearing in discussion, but should not be allowed to monopolize the time of the class and, if necessary, should be firmly suppressed; a little verbal brutality will do them no harm and will be helpful if they are any good. Such people are generally interested in the propagation of certain political or religious theories, and it should be remembered that the object of the class is the study of Political Economy, that is to say, the science of the production and distribution of wealth under Capitalism, and not to draw plans for the New Jerusalem.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 1)

class philosophy, whose business—and interest—it is to protect class privilege. No other will be nominated and elected to that position. And whatever stray members from the slave class succeed to that "honor" are either revisionists (or worse), or are so hopelessly outnumbered as to be negligible.

Like everything else, parliament is the result of a long evolutionary process. It has its roots deep in unfamiliar and forgotten ages. It was the council of tribal communities—a council of equals. It became the "moot" of the communal middle ages, and developed into the representation of the third estate—the commoners, i.e., the rising merchant and trading classes of the early capitalist period. And now, with the completed development of capitalist society, it is no more than a name. It lives on the prestige of its ancient traditions. It is stripped of all real authority; it has been shorn of its privileges; its functions have passed into the higher control of the modern cabinet, and its powers are but the mockery of "sanctioning" what the cabinet decrees. Better, just as the tribal commune was more and more invaded, and dominated by the flourishing process of exchange, and grew gradually into chattel slavery, so the council of equals lost its original character of equality and became obsolete. Just as the accumulating merchant of the middle ages broke up the natural economy of the feudal fiefs, so the communal village moot lost its pristine nature and significance. And just as the nation of manufacturers and traders has progressed into the all-absorbing commercial empire, so the young parliament of the commoners has disappeared in the overshadowing might of the Imperial Cabinet. That is why the "will of the people" is but an empty name, the shadow of a substance, distant by thousands of years.

Political "representation" is economic interest. Nothing more. And so long as it remains in existence, so must slavery endure. For it is but the expression of that slavery. Slavery is exploitation, and today, exploitation is accomplished through

wages. Therefore, the one interest of the slave class is the abolition of the wages system, that is to say, of capitalist society. And that abolition must be entirely effected by ourselves, the new developed medium of social progress. Master class and slave class interests are diametrically opposite, and no wise scheme or glamoring reform can ever abrogate their opposition. There can be only common interest when there is a common class, i.e., when there is Socialist society. Then with economic freedom, we shall be equals, with the privileges of equals—with the guarantee of everything that this highest of human societies can encompass and achieve. There is no other issue. R.

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF CANADA

Fellow Workers,—A few weeks ago Russia sent out a cry for help. The workers of the Russian Soviet Republic are appealing to the workers of the world for aid in the terrible calamity that has overthrown their nation. Decimated by seven years of incessant warfare, deprived of food and clothing, of medicines and drugs, of agricultural implements and industrial machinery by the capitalist powers of Europe, weakened by the internal struggles that follow in the wake of every revolutionary upheaval, Russia now stands helpless and unprepared to face the destruction of its harvest in the Volga district. The great granary of the Russian nation. A terrible drought, no rain, from March until August, has burnt up every vestige of vegetation for hundreds of miles. Land that in other years brought forth food for thousands of hungry workers lies blackened and charred under the blistering sun. Great herds of cattle upon which millions of children depend for their food have had to be slaughtered because there is no grass to feed them. Eleven million men, women and children are starving. Cholera, that dreadful disease that stalks in the wake of starvation is wiping out entire townships. Babies are sobbing at their mothers' breasts and there is no milk. Boys and girls are pleading for food, and there is no bread. Thousands are dying from preventable, curable diseases, and there are no medicines. Cleanliness could check the spread of contagious diseases, and there is no soap. Even the next harvest is in danger, for the seed corn has been used to assuage the hunger that is eating out the vitals of the nation.

We know why Russia has had to suffer, why war against Russia went on long after hostilities in other countries has ceased. We know why Russia was forced to keep her workmen at the front while fields lay fallow and the factories stood idle. Russia has sacrificed year after year, her men, her industries, everything, the very lifeblood of the nation, that its spirit might live, the spirit of Working Class brotherhood of working class internationalism. Russia has been attacked by the great powers of Europe, and by America, it has been slandered and vilified, fought with fair means and foul. The capitalists of the world, the men who live in wealth and luxury because you and your fellow workers live in want, hate Russia because she carries the message of working class freedom from capitalist oppression to the world, because she has fought your nation, brought inspiration and hope to you in your struggles.

All over Canada committees have sprung up for the purpose of helping Soviet Russia. By their very number they are defeating their purposes; they are duplicating their effort and there is practically no co-ordination. The American Federated Famine Relief Committee is endeavoring to unify the work of collecting funds for the famine stricken and the "Canadian Famine Relief Committee for the Drought Stricken in Soviet Russia" is directly affiliated with that committee. \$220,000,000 must be raised. It is the most vital task that you have ever undertaken. Workers of Canada, your Russian brothers are calling for your assistance.

Will you desert them now?

We must get together for one great drive for funds.

Address all moneys to—Canadian Famine Relief Committee, P.O. Box 3591, Sta. B., Winnipeg, Man.

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 21.

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE PARIS COMMUNE.

By PETER T. LECKIE

THE vacant throne of Spain was giving concern to European chancelleries. At last the Spanish ministry found a suitable candidate in Prince Leopold of Germany. This candidate was obnoxious to France and when this prince of the Hohenzollerns consented, a storm of protest broke out in the French press. Of course we are told what the press says "is public opinion."

Louis Napoleon's exploits in Mexico had proven a miserable fiasco. The opposition was gaining power and Napoleon felt he could gain his popularity by a victorious war against the Germans. Under pressure of foreign powers Spain was forced to withdraw the offer which she had made, and Leopold renounced his candidacy through his father King William I. The French Ambassador was commanded to obtain from King William a declaration that the candidacy of Leopold of Hohenzollern would never be supported again. The king refused to confer with the French ambassador, and France, being affronted, declared war. Bismarck was as anxious as Napoleon for war, as his papers have shown since his death.

The Germans desired the return of Alsace and Lorraine because of its vast natural resources of iron and coal. Germany was entering the world's markets in competition with the other world powers. The French were being defeated on all lines; by 1871 the French army was in a terrible plight. The recruiting officers pressed into the army men whom they could not arm nor even feed.

The sting of hunger was so great in Paris that horse flesh became a delicacy. The women waited out in the cold for hours for a starvation allowance. Children died on the empty breasts of their mothers. Wood was worth its weight in gold, and the people had only the fantastic "success dispatches" to warm them. Engels' preface to Marx's "Civil War in France," says: "Finally, on the 28th of January, 1871, Paris starved out, capitulated, but with honors hitherto unheard of in military history. The forts were surrendered, the line fortifications disarmed, the weapons of the line, and of the Guards Mobile were handed over to the Germans, and the men themselves regarded as prisoners of war. But the National Guard retained its weapons and cannons and only entered into a truce with the conquerors."

The Prussians were forced to salute the armed revolution which they intended to revenge. The Red Flag floated over the Hotel-de-Ville.

The masses were in favor of the Commune because they saw through it their emancipation could be accomplished.

Thiers, who was head of the Government at Versailles, seeing the danger of the rule of landlords and capitalists, attempted to disarm the Parisian workers. He sent some troops to steal the artillery belonging to the National Guard, which had been manufactured and paid for by public subscription during the siege of Paris. The attempt failed. Paris armed herself to a man and declared war on the French Government at Versailles. On the 26th March the Paris Commune was elected.

Among the first things done by the Commune was to abolish the night work of bakers, and also the registry office for procuring employment, which had been the monopoly of scoundrels appointed by the police. The abolition of pawnshops as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. The highest salary of a functionary of the Commune was not to exceed \$1200 a year. The separation of the Church from State and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes.

All things appertaining to the individual conscience, i. e., religious symbols, dogmas, prayers were abolished and the carrying out of the principle of religion as far as the State was concerned was a purely private matter.

Some Socialists have endeavored to evade explaining religion by expressing religion as a private question of the individual, but it is not so, as we find the question put when taking the census or if you are unfortunate enough to be brought before the police court for a contravention of capitalist laws.

The Commune fetched out the guillotine and publicly burned it amid loud applause. The column on Place Vendome which had been constructed by Napoleon I. after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon was overthrown, because it was a monument of national vanity and international jealousy.

The government troops were driven out of Paris when the Commune was declared. Then came the siege of Paris by the French Government. Paris was continually bombarded by the very people who had stigmatized the bombardment of the same city by the Prussians as a sacrilegious outrage. The Commune was formed and chosen by universal suffrage; the majority of its members were working men. The Commune was a working body and not a parliamentary body. The police were stripped of political attributes and turned into responsible agents of the Commune. The Commune prohibited landlords to dismiss tenants and prolonged overdue bills; therefore are we surprised all the monarchists, bourgeoisie, all slaveholders which composed the Assembly at Versailles yelled: "Paris is only a rebel, the Central Committee a band of brigands." When the struggle was keen the Central Committee issued a fine proclamation: "Workmen, do not deceive yourselves about the import of the combat. It is the engagement between parasitism and labor, exploitation and production. If you are tired of vegetating in ignorance and wallowing in misery, if you want your children to be men enjoying the benefit of their labor and not mere animals trained for the battlefield and the workshop, if you do not want your daughters, whom you are unable to educate and overlook as you yearn to do, to become instruments of pleasure in the arms of the aristocracy of money, if you at least want the reign of justice, workmen be intelligent, arise!"

The Commune first decree was the suppression of the standing army and the arming of the people as a substitution. Even although the majority of the functionaries abandoned their posts at the signal from Versailles from street inspection, lighting, markets, public charities, telegraphs, etc. These services were soon set right by the Commune, and the committee overcame a greater difficulty of providing for three hundred thousand persons without work. Its true secret was that it was essentially a working class government; as Marx puts it: "The produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor." Marx points out the strange fact, in spite of all the talk of the emancipation of labor, that no sooner the workers attempt their emancipation than the mouthpieces of present society exclaim: the workers intend to abolish private property, the basis of all civilization. The Commune intended to abolish that class property which makes the labor of many the wealth of the few.

The Commune sprang up in the Provinces, at Marseilles, Toulouse and Narbonne, but the middle-classes betrayed the workers. The revolts of these towns died out one by one, and the revolutionists of the provinces were completely disorganized, therefore Paris had very little help from that quarter. M. Thiers suppressed all the goods trains and kept all correspondence destined for Paris. Thiers struck a bargain with Bismarck. The Prussian had sur-

rendered the neutral zone to the Versailles troops. Lisagaray in his history of the Commune says: "Of all Thiers' crimes, one of the most odious will certainly be his introducing the conquerors of France into our civil discords and begging their help to crush Paris." One of Thiers' former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist, but a devoted member of the Commune, addressed Thiers on a placard thus: "The enslavement of labor by capital has always been the corner stone of your policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labor installed at the Hotel-de-Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals.'"

Marx says in "Civil War in France," p. 55-56: "The financial measures of the Commune remarkable for their sagacity and moderation would only be such as were compatible with the state of a besieged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the city of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors under the protection of Haussmann, the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the Orleans family. The Hohenzollern and the English capitalists, who both have derived a good deal of their estates from church plunder were of course greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000 francs out of nationalization."

The Commune had good odds against it. Bismarck let loose all the French prisoners and gave help with Prussian troops, all done in the name of law and order. The press as usual lied about the conditions existing in Paris. They issued official dispatches from Versailles, picturing Paris as the pandemonium of all the rickety legs of Europe, rampant thefts and arrests en masse, detailed sums and names. According to their women no longer dared to venture on the streets; 1,500,000 persons oppressed by 20,000 ruffians were offering up prayers for Versailles. M. Thiers, leader of the French government at Versailles, telegraphed "The insurgents are emptying the principal houses of Paris in order to sell the furniture." The traveller to Paris found the streets for the first time since the restoration of 1815, had no police. Lisagaray says: "The pillagers had only pillaged the guillotine." Prussians full of indignation against Paris were so struck with its orderliness and tranquillity, in a few hours caught the Paris malady.

Marx's "Civil War in France," page 58, says: "Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought on Paris. No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees, American slaveholders, and shabby men, Russian ex-serfowners and Wallachian bayards. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies. . . . 'We,' said a member of the Commune 'hear no longer of assassination, theft and personal assault, it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends.'"

The Commune had a placard posted up at the Hotel-de-Ville: "Every individual taken in the act of stealing will be shot." The Commune papers even in the excitement of the battle had no appeals to plunder or murder, while the Versailles papers of the Law and Order bunch demanded shooting en masse as soon as Paris has been vanquished. During the Commune elections, M. Thiers telegraphed the provinces: "The elections will take place today without liberty and without moral authority." The elections were conducted in a way becoming a free people. At the approach to the halls, no police, no intrigues. The liberty was so absolute that in all Paris not one single protestation occurred.

The only reprisals registered against the Com-

(Continued on Page 7)

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

(Continued from Page 3)

... was the execution of Clement Thomas, the man of June, 1848, the insulter of the revolutionary battalions who was caught examining the barricades, and another — General Lecomte — who was dragged into his garden by the soldiers and shot. The officers of the National Guard made desperate efforts to have them tried by court-martial, but the multitude were impatient and Lecomte who, in the morning had three times commanded fire upon the people, except, begged for pity, was forced against the wall and fell under the bullets. When the Paris Commune was defeated by the aid of Bismarck's troops, and after the release of the Napoleon prisoners of war, then we find the true nature of the Versailles Law and Order group. The blind fury of the soldiers, encouraged by the men of law and order, pillaged the shops of the tradesmen who had supported the Commune. Theft followed massacre. The soldiers smashed the furniture and carried off jewelry, wine, liquors, provisions, linens, etc., in their trapsacks. In the darkness of the night a Versailles officer was surrounded by the Commune outposts and shot, "without respecting the laws of war," said M. Thiers the next day. Though during the four days he had been mercilessly shooting thousands of prisoners, old men, women, and children. The wholesale massacre is estimated at 20,000. The chief military justice admitted 17,000 shot. The municipal council of Paris paid the expenses of the burial of 17,000 corpses, but a great number were killed outside of Paris. Numbers were shot and buried before they were dead, as sometimes a hand would be stuck up through the earth where they were buried; the inhabitants of the houses close by could hear the moans of the buried alive in the stillness of the night. Sons were taken prisoners to Versailles and made to kneel down in front of aristocratic clubs, and churches amidst an infamous mob of lackeys, fashionables, and prostitutes crying "Death! death!" do not go any further; shoot them here!"

During these atrocities, where even some women were dismembered and a soldier of law and order amused himself by dividing the prostrated entrails with the end of his bayonet, the officers a few steps off allowing him to do so, the bourgeoisie raised its bloody hands to heaven, undertook to invite the whole world against the Commune people, who after two months domination and the massacre of thousands, had only shed the blood of 63 prisoners. All social powers covered the death rattle of the victims with their applause. The priests, those great consecrators of assassination, celebrated the victory in a solemn service, at which the entire Assembly assisted.

Lissagaray says: "Twenty-five thousand men, women and children killed during the battle; three thousand at least dead in prisons, the pontoons, the forts or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life; old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France, one hundred and eleven thousand of victims at least; that is the balance sheet of the bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the 18th of March."

Karl Marx's "Civil War": "In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilization, based upon the enslavement of labor, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue and cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene working-men's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodbaths of 'order.' And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilization."

"The workingmen's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariat, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government of Versailles cries: 'Incendiarism,' and whispers this cue to all its agents down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its

enemies everywhere as suspects of professional incendiarism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar."

"When the governments give State license to their navies to kill, burn and destroy, is that a license for incendiarism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the capital at Washington and to the Summer Palace of the Chinese Emperor, was that incendiarism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burned down, by the help of petroleum, towns like Chatemundin and innumerable villages, was that incendiarism? When Thiers, during six weeks bombarded Paris under the pretext he wanted to set fire to these houses only in which there were people, was that incendiarism? In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If the defenders have to retire, they themselves light the fires to prevent the attack to make use of the buildings. To be burned down has always been the inevitable fate of buildings situated in the front of the battle of all regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against the enslavers the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good."

Marx goes on to illustrate the Commune used fire as a defence and resorted to it when the Versailles troops had commenced the wholesale murder of prisoners. Besides, the Commune had long before warned them that if driven to extremities they would bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow. The Commune knew that its opponents cared more for the buildings of Paris than the lives of its people.

P. 75, "Civil War": "All this chorus of eulogy, which the party of law and order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their enemies, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted itself a crime."

"The conspiracy of a ruling class to break down the Revolution by a Civil War carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader, . . . culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris. . . He gloats over the cadavers of the Paris proletariat. For him this is not only the extermination of the revolution, but the extinction of France. . . . With the shallowness, characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. Whenever before his history exhibited the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was therefore no belligerent. She acted the part of a bravo, a cowardly bravo because incurring no danger; a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood money of 500 millions on the fall of Paris." "And thus, at last, came out the true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany. And this unparalleled breach of the law of nations . . . instead of arousing the civilized governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government the mere tool of the Prussian Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not given up to the hangman at Versailles. That after the most tremendous war of modern times the conquered and conquering hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society, but the crumbling into dust of the bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of what the old society is still capable is national war, and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes and to be thrown aside as soon as the class struggle bursts out in a civil war. Class rule

is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform. The national governments are one as against the proletariat. . . . While the European governments thus testify before Paris, to the international character of class rule, they cry down the International Workers' Association—the international counter organization of labor against the cosmopolitan of capital. . . . The working men of Paris with its Commune will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society."

"Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

The above history from Marx's "Civil War in France," could be well transported to the Russian revolution situation, where the conquered and conquerors united to put down the proletariat. The same lying press as to the conditions existing in Moscow and Petrograd is a repetition of the history of the Paris Commune.

After a knowledge of the above history there is no difficulty in understanding why the British newspapers of 1870 were against France.

The "Daily News" of 8th August, 1870, gave its views: "There is no longer any question as to whether the Germans will take or rather retake Alsace, but rather as to whether, having got it, they will give it up again. Some 200 years back Louis XIV., stole it. The lapse of years may hide a theft, but not the justification of re-conquest. The population of Alsace is German by origin, by language and by custom."

The "Times," 14th September, 1870: "Till the French are ready to recognize that they have acted unjustly towards their neighbors, and to offer sureties against a repetition of such conduct, the fair demands of the German (40 milliards and Alsace-Lorraine) cannot be considered satisfactory. We can assure France, if she finds these conditions hard, that there are many persons in Germany who consider them remarkably light, and who would be only too pleased to complain at their hereditary enemy getting off so lightly. Alsace-Lorraine—we mean German Lorraine, in other words the possession of Metz and a small strip of Lorraine with the Vosges and Alsace—is the minimum condition the peace-loving Germans can accept as a basis of peace."

For the history of European powers up to the war from 1870, read the writer's "Economic Causes of War." As I have not dealt with the dividing up of Africa, I will continue the lessons with that continent's history so far as the European powers are concerned, and conclude the series with the Irish question.

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THE SOAP BOXER

ing with drum and trumpet, and the fretful, unmusical wheeze of a bilious looking harmonium.

With strident shout, accompanied by a fanatical rolling of the eyes, threatening and coaxing by turns, they preach the gospel of salvation by faith alone. But converts are lacking these days, especially on this corner, their meeting is soon finished and they march away, singing in ecstasy, a pitiful spectacle of human weakness.

Dealing in unsentimental language with the facts of everyday existence, analyzing topical questions presented by the daily press, explaining the method and form of production peculiar to Capitalism, which is directly responsible for the phenomenon of social distress amidst an abundance of things required for social comfort, and pointing to the mental apathy and class ignorance of the workers as being the chief obstruction to their own welfare, the Socialist speaker, supporting his statements by proving them, makes an impression on the minds of his listeners that stays and grows. The continued and increased sale of literature, the discussion of questions, social and political, in place of trivial gossip in these places where wage-slaves gather, and a better understanding of the revolutionary movement, this is the object of the "soap box," and a worthy recompense for his efforts.

S. E.

WHAT IS A POINT OF VIEW?

(Continued from Page 2)

primitive types of mind, and, also as a phase of State policy. There is, to be sure, the thin wreath Vitalism (Animism in extremis), held to by a few intellectuals who are just posing, I think, so that they may seem odd in a mechanistic age.

At last, the Rubicon crossed! Scientific thought at anyrate is conscious of the fallaciousness of the old method of reasoning. And so wide-spread is the indifference to the Animistic conception of supernatural forces, that we may anytime meet a representative who, almost apropos of nothing, insists on declaiming his intellectual emancipation. Happily, may be, he may do it according to the wisdom of old Omar, the Persian tent maker, who, so long ago perceived behind the pathetic phantasmagorias of the human mind, a primitive trait at work!

I sent my Soul through the Invisible.
Some letter of that After-life to spell.
And by and by my Soul return'd to me.
And answer'd "I Myself am Heav'n and Hell:"

Heav'n but the Vision of fulfill'd Desire,
And Hell the Shadow of a Soul on fire.
Cast on the Darkness into which Ourselves,
So late emerged from, shall so soon expire."

In the opening statement of Part I, I said that although the facts of a social problem may be presented, unanimity of opinion was not thus necessarily ensured, and this, because of differences in the points of view from which facts were estimated. Hence, information on facts was not the only essential.

The last observation is only true in a limited sense. Points of view are habits of thought which only break down under the unremitting impact of new experiences and habits of life of sufficient duration and force to replace them with new habits of thought. But the traditional habits of thought persist when they no longer fit the new conditions of life, though seen through the glamour of the old habits of thought their significance and meaning is obscured.

The Animistic conception, as I have tried to show, goes into the lumber room of time under the unremitting impact of objective experience which contradicts it. The bourgeois point of view, so far as the toiling masses are concerned, is undergoing a like process. We may accelerate its going by presenting the facts of the social situation as they really are. So may we assist the material forces of changes by educating away the traditional habits of thought, until the whole life and mind of the masses of the people is saturated with the upward filtration of a proletarian internationalism, pregnant with a morality and with social aspirations all its own.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

"Large Crowds Hear Lectures on Health." So read the captions over a report of a meeting in the Wesley Methodist Church in Vancouver. Dr. J. C. Elliot addresses afternoon and evening meetings on foods and nutrition, and on over eating, and why business and professional men die young. At the close of the lecture the entire audience joined in health culture exercises. The doctor is reported as saying, in part: "That millions are suffering under shattered nerves today who might find relief in a proper food supply, and proper care of the body. Many must eliminate half or more of the present food supply. Eliminate hot breads, pie and cake, rich and highly seasoned foods, under shattered nerves." The report contains much more to similar effect, but that is the gist of it.

In another report, we read of men walking the streets of a prairie metropolis and of having been without food for two days, being unable to obtain employment even at the harshest season.

Are those double standards of existence singular—the starving workers in Regina and the overfed obesity and nervous wrecks at the Wesley Methodist Church in Vancouver? Nay, they are general, as anyone knows!

Literature Price List

Table with columns for book titles, authors, and prices. Includes titles like 'Positive Outcome of Philosophy', 'Economic Determinism', 'The Present Economic System', and 'Communist Manifesto'.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER Z. LECKIE

NOW READY.

Præface by the author. 128 PAGES.

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Ten copies up, 20 cents each. Post Paid.

The workless, in bitter jest, mount the block on Boston common, and offer themselves for sale as slaves: "How much," patters the auctioneer, "for this young returned soldier? Come on, gentlemen, make your bids, how much! Going! going! served in France to make the world safe, gentlemen! No bids! . . . Get down you, you're not wanted. They put up his dog, and it sells for five dollars.

They clamor around the poor law relief offices, huge concourses of the workless, in Great Britain.

Great Britain and the United States are the richest and the most powerful countries in the world, leaders in a civilization whose productive capacity, in the means of life and well-being, exceeds anything ever dreamed of in previous times. But it is the power of the rich, and the riches of the over-fed. It is productive capacity regulated in the interest of a profitable price: it is industrial processes sabotaged for business purposes running contrary to the needs of the communities; needs for that full measure of all things which a full exertion of our social powers in production, in a system of production for use, would give to them.

But we have the profit system called capitalism, and the typical accompaniments of it: widespread unemployment and poverty of the things of life among the working class; and a vast preoccupation and concern as to their own health by the over-fed.

C. S.

WESTERN CLARION

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FIVE CENTS

Our Declining Standard of Living

A Pointer for Pre-Election Audiences

THE statement quoted below shows a progressive decline from 1896 to 1920 in the standard of living of the American wage-working class. Nevertheless, during that period society's productive capacity increased enormously, yet, both in relation to the 1896 standard and to the increasing productive capacity, less and less of the products of industry have gone to the working class as its recompense for toil.

Dear readers! During that period, the Capitalist class fed your imagination with sounding brass and glorious promises!

But Capitalism is no "Land o' Dreams." Long chronic industrial depression settled on our industrial system because it is too productive (an unanticipated war market providing the only break in consequence). The curtailment of production, the operation of industry short of its capacity, the partitioning of men and the material equipment of production has become a necessity, a considered and official policy in industry—this, for the business purpose of obtaining profitable prices in the interest of the owners of industrial plants.

Industry is not operated to its full capacity, as it should be if the livelihood of the communities were the first consideration, because it is in the control of those men who have the market in view, and at whose command output is regulated. Profits are the first and last consideration in business, which is to

say, that industry is operated solely with a view to such prices on the market as will yield a surplus over and above production cost—the surplus goes to various capitalist interests in the form of rent, interest, and industrial and commercial profit.

The output of industry is produced, not to supply the consumption capacity of the communities, but to supply the demand of the market, the limit of which is its purchasing capacity; that is to say, production is for sale for profit, and not for use.

We do not know the limits of the consumption capacity of the communities. Neither do we know the limits of the productive capacity of modern industrial powers. As straight scientific engineering propositions, the problem of reaching the limits of one or the other capacity has never been considered, much less attempted. A profit system, needless to say, is no fit laboratory for such a social experiment.

But we do know the limits of the purchasing capacity of the market. For the market becomes glutted with commodities, and, in consequence, the productive capacity of the communities has to be curtailed that is to say, the well-being of the communities has to be sabotaged—all to serve the ends of greed, safe and sound, and, since the 18th century, time-honored business principles.

The productive capacity of the communities has to be sabotaged by the business interests, because the purchasing capacity of the market does not keep

pace with the increasing productivity of modern industry. As the market capacity, with the passing of time, lags more and more behind productive capacity, more and more must the business interests practice sabotage on the communities, in the interest of profitable prices for themselves. Not for nothing are they called "the interests."

And so, the army of the unemployed whom industry can not absorb, grows larger. The standard of living (of the workers) has been declining since 1896, because there has been a permanently overstocked labor market. There is a permanently overstocked labor-market because the market for commodities can not absorb all the commodities that industry is capable of turning out—a chain of economic facts inherent in the capitalist system of production for sale for profit. The standard of living declines, because modern industrial processes are too productive—what a paradox!

Competition between the sellers of the commodity labor-power on an overstocked labor-market, has operated like an over-riding law of nature to defeat all efforts to even maintain the level of 1896, not to speak of raising that level in keeping with the progress of the arts of production since that time. Even the intense activities of the organized labor movement during 1918 and 1919, with conditions abnor-

(Continued on page 2)

The Great Illusion.

When one happens to suggest to the average "intelligence" that he is a slave he usually resents the soft impeachment—sometimes with great indignation—and proceeds to disprove the assertion. Usually his "disproofs" are more emphatic than convincing, and are subject to considerable modification. Where for the time we will leave him.

What constitutes "freedom"? What does it mean to be free? "Freedom" is to fulfil, in a normal manner, the necessities of natural life, to be able to comply with and satisfy rationally the laws of individual being. To be "free" is to be in the condition where the normal being can exercise fully and naturally the laws of constituted being and is therefore enabled to live a full, rounded and complete life. Whoever or whatever is prevented from functioning as the common, healthy and natural process of constituted being demand, is not free.

Freedom has nothing to do with the special pleader's self-interest, with the ideation derived from political necessity, fortified by political success, distorted and pale with political vicissitude. Such "freedom" is of secondary significance, implying no distinctions, and wherever class distinctions the freedom declines. Class concepts of freedom are contradictions in terms of relative bearing, necessarily indicating particular interest, and although conditionally social in character are by no means social in nature. For primarily, class involves sub-

jugation and individualism—the antithesis of social freedom. A full and complete life can be secured only on condition of full freedom, and freedom is the normal satisfaction of natural wants. What then are the "natural wants"? Of man, fundamentally, food and reproduction and from that basis development proceeds.

Man emerges from the darkness of the past in the likeness of the wild. Short and squat, deep-headed and girthed like a beast, with curved limbs and drooping arm, strong muscled and wide of jaw, flat-headed and feeble brained. Roving in bands through the gloomy forests, feeding, breeding, living and panting like the wild around him, yet throbbing, pantingly, fearfully, with the potentialities of humanity.

Physically weaker than the wild things around him, he was driven to cunning and resource for protection. By craft he maintained the struggle for existence, and craft favored him, lifted him to new advances, awarded him victory. He left his arid, boreal hut and became a cave dwelling plainsman, conquered the beasts of the field and flourished; invented fire and produced a new impulse of progress; acquired new food supplies, extended his habitat; increased his numbers; and for thousands upon thousands of years existed in the wild hunting packs of early savagery.

But growth and development urged him ceaselessly on. New discoveries were made, tools of stone

and bone carried his social organization to a higher plane, his thought to a wider comprehension, his conduct to a new unity. Misunderstanding the forces of nature, he began a tortuous direction to human development. He made gods in his own image and grovelled in fear at their feet. His curiosity and greed were the forerunners of science and trade; his patience and courage, the foundations of our highest culture. And each of such simple beginnings gave impetus and direction to further development and undreamed of consequence.

Yet, stern and crude as savage life and society was, here was freedom. Outside of natural calamities, man found satisfaction of his normal wants. Free, he knew nothing of civilization, its comparative culture, precarious amenities and doubtful protection. He could not exist apart from the tribe; he dared not set foot on the territory of another tribe; for the benefit of the commune (and himself) he had to conform to the will of the commune.

Nevertheless, to wander over the face of the earth is not freedom, nor is compliance with social welfare slavery. This man did not starve in the midst of plenty, nor did he go naked and shelterless in abundance. He was not broken with fruitless and incessant toil, his life was not held at the dictation of another. His society knew neither poverty nor wealth, theft nor prostitution, plunder nor

(Continued on page 3)

The Rainmakers

THE credulity of men is proverbial and displays itself in a multi-variety of ways making it a state common to all. There is a story told about a people who lived on an Island, Medisehon, in the sea of Alkali, which emphasizes this quality in an unmistakable manner.

They were simple folk, the story says, who used the most primitive methods in gaining a livelihood. Primitive in this they were equally backward in their notions, customs, and habits of thought—unaffected by the tremendous strides of Science, especially Meteorology—remarkable at this particular time in the land of Great People. From which they were cast adrift in a moment of spleen by Nature.

The folklore of these simple people relates how the land at one time was rich, fertile, and generously watered—just when and where it was most needed—and was thickly covered with long, lush grass on which their stock grew fat and sleek.

In those days everyone fared sumptuously on tender steaks and juicy outlets rounded out with wholesome bread and delicious Mocha.

Came a time, though, when the rain ceased to visit them. For some unknown cause, the atmospheric conditions changed and were opposed to them. Consequently their lands were parched; great cracks, into which their stock did fall and die, were seen everywhere.

Like all simple folk harrassed by fear and worry, they opened their "josh" (!) houses and prayed long and earnestly to Tosh and Bosh to bring back again the gentle, life-giving rains.

From the Isle of Medisehon to the land of Great People came a traveller who told to one wise-acre this strange phenomenon. The latter listened attentively and, afterwards, meditated long and seriously. Then he, next, did pack a suitcase, some trunks and boxes, filling all with queer contrivances, much chemicals and many books. He did buy, too, a ticket from Steamboat Bill who carried him to Medisehon.

The distressed people who met him, their minds immediately captivated by his sparkling wit and charming manners; the womenfolk, seduced at once by his modish clothes, his bohemian character; they did all agree that he was IT.

Having then established himself, he did undo his trunks and boxes. And one day when the heavens were heavy with dark grey cumulus he set up his Marvellous Machinery.

The wondering people gathered around and watched intently his every movement. Turning to the crowd, he said: "With this machine and the chemicals, which you see me mix, I can bring back to you the rains you need so much."

"For so many golden shekels I can give you so many inches of rain. Measured by the wealth in crops and stock that will accrue to you, the price is but a trifle."

The machine whirred; a cloud of stellar dust was disturbed. And, fast on the heels of this event, there came one man from a nearby village, much excited, gesticulating wildly, crying—"Rain is falling on Nogull lake."

The now agitated people looked at the stranger from the land of Great People. Wearing a dejected mien, a tremor of the lip, and with a note of grief in his voice, he addressed his audience, saying:

"I am sorry: I shot too much with the result, as you have heard, the rain was sent too far."

That night the wise-ones received a deputation from the anxious people of Medisehon. They would pay his price. A week afterwards, according to the story, rain came. Everybody rejoiced—none more so than the Rainmaker of Great People.

This somewhat crude synopsis will give the reader a useful analogy which can be applied to the rainmakers at work in modern society. And nowhere more sedulously employed than in Canada.

Mackenzie King is the chief rainmaker for the Liberal Party. The seductive but contradictory utterances of this honored gentleman awaken hope in the tormented minds of the agrarian and industrial elements of this community.

In brief and in substance this is what his message to the people amounts to: By taking off such tariffs as prevent the farmers from acquiring cheaper agricultural implements from American producers enabling Canadian farmers to produce grain at less cost while competing with their kind in other countries.

On the other hand by placing tariffs on such products as enter here from other countries, and especially those that can be produced as cheaply here (given the industrial developments), "Mac" thinks he can aid the merchants and the workers of this country.

He forgets, if he ever knew, that shifting tariffs from here to there does not affect the general economic situation but simply removes the burden from one shoulder to the other of the body politic.

And so, too, we find the honorable Meighen jupiter-pluvi-ing for Wall St. Canadian exploiters never did possess much capital of their own, and to keep industry running even in normal times they had to borrow.

To carry out local, provincial, and dominion improvements, the governments have had to borrow. And Wall St. is the most convenient place just now to borrow from.

"Art" is not so ambitious as "Mac," he proposes to keep tariffs just as they are, or a little higher. Which, in either case, suits the usurers of Wall St.

But what neither of these potential statesmen understands is this: Canada in company with all other countries needs a market. And so great is the pile of national debts; so many the claims on property that cheap as we can produce there is not in the pile of surplus values, which is appropriated by the capitalists, enough to pay these bills, keep industry running, and still have a margin of profit to themselves.

Yet Imperialism has not ceased to develop, the State, already large, is but an infant prodigy, whose maw will soon drip red again in the task of carving out another market. More debts, rainmakers; what then?

So far I have been dealing more or less specifically with the credulity of the exploiting class. From here on I want to make a few comments on the credulity of the workers and the methods of the rainmakers who play upon them.

It is on record that a certain professor of Chemistry approached his class one day with the purpose of determining the power of suggestion. "I have here," he said, "a small bottle containing a colorless fluid which throws off a pungent odor. Members of this class can help me determine the strength of the liquid in this way."

"The moment I withdraw the cork, start exercising your olfactory organs. And the first to perceive the odor let him raise and keep raised his hand. I will keep my eyes on the clock, in order to see how long it takes the smell to travel throughout the class, until the last one of you has raised his hand."

The ticking of the clock was marked by the professor, each stroke was counted. A few seconds passed and the first hand was stretched high; two minutes elapsed before the last member of the class had his hand raised in line with the rest.

The professor, with twinkling eyes, remarked, "It's the first time to my knowledge that distilled water carried such a powerful odor."

This power of suggestion is much in use by the rainmakers operating among workers in the Socialist movement. Sometimes with the best intentions and, then again, often with the worst.

For instance east and west of the Rockies, the

Socialist Party of Canada is—and has been for long time—considered a bar to further revolutionary organization in the part of class-conscious workers. If a member of this Party walks in the Market Place or is invited to a Social gathering, it may when he is asked to speak at some demonstration a public meeting, then instantly one sees the prevalent custom of the East (long since dead) come to life in the West.

The Scribes and Pharisees shake their skins close their eyes disdainfully; spit contemptuously the member passes by. They whisper in the alley make mysterious signs in the open. And the workers' interest in the Party, easily diverted as it is turned aside. Never pausing for a moment consider why these tactics are employed—or whose interest—the tecters at the practice, knowing, and caring less, whether the function of Socialist Party is to make socialists or work up religious enthusiasm for the purpose of furthering the "SOCIAL REVOLUTION" (heavy on the Mr. Printer—please, and for heaven's sake do forget the inverted commas).

These victims of an "infantile disorder" (see "d" and a little "i"), "Mac," and don't casually imagine they are organizing for a Political Revolution.—In whose interests—Rainmakers!

Those who study Marx, and understand the forces operating in Society, the antagonisms which are generated within the capitalist class, must understand that there is one numerically powerful group who, shouldering the burden of a colossal State fearing the outcome of future Imperialism, and feeling the depreciation of their portion of surplus values, they must seek to throw off this yoke. And the worker who understands this cries—Speed it up!

OUR DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING

(Continued from Page 1)

inally in its favor, failed to bring the workers back to the pre-war standard.

Capitalism is no "Land o' Dreams," but one grim realities. And, but one of many grim realities it has brought and will continue to bring, to a wage working class is—A Declining Standard of Living.

The following is from "The Nation" (New York) October 12th.

"As a matter of fact the American standard of living has been declining since 1896—for the first decade so slowly as to be almost imperceptible, then, after the crisis of 1907, more rapidly, and in the early years of the war with most catastrophic speed. The rises in wages forced on the workers during the fat years of 1915 and 1919 did not bring them back even to the pre-war standard. We make these statements with some positiveness, for they are based upon the careful study of Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago, and of Frances Lambers as published in the September number of the "American Economic Review." This study continues the authoritative work of Dr. J. M. Rubinnow before the war. It is commonplace of political as of household economy the money wages give a fallacious criterion of real value. What matters is not the number of dollars in the week pay envelope, but the amount of rent those dollars will pay, or of coal, or potatoes, or shoes and shirts that they will buy. Comparing the trend of average full-time earnings in fifteen standard industries with the purchasing power of money as measured by the retail prices of food those economists conclude that the real value of average wages had fallen about 6 per cent. between 1896 and 1919 but that by 1918 the average worker was getting 17 per cent. less, and in 1917—the amazing rise of prices occurring before the workers succeeded in forcing up wages all—37 per cent. In other words in 1917 the standard of living of workers in the woolen, cotton, shoe, building, baking, stonecutting, printing, and machine-shop industries in the United States had fallen off one-third between 1896 and 1917. The wage increases of 1918 boosted the level from 63 per cent. of the 1896 standard to 67 per cent.; and the increases in 1919 and in the early part of 1920 all more than have kept pace with rising costs. At the high point wages hardly returned to better than three quarters of the 1896 level."

History of the Art of Writing

In Three Parts, Part 2.
BY KATHERINE SMITH.

Phonograms—The next advancement appeared in the form of rebus or image writing, in which several objects were combined. The form of conundrum called rebus is the simplest form of phonograms. In the rebus the picture of an object is taken to denote a word or part of word which has the same sound as the name of the thing pictured. It is likely that the reason that children like rebus writing is that at about a certain age they, too, as the race has done, pass through this stage of development. If, like the ancient Egyptians, we were to adopt a circle with a central dot as our ordinary symbol of the sun, then we would have a pure ideogram, but if we were to go on and, after the manner of the Egyptians or Chinese, were to use the same symbol to represent the word "sun," we would have a phonogram of that primitive type which has repeatedly served to bridge the gap between picture ideograms and phonetic characters. It is thought probable that the adoption of this important step by which the advance was made from ideograms to phonograms arose out of the necessity to express proper names.

Phonograms are the graphic symbols of sounds. As a usual thing they have arisen out of conventionalized ideograms which have been taken to represent sounds instead of things. In the case of Chinese characters, we find the most notable instance of a graphic system which has never succeeded in advancing beyond the most rudimentary stage of conventionalized picture-writing. It has been found that when the intricate and queer Chinese characters are traced back to their earliest forms or types, they are found to be conventionalized forms descended from rude pictures to which they now bear little or no resemblance. The Chinese language is a language of roots; it has no terminations to denote tense, mood or person; the same word with change of form may be used as a noun, verb, adjective, adverb or participle. It is a monosyllabic language consisting almost entirely of homophones, i.e., the same articulation has to do duty for several widely different words. Hence the use of "key" words, otherwise called radicals or primitive. In the Egyptian and Cuneiform these "keys" are called determinatives. In English one learns which meaning is to be conveyed by the aid of variant spelling, e.g., right, rite, wright, write. In order to be able to write an ordinary business letter in Chinese one would have to commit to memory some six or seven thousand of these groups of characters, hence in China and in the countries not possessing an alphabet few people learn to read and write, and these few are known as the learned caste.

Syllabism—The stage in the progress of writing finds its best illustration in the development of the Japanese out of the Chinese. About the third century, A.D., at about the time of the great eastern extension of the Buddhist faith, the Japanese came into contact with the civilization of China and obtained a knowledge of the characters in which the Chinese literature was written. The Japanese language was polysyllabic, and the Chinese characters, which are verbal phonograms, could only be used for the expression of the polysyllabic Japanese words by being treated as syllable signs. A number of characters sufficient to constitute a syllabary having been selected, it was found that the whole apparatus of "keys" might be rejected. Here, however, the development has stopped. It might seem strange that a people as ingenious as the Japanese would not, during the one thousand years that have elapsed since the introduction of the Chinese characters, develop their syllabary into an alphabet, but we must remember that it is only within the present century that the Japanese have been a trading nation. The fact that such a development has not taken place is sufficient to show that the working out of an alphabetic principle is not as easy or obvious a matter as might be supposed. It might be

noted in passing that now that the Japanese have come in contact with Western civilization and have discovered how convenient and simple the Roman alphabet is, a movement to substitute it for the native syllabary has sprung up.

Authorities who have studied the matter have come to the conclusion that there is a general law governing the advance from one stage in the development of writing to the next. A next higher stage is only attained by transmission of the graphic system from one nation to another. In addition to the example just cited, the transmission of the Aztec to the Mayas of Yucatan, of the Egyptian to the Semites, and the thrice repeated transmission of the Semitic alphabet to the Aryan nations—to the Greeks, to the Persians and the Indians, are facts confirming this general rule. The best example of this general law is found in the case of the repeated transmission of the cuneiform writing. It was invented by the Turanian people, and transmitted to Semitic Aryans and Babylonians, while out of the Semitic cuneiform arose, on one hand, the Turanian Proto-Medie syllabary, and on the other the cuneiform alphabet of the Aryan Persians.

Alphabetic signs or letters represent the elementary sounds into which the syllables can be resolved. The earliest extant inscription in the world is the tablet in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. M. Matriellis places the date at about 4,700 B.C. It was erected by a king of the second dynasty, and is considered proof that even at that date the hieroglyphic writing was already an extremely ancient graphic system with long ages of previous development stretching out behind it. The Egyptian picture-writing, like every other primitive method of writing, began with picture ideograms, many of which continued to be used the very last. Abstract ideas which could be directly represented, were expressed by means of symbolic pictures, e.g., the battle of two arms, one holding a shield the other a javelin. The next stage must have been that the primitive ideogram gave place to the verbal phonogram and then later these verbal phonograms came to be used as syllabic signs; finally these syllabic signs were continued so as to form compound phonograms, on the principle of the rebus. Egyptian writing also contained alphabetical symbols out of which our alphabet has grown. Alphabetic symbols on the Egyptian monuments go to show that the letters of the alphabet are older than the pyramids, older probably than any other existing monuments of human civilization, with the possible exception of the zodiac.

The Babylonian, Assyrian, Medes and the Japanese succeeded in passing only through the syllabic stage which the hieroglyphic records of the Egyptians had already advanced to the great conception of the alphabetic writing.

Symbols for vowel sounds are found in the syllabaries of these nations, but the more difficult conception of the consonant, was not even approached. The notion of a consonant, a sound that cannot be sounded except in conjunction with some other sound, different from itself, is very difficult; it involves the analysis of the syllable into its ultimate phonetic elements. Canon Taylor states, "All that remained to be done was to sweep away the superfluous lumber." This step they never took, but continued to use eye-pictures side by side with that of ear-pictures instead of advancing to the use of fixed signs for certain sounds. Even at the present time we continue to use phonographic and ideographic signs to a considerable extent. The Roman numerals I, II, III, may be regarded as pictures of fingers, and it is probable that V. was at first the picture of the fork of the hand, the fingers collected and the thumb apart so that VV. or X. represents two hands, while IV. and VI. would be a picture of the hand with the subtraction or addition of a finger. Many of the symbols used in technical writing survive to show that even in the midst of the highest European civilization the spirit of the earliest and rudest forms of writing are not extinct.

The Zodiacal and planetary signs used by astronomers are also ideograms. Other ideograms used by us are the crown and broad arrow, sundry trademarks and armorial bearings, together with several printers' signs. Certain shop signs as the barber pole with its spiral bandage, which is a significant sign of blood letting; the three golden balls of the pawnbroker is a curious survival of the boluses (large pills) which denoted the ancestral calling of the Florentine family of the Medici. In £ a. d. we have characters of alphabetical origin used simply as convenient phonograms standing for the words pounds, shillings and pence. Most of the Arabic numerals are degraded from Semitic letters.

(To be concluded next issue)

THE GREAT ILLUSION.

(Continued from page 1)

its corruption. All that the community had to offer was common right; to all the requirements of life; in all respects a free society.

With barbarism came property right and its corollary, slavery. Came organized religion, organized militarism, organized political society (for the subjugation of man.) The savage was vanquished by the merchant; the commune broken up by trade. The natural patriotism of the tribesman for his hunting grounds became a weapon for political aggression; the reverence of ancestor-worship became obedience to god ordained rulers; traditional custom, transmitted to individual interest.

In such a society man is a slave. He has no access to the necessities of life. He toils only at the will of another and for the benefit of another. He is bartered—with all his potentialities for gain, and out of all the wealth he created he is thrown a scrap to support his miserable existence for further exploitation. Denied access to the means of life is to be denied satisfaction of the natural functions of life, and the accrued advantages of progress and enlightenment. Hence, as exploitation inevitably entails poverty, so dwarfed natural relations produce vice and depravity, invariably. Whoever holds the means of man's life holds man in bondage. Therefore, so long as political society shall persist, so long must man be enslaved.

From primal necessity comes secondary consequence. Development had to be—it was, (is,) the law of the cosmos—and, taking place; produced class distinctions. But class distinctions are class interests, differing and opposite, and the interest which happens to be dominant can, for a time, regulate the forces of social and ethical progress to its own advantage. But to the disadvantage of others. Hence the class struggle, and revolution. And hence also the confusing variety of interlacing ideas, the overlapping of ancient tradition with modern thought, and the struggle of conflicting philosophies, representing conflicting interests, which, by and through such interests baffles us in our immediate aim, and blind us to fundamental cause.

And truly, we are wedded to strange illusions. We call our shackles "home"; the penury of continuous toil "prosperity"; spoliation, enterprise; greed, incentive; impecunious necessity, thrift.

We call political domination, democracy; exploitation "eternal right"; war, "holy"; our civilization "enlightened." In the densest of ignorance we boast of culture, of virtue, amidst the most appalling corruption. We dub ourselves searchers for truth—and we daily crucify it. With dainty conceit we lay claim to reason—that is no more than self interest; to intelligence—that rises no higher than the impulse of emotion; to wisdom—unable to distinguish fact from fancy. With silver tongue we preach equality—and practice law; honesty, and accumulate riches; fraternity, and advocate "preparedness." We call commerce, "foreign relations"; lying, "diplomacy"; hypocrisy, "statesmanship"; guile, "law"; piracy, "glory"; robbery, "success" and the ethic overpreaching this festering slough of pollution we call "divine will."

But surely, the illusion of "freedom" is the most astounding of them all.

R.

Ten-Minutes' Talks With New Students

DESTITUTION AND DISTRIBUTION

LAST month in discussing poverty we saw that so long as tools remained primitive, poverty was bound to be the common lot of man. We noticed, however, that although poverty was unavoidable in the early stages of man's history, just because his productive capacity was so low, such an explanation could not be true of today's poverty. It could not be true because of the wonderful machinery invented under the stimulus of capitalism.

Capitalism, through that wonderful machinery, has solved the problem of production, but it has left a great problem unsolved—the problem of distribution. It has shown us how to produce the goods, but not how to distribute them. And the fact that this problem is still unsolved is strikingly evident whenever we look around us today.

When we examine the activities of the capitalists, we find them actually destroying things that much labor has gone to produce and things of which great masses of the people are in dire need. You will have read of the fruit trust tumbling bananas into the sea to keep up prices; and of the rubber-growers cutting down production by 25 per cent. for the same reason. In Brazil, when the coffee harvest exceeds a certain amount, the surplus is by law automatically destroyed, despite the fact that there are millions who would be glad to get it. Obviously, there must be something far wrong with distribution when things like that occur regularly.

We are continually being told that millions of days of productive labor are lost every year through strikes. These strikes occur because the workers are not satisfied that they are getting their share of the goods produced—because they are not satisfied with the methods of distributing the goods. Here, again, we have evidence of the unsolved problem of distribution.

We have heard much recently about "ca' canny." We've been told that the workers do not work as hard as they could do. To whatever extent that is true, it is true because many of the present methods

of distributing the products of their labor, working hard enriches not them, but the boss. In other words, the unsolved problem of distribution encourages ca' canny.

When we turn to the gigantic numbers of the unemployed, we find they are not unemployed because of lack of tools or raw material; because they can't produce things; or because the things they can produce are not required by the masses; but because these things cannot be distributed at a profit!

If production was the burning problem of the past, distribution is the burning problem of the present. It is this failure in distribution that is causing untold misery to the world's workers. Their situation reminds one of the equally desperate situation in which a chicken finds itself once in a lifetime. For the first three weeks of its life the chicken lives within the egg where it is very warm and comfortable, and where there is plenty of food. When the first three weeks of its life are up, it discovers that between it and the food outside is the hard wall of the egg-shell. Unless it breaks through, it starves to death. That is the position of the working class today. The problem of distribution is the wall that cuts them off from wealth, leisure and culture; and there is only one way out for them—and that is to break down the wall.

Production today is artificially strangled by the method of distribution. Goods are only distributed as long as a profit follows. "No profit, no distribution," say the capitalists. The result is idle machinery, destruction of goods, army corps of workless men. Profit fails as a regulator of distribution; a new regulator must be found, not individual profit, not the profit of a class, but general need.

The capitalist class will never attempt to bring about such a revolutionary change. That is the great task history has set the working class. It is a task that can only be solved by a working class that understands it. Hence, the need for the independent education of the working class.

J. P. M. MILLAR

"The Plebs."

trar A. A. Jones, polls 6 to 10; place of sitting, 1897 Powell street.

Ward 4—J. F. Forbes (1-3), Woods Hotel, Hastings street east; Jos. Barlow (4-5), 526 Georgia street east; Chas. Mitchell (6-7), 800 Hastings street east; P. F. Schar Schmidt (8-14), 1395 Keefer street; W. H. Brett (15-21), 2154 Williams street; A. L. Manuel (23-25), 1709 Cotton Drive.

VANCOUVER SOUTH

(Socialist Candidate—J. Kavanagh)

Area 1, comprising polling divisions 10, 11 and 12, registrar, J. E. T. Yewdall, corner of Granville and Seventieth avenue; area 2, polling divisions 1, 13 and 14, W. W. Crompton, 937 Seventeenth avenue west; area 3, polling divisions 2, 3, and 4, A. J. Paterson, 2131 Pirty-first avenue west; area 4, polling divisions 5, 6 and 15, J. A. Lindsay, corner twenty-ninth and Dunbar street; area 5, divisions 7, 8 and 9, Wm. Crane, 4055 Twelfth avenue west; area 6, polling divisions 16 to 26, inclusive, A. Williams, 4106 Main street; area 7, polling divisions 27 to 33, inclusive, R. Carruthers, 6486 Main street; area 8, polling divisions 34 to 43, inclusive, L. R. Taylor, 6434 Fraser avenue; area 9, polling divisions 44 to 51, inclusive, and 54, J. F. Lobb, 1617 Kingsway; area 10, polling divisions 52, 53, 61, 62 and 63, W. D. Grice, 5728 Victoria road; area 11, polling divisions 56 to 60, H. E. Adams, 386 Joyce road; area 12, polling divisions 53 to 64, J. B. Stoddard, 7129 Victoria road.

Here and Now.

A certain character, well (and once popularly) known in what we may call the annals of conjectural history is reputed to have said, "Cast your bread upon the waters and you may expect a bakery in return,"—or an encouraging, cheerful and helpful word to some such effect.

Whether or not the allurements of paradise has a bearing on the case, now that the harvest days are over the fact has it that our "Here and Now" acknowledgments are due in the main (this issue) to the prairie provinces.

In making special mention of this fact we have no intention of copying the example set by those political windbags who would set town against country in antagonism these days. We mention it just in order to foster the anxiety for equality. That will, of course, bring the Clarion more subs. Anyway, we hope it will or we would not be so contentious about it.

Our sub totals this issue, while they may be nothing to brag about, are indicative of fair financial weather in the print-shop. Not that anybody will ever mistake our basement for a bank or any such-like institution, but we like our capacity for adding figures to be tested—not once, but often.

Behold the totals: Accord such-like totals a continuously conspicuous place in the procession of events. Start in next issue.

Following \$1 each: A. F. Harbaugh, H. Roberts, T. Sykes, Sam Mich, J. Meldrum, J. Staples, A. Jordan, Jas. Dyce, P. Rafferty, A. Corlan, A. A. Strawbo, R. P. Miller, F. Isaacs, D. McTavish, N. C. Nelson, T. Hanwell, E. Waterson, J. Lavery, C. Butt, B. W. Sparks, W. Fleming, Abe Karne, J. J. Zender, J. A. Goodspeed, J. A. Beckman, C. C. Kennedy, J. Fisher, M. H. T. Alexander, W. Henderson, T. Shaw, Allan Clark, J. Marshall, R. Townsend, M. S. Grott, T. W. Dyer, R. C. Twist, E. Meek, P. Mytton, J. M. Brown, J. Skene, M. Carpendale, J. McDiarmid.

Following \$2 each: A. C. Pearson, P. L. Davidson, Sandy Fraser, J. Burton, S. J. B. Wood, Wm. Clarkson.

Following \$3 each: C. Crooks, Marshall Erwin, T. J. Davies, Roy Reid.
W. S. Matthews \$6; Sid Earp \$4.50; A. M. Bigelow \$5.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 14th to 27th October, inclusive, total \$81.50.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

C. McMahon; Smith \$2; Gus Johnson \$2; A. Corlan \$1. Sandy Fraser \$8. Roy Reid \$7. Dance at Wimborne, Alberta, (per Donald MacPherson) \$15.

Above, C. M. F. contributions received from 14th to 27th October, inclusive, total \$35.

DOMINION ELECTIONS

Registration Particulars for Vancouver, Burrard, Centre and South.

Registrars will sit from October 31 to November 5, from 9 a.m. till 9 p.m. with the exception of meal hours, and the returning officers appeal to the electors to make a point of seeing as soon as possible whether their names are on the list, and if not to have their names put on.

Persons who have moved from one polling division to another have the option either of going to the division in which they are registered in order to vote, or applying to the registrar in the division in which they are now resident to have their name put on the list for that division. If a name appears in two divisions the responsibility does not lie on the voter, but on the organization of the outside division, whose duty it will be to have the names erased in cases where the elector has registered elsewhere.

Three returning officers are C. Whittaker for Vancouver Centre, with central offices at 201 Rogers building; M. M. Marsden, for Burrard, with central offices at 334 Rogers Bldg., and Adam Barnes, for Vancouver South, with offices at 3938 Main Street. The list of registrars polling divisions, and places of sitting of the registrars are as follows:

BURRARD

(Socialist Candidate: J. D. Harrington)

Burrard District takes in that part of Vancouver City south of False Creek, Hastings Park and from Burrard Inlet between Nanaimo street and the boundary of Burnaby as far south as Twenty-ninth avenue. It also takes in the whole of the North shore of Burrard Inlet, from Indian River to Britannia on Howe Sound.

Burrard polling divisions in Vancouver will be ninety in number, divided up among stations No. 1 to 40. Ward 6; No. 41 to 69, Ward 5; No. 70 to 78, Ward 8; No. 79 to 90, Ward 7.

Eight to 15, E. E. Long, 2296 Fourth avenue west.

Sixteen to 21, R. Leah, 2117 Yew street.
Twenty-two to 24, R. D. Davies, 1995 Fourth ave.
Twenty-five to 28, D. A. Imrie, 1503 Fourth ave.
Twenty-nine to 32, W. McDonald, 1427 Broadway West.

Thirty-three to 33, E. Johanson, 973 Broadway West.

Thirty-nine to 45, A. E. Lord, 553 Broadway West
Forty-six to 48, F. McRae, 105 Broadway East
Forty-nine to 53, R. Forgie, south-west corner Kingsway and Broadway.

Fifty-six to 61, E. Pepler, 574 Broadway East.
Sixty-two, 63, 64, 77, and 178, A. M. Armstrong, 1121 Kingsway.

Sixty-five to 69, A. Butcher, 174 Broadway East.
Seventy-nine to 85, P. W. Pollack, northeast corner Hastings and Clinton street.

Eighty-six to 90, J. J. Robinson, 3000 twenty-second avenue east.

Seventy to 76, J. Watt, 3525 Fraser avenue, North Vancouver.

Ninety-three to 98, W. T. Cosgrove.
Ninety-nine to 106, R. W. Salter, Dundarave Blk., Lonsdale Avenue, North Vancouver.

VANCOUVER CENTRE

(Socialist Candidate—T. O'Connor)

Ward One—Registrar, L. C. Ford; Polls 1 to 6, place of sitting, 625 Hornby street. Registrar W. A. Woodward, polls 7 to 15; place of sitting, 1033 Georgia street west. Registrar Jas. Bushell, polls 16 to 22; place of sitting, 1600 Georgia street west. Registrar J. P. Donnellan, polls 23 to 29; place of sitting, 814 Nicola street. Registrar A. H. Low, polls 30 to 35; place of sitting, 1750 Nelsons street.

Ward Two—Registrar C. R. Johnson, polls 1 to 6; place of sitting 533 Peuder street west. Registrar A. P. McNair, polls 7 to 10; place of sitting, 768 Hamilton street. Registrar George Vernon, polls 11 to 15; place of sitting, Barron Hotel, 1006 Granville street.

Ward Three—Registrar Wm. R. Johnson, polls 1 to 5; place of sitting, 247 Hastings street east. Regis-

Materialist Conception of History

FOR BEGINNERS

Lesson 22.

AFRICAN CONTINENT

BY PETER T. LEOKIE.

IN examining the great development of Capitalist industry from about the '70's and '80's wherein Britain, France and Germany have carved out for themselves spheres of influence in Africa for the exploitation of African resources and native labor, to obtain raw material for their home industries, I will first give an outline of Africa previous to this carving-out process.

European trade on the West Coast and Arab trade on the East Coast is many centuries old. It was from the West Coast, too, the bulk of the slaves were taken, inter-tribal wars being encouraged by the slave traders, and the prisoners captured in the course of time were bought and carried overseas.

It is computed in American records that the British were responsible in the twenty years, 1680-1700 for importing 300,000 Africans into the West Indies and the mainland.

We noticed in an earlier lesson how the Spanish Imperialistic monopoly of the Americas broke down with the rising powers of France and Britain, when Britain secured the monopoly of the slave trade to supply the Spanish Colonies, shown in the Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

This monopoly was conferred by the British Government upon the South Sea Company.

The extension of the slave trade was regarded as a capital object of English commercial policy, and it became the main object of national policy to encourage kidnapping of tens of thousands of negroes and their consignment to slavery. Chatham boasted that his conquests in Africa had placed almost the whole slave trade in British hands. Even Pitt, after the war with France which broke French sea-power, went back upon the position he had previously assumed. The result was that in consequence of the British conquests and under the shelter of the British flag, the slave trade became more active and the English slave trade doubled under Pitt.

From 1666 to 1766 there were three million slaves imported by the British alone into British, French and Spanish-American colonies; one quarter of a million died on the voyage.

Between 1680-1786 slaves imported into British-American colonies numbered two million and one hundred and thirty thousand (2,130,000).

1716-1756 an average of 70,000 slaves per annum imported into the American colonies, or a total of 3,500,000.

1752-1762 Jamaica alone imported 71,115 slaves.

1776 to 1800 an average of 74,000 slaves per annum, or a total of 1,850,000 imported into all the American colonies.

The annual averages of the various countries were:

By the British	38,000
By the Portuguese	10,000
By the Dutch	4,000
By the French	20,000
By the Danes	2,000

The net return to Liverpool in the eleven (inclusive) years from 1763-1793 amounted to £12,294,118. Liverpool monopolized five eighths of the British slave trade and three-sevenths of the total slave trade of the world. There was the double profit of selling the articles of British manufacture, largely cotton goods, disposed of in Africa for the slaves' purchase and the profit from the sale of the slaves to America. Manchester merchants largely profited in these transactions. All opposition exhibited by the Colonies of the North was ignored.

Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1775 declared: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or to discourage in any degree a

traffic so beneficial to the nation." He was supported by the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the commercial world and ecclesiasticism alike in the defence of the slave trade who all directly benefited financially therefrom.

The consensus of opinion is that the slave fared best under Portuguese, the Danes, the French, and the Spaniards, and worse under the Dutch and the British. The Dutch and British, having accepted the adoption of the religion of capitalism which is Protestantism, had not the same religious scruples about their slaves.

To the Portuguese belongs the credit of making the first attempt to explore the coasts of Africa early in the 15th century, and to trade with the natives in gold and spices. These efforts, prosecuted for some three centuries, resulted in the creation of numerous Portuguese settlements on the West and East Coasts. The British and others followed hard upon the heels of the Portuguese in the attraction of profits from gold and spices with the birth of the slave trade, contemporaneously with much zealous missionary work.

Through concern for India and to obtain a strategic point of importance, Britain was in political occupation of the Cape of Good Hope before the modern scramble for African territory began to protect the interests of her Indian Empire against the French. The desire to occupy Egypt was also influenced because of British interests in India.

The great scramble of European Powers in Africa started in the seventies because of the greatly extended development of capitalist industry. We had that ever recurring period of depression and unemployment, with falling prices. The factors which brought about a falling price was not only the stagnation of gold production, but also the improved means of transportation with the building of railways and oceanic liners opening up large tracts of land in Russia and America, causing a fall in the cost of production of foodstuffs and raw material. The same means of transportation brought into intimate proximity those lands over which, under the spur of gold production since 1851, the capitalistic industry had greatly extended its enormous forces of production in England, France, Germany and the Eastern portion of the United States of America. After the crisis of 1873 the wildest industrial competition broke out among them, which at times reduced prices below the cost of production, which ended in tariff wars to limit the competition of foreigners in the home market. Germany's tariffs of 1879; France 1891; and the U. S. A. McKinley tariff of 1890. The tariff, not being successful in staying off a world depression of prices, brought about a practical means of eliminating competition amongst themselves by the creation of Joint Stock Companies, Syndicates, etc. The machinery in production improved so much in 20 years' time that the trade of Europe reached millions of people more than previously.

Between 1885-1895 the emigration from Britain, Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy was alarming their home governments; anxious to keep this moving population under their own flag they became envious of the colonial expansion of their neighbors.

Therefore, to obtain a means of outlet for their people and manufacturers the eyes of European governments were turned to the Dark Continent. All their possessions before 1870 were for the most part confined to seaport towns and adjacent territory, which were used as ports of call and trading centres, or coaling stations. British statesmen, alarmed at the progress of the French on the West Coast, took various measures to counteract it and to strike in while there was yet time. A charter was granted or conferred upon a body of merchants who, under the name of the Royal Niger Company made treaties with hundreds of potentates along the banks of

the Niger, and with other powerful tribes in Northern Nigeria.

The Imperial British East India Company was founded with the result that very large regions in the interior, right up to the great lakes, came under British suzerainty. In the South, the first serious conflict between the Boers and Britain ended, but the discovery of diamonds and subsequently gold, and the advent of Cecil Rhodes, were destined to change the whole face of affairs.

A third great power, Germany, whose explorers had figured conspicuously in the geographical opening up of Africa, brought about a Colonial Party in Germany. This was opposed by Bismarck until the election of 1881, when Bismarck went over to the Colonial Party in order to be returned to the Reichstag. All this struggle over the dividing of Africa filled the diplomatic world of Europe with bitter quarrels, which were fought by the natives, urged on by the competing religious sects. Uganda ran red with native blood owing to the quarrels between the French Party, composed of French Catholic Fathers, and the British Party composed of Protestant missionaries. King Leopold II. of Belgium, who was attracted by Stanley's discovery of the course of the Congo, annouced the explorer to Brussels and despatched him on behalf of the Christianization Association the king had founded, to make treaties all along the banks of the Congo and its tributaries, expressing profound abhorrence at the exploits of half caste Arab slave traders, whose atrocities had been revealed by several explorers. He appealed to the philanthropists of Europe to applaud his initiative, which he declared to be the moral and material regeneration of sad-browed Africa. When Stanley returned with the treaties in his pocket, the king invited the world to recognize the Association as a free and independent African State.

Britain's chief object at this time was to keep France out of the Congo basin, owing to the differential tariffs by which France opposed British trade everywhere. Lord Granville did not trust Leopold II., and supported the Portuguese Government, which raised counter claims, based upon ancient historical achievements of her explorers. Portugal had claimed it for centuries, and because of French ambitions Portugal was supported by Britain. Although European powers had not contested Portuguese sovereignty, none recognized the claim, but agreed not to occupy this territory. Great Britain refused to recognize Portugal's claim, although the Lisbon Government initiated negotiation for such recognition every few years from 1846, but when France gave one of her explorers power to make treaties with the natives to advocate the French interest in this quarter, Portugal was then successful in obtaining Britain's recognition of her sovereignty.

An Anglo-Portuguese Convention, 1884, established a sort of joint control over the river. The French opposed vigorously with a outcry of opposition from Germany, Bismarck was now in the hands of the German Colonials. The German merchants were afraid the Anglo-Portuguese Convention would hurt their trade. The Woermann Line had a monthly service, and from 1883 to 1884 had sold 1,029,900 pounds of gunpowder, 2,254 tons of liquor, 555 tons of weapons. The traffic in intoxicants alone had increased from 76 tons in January, 1883, to 502 tons in March, 1884, there were also German sailing vessels trading in this region.

France also opposed the Anglo-Portuguese Convention because she knew the treaty was directed against her. When the French and German Governments approached each other to oppose Britain, Britain announced she had abandoned the treaty. Later on a conference was called at which Britain, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Spain, the U. S. A.

(Continued on page 8)

The Psychology of Marxian Socialism

By M. RAHIM

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article forms the main part of an introductory chapter to Book I. of a series of books now in course of preparation on this subject. Book I. is now ready—61 pp., with a Preface by W. A. Richard—single copies, price 50 cents. In lots of 25, I will meet a copy boat paid.

The relatively high cost is explained by Comrade Rahim due to the fact that financial straits have permitted the printing of only a few hundred copies. An encouraging sign to Book I. will enable him to proceed at once to Book II. The subject is important and on it a considerable amount of discussion and controversy prevails in Socialist periodicals nowadays. Treated from a Materialist standpoint and shorn of a certain mysteriousness of materialism that generally surrounds it, Psychology, from the standpoint of a Socialist investigator should prove a welcome and interesting addition to our studies.

The Marxian School of Socialism considers as valid certain laws and principles governing social phenomena and explanatory thereof.

The object of this work is to substantiate those laws and principles in such a manner that, in the data of social phenomena, the physical side of the life activities of human society as well as its psychological correlates and aspects, shall be treated as complementary to each other as they are naturally found to exist, and thus make the Marxian view of the social problem more fully comprehensive.

If one looks at the vast amount of literature on Marxian Socialism, such as the earlier and classical works of Marx, Engels, Lafargue, Labriola, and the later ones by Dietzgen, Kautsky, Bax, etc., one is able to find the Socialist Philosophy as well as the problems of the Socialist Movement efficiently discussed.

A few capitalist apologists engaged in teaching Sociology and Psychology in the public schools and universities have written some works on Social Psychology, but such a bias intrudes into these works, due to the writers' interests in capitalist and ecclesiastical domination of social institutions that, for the working class, they are neither to their purpose nor in the promotion of their interests.

The principles dealing with the psychological aspects of Socialism have not been presented heretofore to the workers and general reading public in such a manner as would illuminate the social problem on its mental side and be of practical utility in furthering those social adjustments urged from the working class point of view.

In the time of Marx and Engels, Psychology was treated as a branch of philosophy and had no laws of its own.

Take for instance, Engels' classic polemic against Duerhing, already referred to. In it he reviews the Greek philosophers, Anaxagoras and Democritus; the British philosophers, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke and Hume; and the philosophies of the Germans, Kant, Hegel and Duerhing, as these were recognized as advanced philosophers at that time.

Psychology is not referred to in these works as of any importance, as it then stood as a branch of philosophy dealing with the subjectivity of mind by introspection, or objectively concerned with phrenology's bumps.

The Science of Psychology is regarded today as a study which subjects the states of human consciousness called mind and all their correlate human-life activities called behavior, to qualitative and quantitative analysis, experimentation, research and generalization, just as any other science proceeds to deal with material phenomena.

A considerable amount of experimentation on different forms of organic life from the simple unicellular amoeba to the more complex forms, such as we see in insects, ants, bees, cats, dogs, monkeys, etc., has been made in order to find out the simplest types of the psychological traits correlated to their behavior, or responses.

Still more interesting observations and experiments have been made on the infants of the human species for the purpose of discovering what continuity can be de-

terminately established between animal and human life through the similarity or difference of psychological elements in these forms of life.

By the time an infant becomes an adult it is found that so much of its experience is forgotten or eliminated by selection and otherwise so segregated into a background of mental content that the adult will not, or cannot, recognize or ordinarily recall into consciousness parts of his own mind, owing to its conflicts with what is an established consciousness standard and system. (See Book VII. abnormal Psychology.)

An adult often does not know parts of his own mind and, therefore, himself, owing to the peculiar constitutional method of the mind mentioned in last paragraph. A study of child psychology is, therefore, of no less, if not of greater, importance than a study, of adult psychology.

A branch of Psychology called Abnormal Psychology studies all phenomena of unconscious or subconscious, segregation and displacement of mind parts, subnormal and feeble-minded, and the so-called geniuses, to supply the data of psychology.

The cumulative data of psychology gathered from the study of animal life, child life, abnormal individuals (which, however, constitute an insignificant number in society), and the normal adult person as a social being, and of the groups and races, is now fairly sufficient and so organized as can be applied with benefit to the problems of Sociology.

The psychology of mind or consciousness as correlated to the life of human society is no more an undetermined, vague speculation, but a fairly determined, practical science, and of practical utility to life, as great as the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, mechanics, physics and the useful arts.

The Marxian school has reduced social science to a few fundamental laws and principles, thus simplifying the whole social problem; the controversial element being reduced to a negligible minimum. There are yet extant a variety of "socialisms" like "Christian Socialism," "Democratic Socialism," "Laborism," and other utopian types, products of social interests.

The thinkers of the working class today however, are in agreement as to the fundamentals, such as **The Law of Surplus Value, The Theory of Value, The Economic or Materialist Interpretation of History,** and the principle of social evolution through class struggles, wherein, eventually, the working class, by abolishing classes through their numerical strength and intelligence, would usher in a new social order: **The Co-operative Commonwealth.**

The Socialist Movement lays emphasis upon the necessity of developing class-consciousness amongst the world's workers and an intelligence in the social problem as conditions on their mental side, along with certain failing economic conditions which the contradictions of the capitalist system of production and distribution are fast generating, in order that a desirable social reconstruction can be accomplished.

We have now the psychological data on human behavior and consciousness, together with the methods and processes of intelligence in the human species, which comprises a very large percentage of producers (working men and women) and a very small proprietary, unsocial, owning and exploiting group.

The physical conditions, the economic situations, and the changes in the means, instruments and methods of production directly affect the status quo of the well-being and standard of living of the members of society.

At the time of writing society is in the midst of a great economic crisis involving the non-employment of millions of workers, and a keen struggle is to the fore with the working classes to maintain their standards of living which are in jeopardy through falling wages, increase of the workingday, and by the "open-shop" tactics of the employing classes, evidencing a given change in the behavior of members of the social organism.

It is the purpose of this work to investigate the relationships of social conditions and the behavior of the

members of society, and reduce these relationships to general principles and laws.

The mode of reasoning and enquiry followed in this work is what is called **Dialectics** in contrast with the modes or reasoning found in metaphysics and formal logic. The **Dialectic** is now recognized as the most accurate mode of investigating social and material history, principles of which are the following:—

(1) **Dialectics** take into account the positive fact that there is an unceasing change in everything: nothing is, everything is becoming.

(2) When two necessary conditions of an object appear to be contradictory to each other, and if a synthetic view by taking them together reconciles the contradictions, the problem may be taken as solved. Thus a Thesis and an Antithesis may become a unity by a Synthesis of the two views. As an illustration we may take the story of the two knights who fought over a shield made of gold on the one side and of silver on the other side, one holding it was made of gold and the other asserting that it was made of silver, each knight looking only at one side of the shield.

(3) **Dialectics** does not say yea, nay, nay, it collects all data and then proceeds to treat it genetically, through all its relationships, into a whole view. Engels has devoted a whole chapter to **Dialectics** in his book "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" (pp 76-reasoning in contrast with the defects of the metaphysical mode in a sentence (page 80), which I quote here: "the metaphysical mode of thought . . . becomes one sided, restricted, abstract—lost in abstract contradictions. In the contemplation of the individual things, it forgets the connections between them. In contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and the end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees."

A drop of water is at one time hydrogen and oxygen gases, at another time it is a fluid, still another time it is solid (ice) and it may exist as vapour. To understand it it must be viewed in all its relationships, and it is exactly the same with the problem of society.

Marx and Engels collected the data of history from the time of the primitive communes to the date of their career, that is the state of capitalist development then extant. By applying the **Dialectics** to this data they were able to formulate the laws of human society as we find them in their written works and which the best of the economists and the socialists of today take into consideration when the problem of society is discussed.

When the laws of the social conditions and human behavior are explained in Psychological terms under the guidance of the dialectical mode of analysis, the mental side of the social problem will have been described in as simple terms as the Marxian theories of the Law of Value, the Materialistic Interpretation of History and the Class struggle which are derived from the study of the life history of the social organism.

It is intended to distribute the subject matter of this work into 8 books, so written that each can be studied separately. It will be left to the discretion of the student to read the books on the basis of the particular phase of the psychological aspect of Socialism he feels inclined to follow independently of the order here laid down.

Book I. Introduction to the Psychology of Marxian Socialism. The principles of nerve energy and the human nervous system.

The efficiency of the brain process is supposed to be. Neurons in this part are correlated to the states of consciousness, and therefore to the adaptive behavior of the organism. We repeat that the relationship of the nervous system with consciousness, behavior and general psychological phenomena is so intimate that one does not exist without the other as far as human knowledge is concerned. But this branch of study is very extensive and one must refer to the works specializing with the subject if one wants to study it in detail. All that was necessary here was to give a cursory but essential account of the principles of nerve energy and the nervous system.

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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an overwhelming stream of profits, and to the worker, an overwhelming measure of misery and degradation.

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

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

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

1.—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mines, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.

2.—The organization and management of industry by the working class.

3.—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

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MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

(Continued from Page 6)

were invited, and later Russia, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Turkey and Germany. They agreed on a "General Act of the Western African Conference." We were told the powers were to deal with humanitarian interests, and yet the General Act itself had only two out of 38 articles dealing with humanitarianism. In order to prevent conflicts between European powers it was agreed that all marking of new territories must be preceded by due notification to all the Powers. The Powers wish to prohibit the sale of booze and firearms, but this trade was too good a paying speculation for them to create machinery to deal with their prohibition. German booze traders prevented it in 1885 and an act of 1890 was not put into force until 1902, owing to the opposition of the traders of Holland, whose government feared the new regulations would seriously affect their trade in the Upper Congo.

In 1894 the Congo State and Britain signed a boundary convention exchanged for leaseholds. Britain receiving recognition in one part of the Sudan at the south-west corner of Lake Tanganyika and a narrow strip connecting Uganda with Lake Tanganyika. Germany aroused such lively protests that Britain was forced to give up the small piece of land which would have completed the Cape to Cairo route.

The Congo State was compelled by France to limit her territory on the north-east of the Congo. King Leopold II. let out districts to companies, but was careful to retain a large share of the capital stock. Trade increased from \$9,000,000 in 1897 to \$37,000,000 in 1907, while large fortunes were made by the king and other shareholders. It is estimated that King Leopold took \$20,000,000 (twenty millions) dollars out of the Congo.

The Congo Free State resulted from the Berlin Conference of 1885, which recognized the International African Association founded by King Leopold II, of Belgium, which is known since 1908 as the Belgian Congo. Native rights in nine-tenths of the Congo territory were declared non-existent; this took away the right of the natives from the plants and trees which yielded rubber, oil, resin, dyes, etc.; they had no right to any animal, vegetable or mineral, and any European endeavoring to purchase from the natives such produce were guilty of robbery. The natives were taxed for revenue and as they were alienated from the means of life were forced into slavery by the most brutal atrocities that have been recorded in history. The fabulous dividends in rubber, with nominal shares of 100 dollars at one time freely dealt in at 5,000 dollars and upwards, was too profitable a proposition to attend to humanitarian protests against the horrible mutilation of the natives.

The Congo system lasted 20 years, and in Stanley's time the population was dense, estimated at twenty to thirty millions. In 1911 an official census showed that only eight and one-half million people were left; the decrease being a result of the horrible butchery of the natives. Stanley was more impressed with the discovery of great stores of ivory, gums and oil than his finding of the lost missionary, Livingstone. In an interview with De Fontaine, at the time financial editor of the New York "Herald," Stanley dreams of the lovely mansion house with its lakes, etc., he was going to build when he had tapped the wealth and resources of Central Africa wherein to rest for the remainder of his days.

The natives of the Congo, paid for services in kind, had to trade the payments back again to the

Company's stores, so they received nothing for their lost land or their labor but a pitiable existence. The natives rebelled against work; forced labor was introduced 1893-1895 and the ill treatment of the natives was increased until European powers were forced to interfere, when the condition became publicly known. Belgium was forced to take control of the Congo and no longer leave it in the hands of the King and his company.

The Brussels correspondent of the London "Times," 22 August 1908, said: "Belgium leaders are anxious to share in the movement of colonization and commerce for it is essential to the economic progress of the Belgium nation."

(African Continent Continued in Next Issue.)

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