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Revolutions, Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

SPENCER has said that when he disagreed with a book fundamentally, he was unable to read it; a frank admission to which most of us could say "me too." It is difficult to interest anyone in matters which they dislike. A boy who loaths creepy, crawly things will never be an ornithologist; it takes a Darwin to put a loathsome, vile tasting beetle into his mouth in order to secure two others which are escaping. Such is the scientific spirit. But even Darwin had his weakness; he would tear out of a book all pages dealing with material which did not interest him, leaving only what he decided was useful; at times this was but little. All this of books; when to consider the book of life, we can apply the principle 100% pure.

It is a well recognised principle of jurisprudence, that when a number of witnesses testify to having seen in similarity of detail any event or accident, their evidence is worthless. Mankind is so constituted that what remained in the memory of one is not entertained by another. This in matters of little concern to the beholders. And where the interest is aroused by bias, the difference of vision is greatly augmented. Any game or sport will testify to the unreliability of human observations. A player the visitors will regard as vicious and unfair, the home town will applaud as plucky and resourceful. Extend these remarks to the war and jar of nations and, if we credit man with the wisdom convention allows him, we are likely to become slightly bewildered.

The German, notwithstanding his hands, still red with the blood of countless innocent victims, can now be regarded as a little more than kin, a little less than kind. The song of the Anglo-Saxon is again abroad in the land. Any angle we might take for our searching eyes, affords consistent inconsistencies. It is as though life were a prism through which light reflects according to the angle we hold it at. It would accord well with our vanity but hardly with the facts to assume that everyone is out of step but our Johnny. And yet surely one cannot be right unless we accept the doctrine of the pragmatist: What is useful is true: At that we might echo jesting Pilate and say—what is useful! But, however much we disagree over details, everyone in possession of his faculties will allow the event.

For instance in November 1917 the Russian people overthrew their government. That is the fact. No one would care to deny it. When we enter into detail, however, we at once encounter a controversy which, perhaps, will be endless. The master class and all who see through their eyes had a permanent rave put in their minds instantly. Slowly the revolution permeated the minds of the workers, and then the fun began. We depended for detail upon those who witnessed the events, and here of course we are met with prejudice in the observers, many of whom were merely propagandists bent upon coloring these events to suit the master class; a few there were doubtless not quite honest, who wrote in the interest of the revolution. But discounting all that, enough material might be obtained to enable a proper estimate of that greatest event of modern times.

But just there we encounter our greatest diffi-

culty. Some refuse absolutely to discuss the matter with a view to understanding. Like Spencer, they disagree entirely with the fundamentals and decline to go any further. It is contrary to the laws of God and man and that's an end of it so far as they are concerned. Those who care to discuss it at once commence the weeding out process; and instead of being regarded as a historical event it becomes the yardstick of every cracker barrel soothsayer, or the black beast of every moralist extant.

Aside from its historical significance, which cannot be over estimated, and the unbearable suffering endured by the Russians themselves, it marks one of the most humorous episodes in history. As an example of the sheer inadequacy of human reason the literature of this revolution is unparalleled. There is nothing funny or stupid written about the eruption of Mount Pelee. Anyone who has written of that disaster can, on matters of fact, be given full credit. There might be variance as to the cause.

But of Russia, ye Gods! From the daily song of hate by the communists (some of whom lacked the courage to call themselves so) of all who did not turn when father turned, now changed to a bunny hug, clinging-vine "tactic" with every petty trafficker in working class officialdom, to the lamentation of the mighty and their hired lamentors and sobsters, is surely comedy enough for one short life.

We can well imagine that deep in the minds of many people lurks the idea that a revolution is a theatrical situation, a sort of full dress rehearsal, with a frenzied manager fretting and fuming and a prompter dodging about, openly and without shame giving a word here and suggesting a gesture there. Failure brings censure, success praise; and the actors retire to coffee and doughnuts and a well earned repose.

They should, and they shouldn't. They must and they musn't. They remind us of the French King who could tell whether or not he had boiled a witch, by tasting the broth after the boiling.

Our conception of revolutions is different. To us they are non moral and non ethical; they are laws unto themselves and in no wise incur censure or merit praise. There is also a fundamental difference between a political revolution and a social revolution, too often ignored. A political revolution might happen overnight, as indeed it appears to do; but a social revolution is the work of many years. Politically, the overthrow of one group of men by another ends the revolution. Socially, man has to battle with forces entirely beyond his scope. Politically, he can plan and contrive to overreach his opponent, because he knows the strength of the enemy; but socially he neither knows nor has he the means of ascertaining what lies before him.

Russia achieved the political revolution within a few months. A dissolute and half looney aristocracy, priest ridden if we may believe the records, and without either courage or resource, gave way to a politically inept bourgeois who, in turn, died at the first ditch. We hailed this event as the promised land; we did not then realise that a greater struggle was yet to come.

We have always held that socialists are essential

to a social revolution which aims at Socialism. That the making of Socialists is the main task of a Socialist Party. We know now from the experience Russia has had with her people that this task must be completed, if not before then after the political revolution. What is more to the point, Russia can never have Socialism until Europe at least has her quota of Socialists. The fact that while people chance one tentative eye forward to the promised land, in the wilderness their whole being yearns backward to the flesh pots of Egypt, has been known for long enough.

If the lava of a volcano goes up and then comes down, if in coming down it goes east or west it is well to know and profit by these facts; if after a number of years the land touched by the lava is fruitful beyond all other, that too should be well recorded.

And so if Russia does not measure up to our particular standard of merit let us remember we are not watching a picture show but are participating in life. It is well then to know that revolutions are more than wild viva or hozannas, flag waving and conventions. It is well to know that Russia is voyaging an uncharted sea, as it were, a sea which we may some day be called upon to traverse too. The storms which beat upon her we will without doubt encounter, and what hidden reefs and shallows endanger her voyage, beyond peradventure will lie in our path, and a fair amount of our own for good measure no doubt. But armed with the knowledge of her voyage we will be more apt to steer a straighter course during our own.

Let us then eschew vain criticism, leaving that to the cracker barrel and the smoke room where it serves to relieve the tedious hour when the smut runs dry, and seek to understand the great historical forces that are in action before our very eyes, destroying not one page of what we can be reasonably sure is correct and occasionally, when need be, putting an unpalatable fact in our mouths.

Socialist Party of Canada

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

February 4th. Speaker, W. A. PRITCHARD.
February 11th. Speaker, A. J. BEENY.
February 18th. Speaker, ROBT. KIRK.
February 25th. Speaker, J. D. HARRINGTON.

New Westminster, Edison Theatre:
February 11th. Speaker, SID EARP.
February 25th. Speaker, W. A. PRITCHARD.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.
Questions. Discussion.

France and Britain To-day

TWO STUDIES OF IRON AND IMPERIALISM

Editor's Note: The following articles, reproduced from "The Plebs" (London) were written before the French occupation of the Ruhr.

IN 1914 the weight of France in world affairs was very much less than that of either Britain, Germany, or the U. S. A. There were several reasons for that, but the most important by far was France's industrial weakness—she lacked a big heavy industry. If we compare her iron and steel industry with the of Britain, Germany or the States, we find she was very far behind, and the same was true of her coal output. The following figures taken from the Labour International Handbook, show her inferiority at a glance:—The monthly averages in thousands of metric tons in 1913 were:—

	Coal.	Pig Iron	Crude Steel
France	3,404*	434	368
Germany	14,383†	1,074‡	1,276‡
Britain	24,343	869	649
U. S. A.	43,100	2,623	2,651

France's industrial weakness did not arise as a result of lack of iron. Of that she had plenty: she had in fact more than she could use. In 1913 she produced twenty-two million tons of ore, nearly half of which she had to export. What France lacked was coal; she had to import about one-third of the fuel she used.

Moreover, although France had the advantage of three protective sea frontiers, as well as of a practically impregnable mountain barrier cutting her off from Spain, her north-eastern frontier was a source of weakness. Here, not merely was there no natural obstacle between Germany and herself, but her principal industrial district was jammed right up against the exceedingly weak frontier. France had another serious handicap. Her population was practically stationary, while that of Britain, Germany and the States was increasing.

In Germany, for instance, the birth-rate in 1913 was twenty-eight per thousand, in France nineteen*, with the result that 65,000,000 Germans, ever increasing in numbers, confronted 40,000,000 Frenchmen, whose numbers refused to grow. In consequence, France was becoming relatively weaker in military and industrial man-power and France's future looked anything but reassuring.

The war came, and after it the Peace Treaty. To what extent did the latter help France to overcome her three great weaknesses? The addition of Alsace-Lorraine gave her a population of nearly 2,000,000 which more than made up for her war losses, and, of course, weakened Germany. Moreover, it put France in possession of by far the biggest ore field in Europe, and second biggest in the world, according to Eckel (Coal, Iron and War). In 1913 the Lorraine output had reached the colossal figure of 40,000,000 tons. The whole of that field, along with some of Germany's most modern and scientifically equipped steelworks, was now entirely in French possession.

The addition of so much iron ore alone would have been little help to France, for what she needed above all was coal. That, however, was not overlooked, and the Saar mines, with an output in 1913 of 17½ million tons, were also handed to France; and in addition Germany was compelled to send France some 20,000,000 tons per annum for a considerable number of years as part of the reparations. Besides, thanks to the fact that the left bank of the Rhine was to be occupied by the Allies, with France as the chief occupant, for a period up to fifteen years, the Rhine now became temporarily the French frontier, and the Rhine as a natural obstacle is in these days of machine guns, as Marshal Foch said, a very formidable barrier. Altogether, then,

the Peace Treaty went far to strengthen France materially. It gave her a good frontier temporarily at least; it gave her an increased population; and, moreover, it gave her the coal and the iron that offered her an opportunity of challenging Britain's dominant industrial power over Europe. France had now the chance of developing into a new and more formidable Germany, and that is the alluring prospect that beckons her on today.

Of course, there are difficulties in the way. First of all, there is hardly any world market for iron goods at present, and France, because of the relative strength of agriculture as compared with industry, has no extensive home market for iron and steel wares to give a really strong impetus to great extensions in the French heavy industries. Besides, iron pigs and steel billets are little use in themselves; they require to be turned into machinery, etc., and France has yet to develop an extensive engineering industry.

But there is a more serious difficulty. Saar coal cannot provide sufficiently hard coke for smelting the Lorraine ore. That means that the Lorraine iron and steel industry is being kept alive on the coke coming from the Ruhr under the provisions of the Peace Treaty. "For seven to ten years to come Germany will be under obligation to deliver coal and coke from the Ruhr. After that the deliveries will cease. When that takes place the position in the Lorraine may well become catastrophic." If France is to have the golden future that her new circumstances promise her, she must have coke from the Ruhr.

Were France to get the left bank of the Rhine her position would be strengthened enormously. It would give her a permanent frontier on the Rhine, a great increase in population (about 5½ millions) and the increase would be in the highly industrialised population she requires, besides putting under her control one of the most highly developed parts of industrial Germany.

It may be suggested that the fact that the left bank is under allied occupation is a guarantee against permanent French occupation. That argument can only apply to the presence of American and British troops, for obviously the presence of French troops and those of her close ally Belgium is no guarantee. According to a recent Guardian article, there are only some 1,200 American troops there; and the British troops, though they certainly exceed that number are a mere handful as compared with the estimated 150,000 French troops in occupation. Besides, does not history show that temporary occupations have a habit of becoming permanent occupations?

Some recently published notes, prepared by Marshal Foch for use at the Peace Conference, leave us no doubt about his view. The Rhine, he said, in effect is the only satisfactory frontier for France and the peoples to the west of that river should, in his view, be under "the same military organisation." Clemenceau also shared this opinion as a tion." Clemenceau also shared this opinion and the notes drawn up for his use at the Conference laid it down as a first point that Germany's frontier should stand "fixed at the Rhine." The allied occupation was a compromise that allowed France to put one foot on the left bank.

But perhaps the French interests have dropped that ambition? Perhaps—and perhaps not. French statesmen have already announced that so long as Germany does not fully comply with the impossible Versailles Treaty France will maintain her watch on the Rhine. It is well known, too, that the propaganda conducted in the Rhineland with a view to persuading the population to demand autonomy from Germany has not been carried on without the assistance of the French authorities. Besides, thanks, to the Guardian, we know that recently Prime Minister Poincare sent a Monsieur Dariae to report on the eastern situation, and the latter recommend-

ed that a Customs barrier be placed on the east of the occupied area (i.e., cutting it off from the rest of Germany) and the razing of the Customs barrier on the west facing France; that the left bank should have a separate budget from the rest of Germany; and that the mark currency should be replaced by another. In addition to these economic means for detaching the left bank from Germany and adding it directly or indirectly to France, he urged that the Prussian Officials should be replaced by local officials, who have all been taught, no doubt, the value of obeying the French army of occupation. "These are doubtless ambitious projects," reports M. Dariae, "but if executed wisely and discerningly in proportion as Germany slips out of her engagements they would be amply justified. It is a long-drawn out policy, in which a well-considered diplomacy must apply one after another the successive links of a well-thought-out course of action which, little by little, will detach from Germany a free state under the military control of France and Belgium."

Although the permanent control of the Left Bank would increase France's industrial power, it would not give her the Ruhr coke. That, alas, is over the Rhine. But if France got that—and it is only just over!—not merely would she have the precious coke and system, for the Ruhr is the headquarters of the great German metal trusts. It produces not merely coal, but iron, steel and dye-stuffs and manures. In Germany, it is said, even the humble potato is a by-product of the coal industry.

But surely France will never attempt to cross the Rhine, it may be urged. Necessity knows no law. Without Ruhr coke France cannot develop her industrial might—she cannot make use of the "talents" that Fortune has placed in her hand. Ruhr coke is the magic wand that can turn the otherwise practically useless Lorraine ore into steel billets, machinery, big guns and—profits. Capitalist France must therefore come to an understanding with Krupps, Thyssens, and Stinnes or she must get control by force.

And please note that France is already in the Ruhr. In May last the Allies sent Germany an ultimatum on the reparations question and at the same time the French army crossed the Rhine and occupied Dusseldorf and two other important Ruhr towns. That was illegal. Germany accepted the ultimatum. Did France withdraw? Not a yard, and thus, in the words of a British capitalist daily, the occupation became doubly illegal.

M. Dariae in the report already referred to had also something to say of the Ruhr. After pointing out France's need for Ruhr coal, he said that in the existing French occupancy of part of the Ruhr, France had a pledge which she must not give up. By means of it, he said, France can "utterly destroy" the whole industry of the Ruhr, if she desires to. France, he urged, must get a definite control over the Ruhr industries.

In January, Germany owes France an indemnity payment which the latter well knows Germany can't pay and even now (December) France is threatening to occupy the remainder of the Ruhr, unless Britain helps Germany to make the payment. Thus is France placing British capitalism on the horns of a dilemma. It is being invited either to pay France an instalment of her German indemnity or allow France to become the possessor of Germany's coalfields.

Is Britain anxious to see France owner of the Ruhr? If France either now or later is able to unite Lorraine ore with Ruhr coke, she will have the basis on which to build up an industrial power that will enable her to dominate Europe and as an iron and steel state leave Britain far behind. That is a prospect anything but pleasing to capitalist Britain. Said the Guardian in a leading article on M. Dariae's report: "The report is a nightmare of brutality" (not of course to the French to whom it is a pleas-

* Including Lignite. † Excluding over 7,000,000 tons of Lignite. ‡ Exclusive of Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg.

* The Labour Year Book, 1916.

ant dream with prospects of realisation!) "If," continues the Guardian, in so many words, "this is the policy of France, the outlook is black indeed." Said the Referee a short time ago: "If the French plan were adopted, and France allowed to seize and exploit the rich coal and iron fields of Germany, . . . she would become the dominant industrial power on the continent. . . We would be up against a powerful aggressive force in international markets, and be closed out of French spheres by high tariffs . . . but we would oppose a new industrial concentration which would be distinctly hostile and detrimental to our industrial interests."

Exactly. But will Britain be able to resist if France insists?

J. P. M. Millar.

* * * * *

IRON, IMPERIALISM, AND THE PASSING OF MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

IN the tangled problem of British-French-German relations one of the most significant "straws in the wind" recently has been the Dariae report. The report started with a description of the supreme economic importance of the Rhineland, which includes the Ruhr Valley. It points out that:

The feature of this region of occupation is its very accentuated industrial character, which makes of it a pledge in our hands of quite the first importance for the recovery of the sum which Germany has undertaken to pay us. . . . The majority of the great German consortiums have been formed there, have their headquarters and their establishments there, and the ten or twelve industrialists who direct them, rule directly or indirectly, but absolutely, the economic destinies of Germany.

M. Dariae then proceeds to point out that the French occupations of the Rhine bridgeheads, and part of the Ruhr basin, together with the French Customs barrier on the Rhine gives them a stranglehold over Germany. By tightening the Customs barrier France can "separate from their coal, their ore, their cast iron and steel production, the connected and complementary establishments" of this area, and can utterly disorganise the industry of the potentes of Dusseldorf, Duisberg, and Ruhrort.

Therefore, M. Dariae proposed that this stranglehold should be used to give to France control over Germany's industrial production.

Previous to this M. Delaisi has pointed out in "Reconstruction in Europe," No. 7, that the change in the French reparations policy had been due to the changed interests of the French Union of Mining and Metallurgical Industries, which "exerts on the French press and consequently on the Government an influence equal to that of Hugo Stinnes in Germany." The famous association of French heavy industry (metal)—the *Comite des Forges*—is a dominant member of this Union. Formerly cheap coal had been their main need, and this was what they demanded of Germany. Then came the "slump" of 1920 and consequent oversupply of coal; and the Union of Metallurgical and Mining Industries turned its attention to securing supplies of coke, which the blast furnaces and steel works of Lorraine lacked, from the mines of Stinnes in the Ruhr. M. Delaisi concluded his article with the suggestion that the new tendency in the policy of French heavy industry would be to form an economic union of the industrial and mining establishments of the Ruhr with their own establishments in Lorraine.

The epitome of the whole matter is this: German Capitalism in the Ruhr depends upon Lorraine ore; French Capitalism in Lorraine depends upon Ruhr coke.

While yesterday we saw M. Dariae voicing the interests of the *Comite des Forges*, today we see M. Poincare translating M. Dariae's advice into practical politics. He goes to the Brussels Conference with a new policy. He is now ready to recognise what all the logic and persuasion of capitalism's "wise men," like Mr. Keynes, could not make him recognise so long as economic interests placed the telescope against the blind eye of the *Comite des Forges*. He is ready to recognise that Germany cannot pay; and that the demands made on her must be reduced. Consequently he is willing to consent

to a moratorium and to a revision of Germany's total liabilities. But in return he demands for France control over German customs and over the industry of the Ruhr Valley. M. Poincare proposes a system of financial control over Germany similar to that imposed on Austria through the League of Nations. The first signs of German's refusal to carry out the policy imposed upon her, the first wriggle of Stinnes from the bonds placed upon him, would be the excuse for the annexation of the whole of Germany's industrial area by France. Thus does M. Delaisi begin to find himself numbered among the prophets, and M. Dariae and the *Comite des Forges* begin to smile to see the curtain go up for the first act of the drama that they have so assiduously prepared.

And what of the attitude of Mr. Bonar Law to this first step towards a union of Ruhr with Lorraine industry in a combine of wider scope than Europe has hitherto seen? M. Delaisi declared that Britain "will never favour a rapprochement between the minette of Lorraine and the coke of the Ruhr." "If she has broken the wings of German industry," he said, "It was not to see France soar in its place." But it was three months ago that he wrote that, and three months ago Mr. Lloyd George was still the political figurehead of British capitalism. The advent of Mr. Bonar Law and his Conservative Government with its policy of "digging in," of maintaining friendship with France, reducing British commitments in Europe and the Near East, and concentrating on the development of Empire trade, alters the whole face of the European situation.

It is always difficult and dangerous in judging contemporary events to label parties and policies too rigidly. The events are so close to us and our knowledge of them is so inadequate. But it is not far from the truth to say that the policy which Mr. Lloyd George represented was the policy of the aggressive and progressive element in British capitalism, of British heavy industry as expressed through the Federation of British Industries. Or, if it is preferred, it represented British capitalism at a time when conditions inspired in it an aggressive and progressive mood. Mr. Lloyd George reflected the growing antagonism of Vickers, General Electric, Armstrong Whitworth, Cammell Laird, etc., to the rising power of the *Comite des Forges*. "If (British capitalism) had broken the wings of German industry, it was not to see France soar in its place." Reconstruction of the markets of Central Europe was the policy behind the Cannes, Genoa, Hague, and London Conferences, so bitterly ridiculed by the more conservative element at home as "the Prime Minister's travelling circus." Washington forced the issue between France and Britain into the open, and as conference succeeded conference, the breach in the Entente grew wider. As an "arriere pensee" there was British expansion in the Near East; and the climax came in those critical days of September, when British troops awaited hourly an attack from the victorious troops of Mustafa Kemal; and when that magnificent piece of "bluff"—the bellicose note to the Dominions on the 23rd—was greeted with a howl of execration by the Francophile and pacific press at home.

Now the reckoning has come. Mr. Lloyd George has joined Mr. Asquith upon the Opposition Benches, with but half a hundred satellites to show of the glory that once was his. Enthroned in his place are those who represent the passive, conservative elements of British capitalism—the banks and the finance houses of the "City," the bondholders and the "rentier" class, old-established business firms, which have their glory in the past and wish to preserve it, dreading the losses of war and revolution more than they yearn for the profits of new conquests.

It is therefore very unlikely that Mr. Bonar Law will offer a very strenuous opposition to the proposals of M. Poincare; and M. Poincare is likely to be unbending, for he has before him as warning the fate of M. Briand when he compromised the interests of the *Comite des Forges* by conceding too much to Mr. Lloyd George at Cannes. At Lausanne Lord Curzon has been at great pains to preserve Allied

unity, and he has preserved it at the expense of considerable concessions. And what is done at Lausanne will be inevitably interwoven with what is done at Brussels. The Observer tersely comments:

"France is far more interested in the Ruhr than in the Straits and therefore the conditions for a bargain or for blackmail are complete." (Dec. 10th).

Britain is likely at Brussels to purchase peace and tranquillity at the price of handing over to the *Comite des Forges* the Ruhr and Rhine industry of their heart's desire. Meanwhile British capitalism will attempt to consolidate itself. It will undertake a drastic economy and reduction of taxation, a clipping of the wings of labour, a development of the resources of the Empire, and a restoration of the prestige of "The City" by a stabilisation of the pound sterling at its pre-war parity, if possible, and by a courageous fulfilment of our debt obligations to America.

The significance of the Brussels Conference will be, therefore, as an important landmark in the history of post-war Imperialism. The true significance of the stabilisation of Austria was cloaked behind an appearance of beneficence. To the Liberals, who dreamed of a Cobdenite Europe, it seemed that the League of Nations was really fulfilling the "ideal" role which the "Presbyterian" of Washington created it to fulfil in his visions. With the adoption of the same policy towards Germany we have the naked appearance of the policy of the "Africanising" of Central Europe. If M. Poincare's proposals are accepted at Brussels, the imperialist world will have sealed with its approval this new phase of its activity; the death knell of the Liberal dreams of a reconstruction of Europe on Cobdenite principles will have sounded.

If Brussels gives to the *Comite des Forges* a free hand to buy out Stinnes, Krupp, and Thyssen on its own terms and allows the financial syndicates of Paris to fasten their hold on Central Europe as they fastened it on Tunis and Morocco forty years ago, the reconstruction of Central Europe by an international finance consortium, in which the London banks will be content to be "sleeping partners," will begin; and the League of Nations will be used as its instrument. Among its first actions is likely to be the sweeping away, as in Austria, of most of the concessions won by the workers, such as workers' control, and a wholesale reduction of the standard of life. A stabilisation of the mark is bound to involve on industrial crisis on a huge scale and widespread unemployment.

Meanwhile the resolve of "The City" that Britain must shoulder her obligations to U.S.A., even if nothing can be obtained from her European debtors, will mean that Britain will have to increase her exports to U.S.A. and decrease her imports; for the repayment debt or the payment of interest on it involves as a necessary condition an export surplus. Hence British workers will be made to work harder on a lower standard of life. For the moment it seems as though Brussels is to give Europe a taste of the Servile State.

But it does not seem probable that Mr. Bonar Law's ideal "tranquillity" will remain enthroned for long. The raising of the *Comite des Forges* to the chief place among the heavy industry of Europe and the establishment of French hegemony across Central and Eastern Europe is likely before long to sting British capitalism into activity again. Once British heavy industry has passed its period of greatest depression, and has shaken itself free from dependence on banks, which a period of deflation imposes on it, it is likely to rear its head once more, and to engage in the imperialist struggle more desperately than before. And may not U.S.A., too, want a finger in the pie, as J. P. Morgan have already had theirs in the Austrian pie? What if J. P. Morgan and Co. think of Africanising their debtors, Britain and France, as the *Comite des Forges* is Africanising Germany? And then there is always China!

Perhaps deep down in his unconscious Mr. Lloyd George knows this, and reclines on the Opposition Bench—waiting; waiting for the day when British capitalism will need him at the helm once more.

MAURICE H. DOBB.

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THE DAILY NEWS.

NEW, domestic and foreign, real and imagined, if not altogether nutritious mental fodder for modern man, has come to be as necessary to him as the quick lunch he swallows, both outputs of his much advertized present era of social service, the same being, of course, social service plus cash on delivery.

Nothing is astonishing nowadays. The news is swallowed in rush order and there is no surprise if it is contradicted in the next edition or even of the next edition goes so far as to confirm what was in the last. Murder, arson, patrioteering, theft, suicide, war and near war, conferences, national and international, bankruptcy, the stool pigeon and secret service industry, treason and sedition, deaths by accident, lynching, hanging, wood alcohol, liquid fire, the Ku Klux Klan and slow starvation. There is the news. The Morning Liar glories in it, and while there's plenty of it all's well with the world. And all for a nickel! Besides the everlasting "less than cost" ads. and the stock quotation columns. These last are ever reliable. They are the index of finance, the daily certificates of good or bad health in business. They are reliable because they are never "written up", which is to say they are never tampered with nor doctored for swallowing. They are not interesting to the people for they are not news and they are not interesting. Anyway, the people have a habit of avoiding the substance.

Being beyond astonishment our newspaper reader devours his news without a wink. He knows he lives in that world under description. A mild surprise, it is possible, might overtake him if the familiar daily record of human trouble, activity and distress were missing and the world presented an appearance of Christmas-all-the-year-around, without legendary attachments. He might.

Suspended from our strap in the street car the other day we overheard one fellow passenger greet another, the latter reading "the news:" "Hullo, Bill, what's the news?" "Oh, nothing," says Bill, "just the usual stuff." "The usual stuff," we found in that issue in course of time, was a front page manifest of the blessings of civilization, a measure of man's stride in its wilderness. We learned that there was actually an idea current in London financial circles that the constant harping by the French on reparations was not sincere. The French did not expect to get reparations as per schedule, but intended to seize and hold, forever if they could, the Ruhr; because Rhur coke was necessary to complete the industrial entity of French iron and steel. French iron and steel in Alsace-Lorraine had been necessary to German coke coal in 1871. Now the Ruhr coke is necessary to French iron and steel. Being so simple, books have to be written and conferences held over it. British finance could, for the time at any rate, offer no actual opposition to the plan, although British finance did not like it. For the Franco-British united front at Lausanne must be maintained in order to ensure to British finance the lion's share in Mosul oil. The withdrawal of American troops from the Rhine indicated a breach, even if only temporary, between French and American interests, to the satisfaction of British finance which, as usual, credited its home-made diplomacy with another triumph, for the French and Americans have been overly friendly at

Lausanne and are not appreciative of the legitimate needs in oil, of the far flung British Empire.

Likewise the Turk, the obdurate, obstinate, argumentative Turk, who seems to mistake Turkey as a place for Turks to live in. Lord Curzon, who has apparently made little impression on Turkish credulity concerning British anxiety over the minority races still surviving cruel destruction, forgetful somewhat, we think, of the British living, registers sincere diplomatic piety and reverence for the British dead. In the name of the British dead British forces will occupy Gallipoli where thousands of them lie, victims of the war "news" of their day—the usual stuff. Even the dead have their uses in Imperialism.

We found, in course of our pursuit of the news that the Ku Klux Klan was out of favor in Wall Street and was not wanted in Canada. The burning of half-a-dozen Roman Catholic Churches in Eastern Canada was too much, all at once. Yet the K. K. K. denied participation in such matters for, said their advocate, K.K.K. activities are confined to U.S.A.! Wall Street requires that the mind of the negro population be not subject to so much racial disturbance, because if European immigration keeps falling off the industrial tasks it has been in the past imported to fulfil must be performed by the negroes.

A New York pastor—according to the news—has discovered the Age of Reason. He is convinced, and argues about it, that Jesus was really human, that he performed no miracles and did not walk upon waters. This man (the pastor of course) may reach maturity in time. After he is finished with Emanuel Swedenborg, now out of vogue some hundreds of years, he may in time catch up with the humor of Voltaire. His Bishop, anxious to avoid the unwelcome publicity of a heresy trial, sends him something of an up to date presentation of the epistle of the Holy Cardinals to Galileo for his heretical depravity in the seventeenth century. Of course we advance!

Next we learn that the price system has penetrated the tombs of the Pharaohs, in Luxor, Egypt. The process of robbing the dead has been suspended for a little while, because "those who provide the money do so in expectation of sharing in the rewards," and "American as well as English interests are involved." News and picture copyrights are to be registered where possible and the commercial end "worked" to the full. For particulars as to the price of sharing in this scientific research work apply: Archaeology Limited. Another link in the evolutionary chain, past and present.

The drab, uninteresting, hard to read items on the Finance page reveal that during September, October and November, 1922, seventy seven corporations in the United States jointly declared dividends of a billion and a quarter dollars. Standard Oil of New Jersey 400 per cent, Standard Oil of New York 200 per cent, Standard Oil of California 100 per cent, Standard Oil of Kentucky 33 1/3 per cent. And so on. The items are unending and will continue, no doubt, so long as "the people" find them hard to understand. Anyway, they are not "news."

So there we have a draft of a day's news of worlds events. The usual stuff. The only item missing is Harrington's "Cosmic Cop," directing the traffic on the universal highway.

The Clarion Mail Bag

BY SID EARP.

The news relating to the advance of French troops into German territory is exciting much discussion amongst those who are interested in international affairs. Dangerous complications have already been precipitated, which may be speedily utilised by other aspirants to a declining world commerce. The imperious demands for trade cannot be checked indefinitely, for in the process of trading in the wares produced by the working class does Capitalist Society maintain itself. And so, in spite of conferences and talk fests, the predatory spirit of Capitalism is again to the fore, and armed

men, members of the working class, go to the settlement of a problem in which their interests are not involved, and out of which they will gain—nothing. While a national viewpoint prevails in the minds of the workers, the real issue which is of a social character will remain unseen and disregarded.

Our part, as students of society, is to bring forward the real issue; the contradiction between the social production of wealth and its private appropriation. With an understanding of this fact in their minds, the emancipation of the working class will be made possible and easy of achievement, and the present welter of national rivalry and strife will fade away, let us hope, never to return. Towards the realization of this ideal let us work deliberately and with good courage.

Although the "Mail Bag" is not large this time, it is distinctly encouraging; small gains but sure, characterise the movement in Canada.

Writing from Billtown, Nova Scotia, Comrades Parry and Sim, who are old time readers of the "Clarion," express their warm approval of our efforts as propagandists. They consider the Party's attitude towards Soviet Russia as stated by Com. Stephenson's recent article, to be the correct one; but too late in appearing for best effects. They enclose three subs and two dollars for the Maintenance Fund.

From St. John, New Brunswick, Com. M. Goudie writes in cheerful strain, enclosing ten dollars for the Clarion and an order for literature. The boys in St. John sure have the right spirit; would there were more like them. Ontario is represented by Com. A. M. Neelands of Chatsworth, who sends in one dollar sub. to the Clarion. From Woodstock, Ont. W. H. Murray sends a request for information regarding Robert D. and Duncan M. Murray, two brothers with whom he wishes to communicate. They were both in Vancouver within recent years, and Mr. Murray asks our assistance in locating them. If anyone can help in this matter please write or call at Headquarters. Archie Morey writes from Ottawa, Ont., asking for back copies of the Clarion.

Com. Charles Lester writes from Brandon, Man., saying he is on his way west. Comrades at various points may expect Charlie any time. As a useful man to the revolutionary movement Com. Lester is worthy of our best support. His address is not certain, and he will advise points of call when due to arrive.

From Swalwell, Alta., Com. Kolden sends his best regards to the Party along with two sub. renewals and two dollars for the Maintenance Fund. Com. Isaac Brown sends a sub. from Travers and a dollar for the Maintenance Fund. Also a sub. from W. Robertson, Haynes, Alberta. Com. C. E. Scharff writes from Millet, Alta., expressing his appreciation of the article "The Farmers Misery" appearing in a recent issue of the Clarion. He considers it to be a timely contribution and expects it added some interest to the U. F. A. Convention held in Calgary, 16th January. He suggests that we send copies of the Clarion to the officials of the U. F. A. Also encloses two subs. and a contribution to the Maintenance Fund. Com. W. Dorney writing from Retlaw sends in five subs. from farmers in that district. Good work.

Dan Srigley sends word from Wimborne, Alta., to say that Local Wimborne is now holding Economic Study Classes every Wednesday night, taking the S. P. of C. Manifesto as a text book. He encloses two subs. and two dollars for the Maintenance Fund. Thos. Darnley sends in a two years' sub. from Brule Mines, Alta. An order for a copy of Morgan's "Ancient Society", comes from Henry Schnee, Granlea, Alta., also two subs. from Com. Frank Tipping, Carolside, Alta. Robert Gardner sends in an order for literature from Eagle Hill, accompanied by best wishes.

Writing from Fiske, Saskatchewan, Com. P. J. Hunt expresses appreciation of the lectures given by Charles Lester in that district recently and hopes that he will continue as a teacher amongst the workers. He also likes the "Mail Bag" column. He says the farmers in that district are nearly all broke, and encloses three dollars for a sub. literature

(Continued on page 6)

Science and Religion

"It should, I think, be recognized that there is no essential antagonism between the scientific spirit and what is called the religious sentiment. 'Religion,' says Bishop Creighton, 'means the knowledge of our destiny, and of the means of fulfilling it.' We can say, no more, and no less of science. Men of science seek in all reverence to discover the Almighty, the Everlasting. They claim sympathy and friendship with those who, like themselves, have turned away from the more material struggles of human life and have set their hearts and minds on the knowledge of the Eternal."

—Sir Ray Lankester.

IT is a pity that Mr. McMillan closes an exceedingly interesting book, so tritely, with a conclusion which is at variance with its own material and false to its own implications. It is—in its worthiest sense but a vapid concession to the crude ideals and misinterpreted passions of the un-understanding yesterday; and which has so terribly burdened and still continues to darken the world with the fears of its own illusions. The whole passage cries out against this fettering of thought and progress and the unmistakable witness of fact.

There is "an essential antagonism" between the scientific spirit and the religious sentiment. Lankester would laugh a scornful laugh were we to say there was no essential antagonism between the scientific sentiment and the religious spirit. And rightly. Yet it is no more nonsensical than his own statement, and no whit more meaningless. The spirit of science is the spirit of research. The sentiment of religion, the credulity of belief. The former sparkles with the energy of experiment and discovery. The latter stagnates in the passivity of acceptance and tradition. One gathers fresh energy from progress. The other withers in the day-spring of knowledge. Science exults in life and light. Religion is robed in the gloom of its ancestry. Science is the creative, immortality of humanity. Religion is the mythical immortality of man. The very quotation from Bishop Creighton, which Lankester would have us accept as parity or equality, proves the very antagonism which it avers not to exist. For it is precisely the great advance in empirical science which has forced religion to lifeless abstract—and false humanity.

Religion and science are concrete terms with particular significations. Neither in fact nor in definition are they synonymous or complementary. Religion is the logic of passion: science the logic of causation. Religion is metaphysical "essence"; development, the manifest of mind. Science is the factual operation of phenomena: development the necessity of constituted being. If science is the knowledge of our destiny and of the means of fulfilling it," it is garnered, patiently, from the experience of developing materials, unassisted by any extra mundane influence. The "knowledge" of religion—although also derived from experience—is nevertheless only the "knowledge" of transcendental speculation. The basis on which it rests, analysed, denies its inspiration. Its conclusions, tested, melt and mingle with their native air. To unite science and freedom is to unite fact and phantasm; is to confuse time and tide; is to express the potential of 1 as equality with the potential of 0.

The destiny of man, according to science, is a fundamentally different thing to the destiny of man, according to religion. Science says that man has come from the wild; gropingly from the darkness of unrealised antiquity; in origin, a product of cosmic growth; in growth, a creation of material condition; in destiny, the law determined unfolding of the (perhaps limitless) potentialities of human nature; his mind and consciousness, identities of time-development, and rising through the recognition of law and reality to the grandeur of human living. Religion says that man is a special product of infinite intelligence, in origin a creation, in growth a redemption for life everlasting, in destiny the perpetuity of bliss in the presence of his creator; his mind and consciousness the reflex of the "divine soul," but dimmed and degraded by the contact of mortality. That is an "essential antagonism,"—the Bishop, or Lankester, notwithstanding.

If science "seeks in all reverence to discover the Almighty, the Everlasting," it succeeds magnificently in veiling its objective. For its attained results are exactly the opposite. Rather than the "Almighty and the Everlasting," science has apparently come to the electron and the transient, instead of the permanent and the stable; it avows mutation and potential. "Reverence" may sooth the misgivings of power, but it has no cogency in the realm of reality. Capital abstractions may fall tenderly on the ear of desire, but they are helpless in the presence of the true. It is not a reverent mind that science brings to its task of analysis, but the keen, austere, dispassionate criticism of reason. It may—it mostly does—entertain a lively sense of its finite littleness in the awesome magnitude of cosmic phenomena; it may marvel at their wonder, their beauty, their infinite complexities, their immensity of energy and operation, but it pays no homage of reverence, regards no telic design and sanctions no essence of vitalism in the vast magma of the universe. From the atom to man, from universal energy to the intricate subtleties of mind, it owns and knows no force or inspiration but the calm, undeviating majesty of law. Nowhere does science discover supernatural intelligence: everywhere inevitable cause. Nowhere does it find the everlasting; everywhere the sequence of movement. Its one permanence is causation; its only absolute change.

From man, and the mind of man, to his anthropoid progenitors; from the anthropoid to the lower mammals; from mammal to Saurian; from Saurian to amphibian; from amphibian to fish; from fish to invertebrate; from invertebrate to protoplasm; from plasma to physico-chemical processes; from physico-chemical to mechanical energy; from mechanical energy to the necessity of cosmic constitution. Everwhere the nexus and interactions of causation. Everwhere the process and complexities of being and becoming. Everwhere the constitutionally determined laws and functions of growth and development. Everwhere the cycle principle of evolution, from the simple and homogeneous to the complex and highly organised. Everwhere, in all things, conditions and qualities, the unending unfolding of inhering potentialities, in the wonder drama of matter in motion; from the firemist of the eternal past to the firemist of the eternal future. That is science—as far as we have been enabled to grasp it. But it is not religion.

Our last objection is one that comes nearer ourselves. To claim the sympathy and friendship of those who have "turned away from the more material struggles of human life, and set their minds . . . on the eternal" may look fine and noble—on paper. In the business of common life it is nonsense. For the ability so to turn away is vested solely in the few, by the laws of political society; and is derived from the fact that the vast majority is compelled by the social constitution to engage life long and exclusively, in the most sordid and barren necessities. And the very fact that they do so turn away—in a society like this—is a triple affront to human intelligence. It violates the kinship in nature. It scorns and denies the natural laws of human life. And it is a philosophical negation of "eternity." Were reality the image of the "Eternal" it would be impossible to explain a world like this. Sympathy is valueless in political economy—else it had accomplished its peace ages ago. Were friendship more than a name, society could not be so enslaved, its aspirations so ruthlessly suppressed, nor the laws of its human nature so thwarted and denied. For the practice of friendship, and the sympathy of fraternity, is the kinship of truth in the validity of the human equation. And the truth of this human equation, its consequent practice of friendship and the sympathy of common association, can thrive only in the society of material freedom.

Moreover, the separation of the "material" and the "Eternal," is as wayward in philosophy as it is

arbitrary in fact. The things of the "Eternal" are no less material than the things of time. Because they are simply the concatenations of progress. They owe their individuality, not to the reality of dual being but entirely to the thought forms of human miscomprehension. From time to eternity is but the sequence of evolution from eternity to time. And just as time is practically a synonym for human intelligence, so eternity is a synonym for cosmic unity. To impute distinctions in the latter, is to deny the manifests of the former; is to impugn the whole witness of development. To science all things are scientific; all things kindred. A snowflake is as unexplainable as the mightiest star, in terms of the "ultimate." The drab dust is as tremendous in its implications as the flaming autumn. If the existing is explainable in the logic of causation, the same vigorous necessity involves the causation of the ultimate. If there is an "inner essence" in the "ultimate," the same essence must function in the existing. To the latter, science is resolutely opposed; to the former, as resolute in theory and implication. To the questioning mind of man there are no barriers. And in the quest of his equation of the "everlasting," invariably he confronts prior effect: never final cause.

But the recognition of such is reserved for the new society of economic freedom. Here, is but the germ: there, the bloom and blossom of its harmony. Now "we see, as in a glass darkly"; then the full glory of social genius will unfold and illuminate the realities of human nature. They have developed thro—and with—the fettering animosities of economic progress. But they are not essentially the kindred of the economic. They have their primal roots in the dawn of human life. They are old as man; their creative intuitions the peculiarity of man. And although they are—and have ever been—distorted and preimagined in the thought forms of abstracted unreality; they will yet dominate that unreality. They will harness the forces of condition to the conquering creations of time; and equilibrate the things of the material with their kindred things of the eternal.

Then will science, in fact, preside over the destinies of man; then indeed will it be the means of fulfilment; at once its minister and its servitor. It will not be the pawn of power, nor the henchman of privilege. Freed from the restraints of possession, and winged with the wisdom of the existing, it shall have no need to pander delicately to the prejudices of class; for class shall no more exist. It shall not be required to drape with vague confusions the dying preconceptions and misinterpreted passions of the infancy of man; for the wonderful story of evolution, and the attainment of its uttermost grandeur, shall neither be hidden nor blemished for the gorging of clay-footed mammon. And there shall be no occasion to make aberrated abstractions of "the material" and the "spiritual," for in the awakened mind of the greater man they shall be recognised as inseparable reality and reunited in the complementary unity that they are. R.

ALBERTA NOTES.

At a meeting of the Alberta P. E. C., held on Jan. 16th, it was decided on the motion of Comrade Polinos, Seven Persons Local, to take steps towards arranging a "Farmers' Propaganda Campaign" for the summer months.

It is proposed to have at least three speakers, who will visit the same points in succession, with an interval of a week or ten days between meetings. Thus each point on the schedule would have at least three meetings in one month.

Correspondence and suggestions on the matter are invited from anyone interested. Alberta comrades are requested to put forth their best efforts to increase the number of Clarion readers.

Write: R. Burns, Sec'y., Alta. P. E. C., 134A 9th Avenue West, Calgary.

Economic Power and Action

BY F. J. McNEY.

AS the confusion of ideas with regard to what economic power and action really is appears to be worse confounded at the present time than ever before, it might not be a bad idea to trace the subject back to its origin and deal with it from an historical point of view; in fact this is the only method of dealing with any social problem so that it may be thoroughly understood.

It will be granted by everybody, I think, even by those who profess to despise a dictionary, that the word "economics" means the science of wealth production and distribution. It will hardly be denied that the term "economic production" means the production of wealth, or the necessities of life, and that it applies to "every historical epoch" in which wealth has been produced. Nor will it be denied that the term "economic conditions" means the conditions under which wealth is produced at the present time, or has been produced in the past. We might go on in this manner and show that whenever, and wherever, we use the words "economic" or "economics" we refer in some way to the production and distribution of wealth, and all is clear sailing until we come to economic power and action; then we are lost in the fog.

Now we must remember that words and terms are used to express ideas, and ideas are the mental reflexes of things and conditions; let us therefore get down to things and conditions, and reason the proposition out logically and historically. I have already given what I consider the correct definition of the terms "economic power" and "economic action." I will give them again here, then we will apply them and see how they work out.

Economic power is the power to produce wealth. The power of man over nature. The power of man, individually or collectively, to transform nature given material into things fit for human consumption.

Economic action is the result of the application of power to the natural resources of the earth for the purpose of producing wealth. The action necessary to the whole process of economic production and exchange.

Taking the above definitions as our premises, let us go back to a period in human history when economic power and action did not exist, to a time when man lived much the same as any other animal. In those days he lived in trees or in caves, and made use of whatever he could find in the way of subsistence, but had no power or ability to increase the supply. In the course of time, however, he began to use his physical and mental energy to force from nature more of the necessities of life. He began to transform natural material into things more in harmony with his needs, and to use the forces of nature in his own interests, and for his own ends. Just when, and where, and how, this change first came about does not concern us here; it is enough to say that it was a slow, gradual process, and that it began many thousands of years before the human animal commenced to keep any record of his activities, but no matter when or how it began, it was the dawn of economic power and action.

After a period of unknown duration, but which was no doubt a "right smart" length of time, the human animal had acquired so much skill and efficiency in making tools, building houses, taming and raising cattle, tilling the soil and so forth, that it was possible for a part of society to produce enough of the necessities of life to support all. Thus slavery was possible and slavery became a fact. We do not know just when and how slavery was first established, but we do know that "it was so" and that it still remains so, "and God saw that it was good."

Although we do not know exactly when and how slavery first came into existence, there are indications to show that it was not, in all cases, by any means a peaceful and harmonious process. It appears that in the majority of cases those individuals

who were destined "by divine providence" to do all the work objected to the scheme, and that drastic persuasion was found necessary to keep them at it. Now it is obvious that a man might just about as well work himself as have to stand over other men all day and keep them working. How, then, was this problem solved by those who wished to benefit by the introduction of slavery in order that they might have leisure to amuse themselves as they saw fit? By the simple method of teaching slaves to watch the slaves. If you want proof of this just look around you at the present time. The only difference is that the method is a little more complicated at present than it was "in the brave days of old." In those days it was merely a question of selecting a few able-bodied slaves, arming them with weapons of various kinds, and convincing them that they would have a much better time and more rations if they would consent to guard other slaves and keep them working than if they worked themselves. No doubt care would be taken to select the guards from different tribes than those they were intended to guard. This was the origin of one branch of politics.

After chattel slavery had been in operation for a few thousand years it was supposed to be the only possible method of producing and distributing wealth. The fact that the human animal had been producing wealth and improving his tools and methods of wealth production without any compulsion other than that of economic necessity for many generations before slavery of any kind was possible, was, no doubt, unknown to even the most educated men of the great chattel slave empires. The slave owners of ancient Greece, for instance, could not even imagine a man working unless he was compelled to do so by coercion, and neither could the slaves. This was one point upon which everybody agreed. Consequently, the philosophers in their study of society discovered what they considered two irrefutable facts, first, that wealth could not be produced unless somebody worked; and, second, that in society as they knew it, nobody would be crazy enough to work unless he was compelled to do so. Reasoning from this premise they arrived at the conclusion that the power and action necessary to keep the slaves working was part of the power and action necessary to the production of wealth. In other words, that political power and action, and economic power and action, were merely complementary parts of one whole, or at least so closely connected and interrelated that it was impossible to distinguish between the two, a conclusion which was quite logical under the circumstances, in those days, but which indicates a confused mentality at the present time.

The confusion of economics and politics which has been bequeathed to us from the past, like other superstitions, has helped to keep the revolutionary movement in a turmoil for years, and for that very reason it is a most useful ally of the capitalists; the more confusion there is in this respect the better it is for the capitalist class. The statement often made by radicals, that political power and action cannot be separated from economic power and action, is equal to saying that slavery always did exist and always will. As a matter of fact, if we are ever going to abolish capitalism and replace it by a Socialist commonwealth, we cannot separate political power and action from economic power and action, not only theoretically but practically. When the last form of slavery disappears political power and action will also disappear, but the power and action necessary to the production of wealth will still remain.

Now it must be clear to everybody that "economic power" and "economic action," as I have defined the terms, apply to every phase and every epoch of human history in which wealth has been produced, from ante-slavery times, through chattel slavery and feudalism, and to every nook and corner of capitalism, at all times. It applies to farmers as well as to wage workers. And the fact that in every slave system the class that holds the political power

also owns or controls the slaves, the mass of wealth production, and all the wealth produced, does not contradict this conception in any respect.

Nevertheless, this conception may be a fallacy, and if it is, I hope that somebody will prove it a fallacy. But remember that we are dealing with facts and conditions here, and it is not merely a question of definitions. It is not a case of I say this, and you say that, and my opinion is just as good as yours. The fact remains that power and action is necessary to produce and distribute the wealth of the world. Is this power and action economic or not? If this question is answered in the negative, then it is up to somebody to explain just what kind of power and action it is. After this has been done it will be in order to point out some other power and action that is economic, and apply it to "every historical epoch" in which, as Engels says, "The prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

And if it does not apply to "every historical epoch," and only applies to certain phases of capitalism at certain times, then it will be necessary to explain that also. It may be possible that economic power and action did not exist during chattel slavery and feudalism at all.

THE CLARION MAIL BAG

(Continued from page 4)

and Maintenance Fund. From North Battleford, Sask., J. H. Moon sends in two subs. for the Clarion. Brief but very welcome.

An enthusiastic letter comes from Com. J. G. Egge, Humboldt, Sask. He refers to the good work done by Lester in that district, and says there is some talk of starting a Local in Saskatoon. He encloses a sub. to the Clarion and an order for literature.

Writing from Sandon, British Columbia, Comrade F. R. Roberts sends cheerful greetings and fifteen dollars for the Clarion, five subs. and ten dollars from the Sandon Miners Union. Tommy! Your're all wool and a yard wide. Our best regards to the lads. From Glacier, B. C. C. P. Cotter sends an order for books, "Evolution of the Idea of God," and "Christianism and Communism." A nice letter containing three subs. comes from Joseph Gray, Renata, B. C. From Anyox, comes an order for literature to the value of three dollars. Com. John Staples writes from Lookout Mountain asking for a back number of the Clarion.

An amusing letter enclosing two subs. comes from Com. J. Cartwright, East Wellington, B. C. He is pessimistic regarding the ability of the slaves of Capitalism to understand their true position. We think the outlook never looked brighter and we are not subject to auto-suggestion at that.

From San Francisco, Sam Clement sends best wishes to Clarion readers, and writers, also a sub. and contribution to the Maintenance Fund. He refers to the ruling class performance which is now being staged in Europe, and wonders what the outcome will be. Writing from Portland, Oregon, Mrs. G. Korlann expresses much pleasure in reading the recently concluded article "The Origin of the World," by R. McMillan. Kind words and a dollar sub. also come from J. G. Lowe, Rainier, Oregon. A welcome letter, worthy of publication as an article, comes from Com. O. Rayner, Los Angeles, California. Sends a sub. and best wishes. A letter enclosing a two dollar sub. and expressing hearty appreciation of the Clarion comes from a comrade in Waterford, N. Y. He wonders that we do not get discouraged and quit. We simply couldn't do it. From Ithaca N. Y., Com. Wm. Mitchell sends in a sub and best wishes for the Clarion.

This finishes the "Mail Bag", up to 20th January. We earnestly appeal to all comrades to send in their news and views of the movement, and to give what help they possibly can in maintaining it as a force for working class advancement.

By the Way

I MET the Editor and he discoursed on editorial worries. He speaks of lack of articles for the Clarion; of the unsatisfactory rate at which subscriptions were coming in; of carking care over the state of finance invading even his leisure, militating against systematic reading and study and threatening to dry up the well-springs of inspiration; he spoke of the decadence of the prosletysing spirit in the movement; of—oh, besides these I report to the reader, he spoke of many things.

* * *

I did my best to cheer him, lending him a sympathetic ear. I have since been speculating whether Clarion readers could esteem this journal as an institution and they by way of being a corporate body organized around it, because it expresses and gives effect to our desire for that kind of working class education which has for its end the liberation of society from the capitalist system. "The Clarion brings scientific knowledge and the scientific attitude of mind to the study of society and its affairs. Thus its readers may know the present as it really is: may see events and conditions clear of the distorting influence of nationalistic biases, or the inherited prejudices of ignorance and of privileged ruling class interests. As an organ of scientific socialism it is the additional function of the Clarion, besides giving an understanding of the present, to criticise that present from the standpoint of the socialist program. Because an organ functioning in that way is a necessity and because the Clarion performs that function so well under the circumstances, we, its readers, as a corporate body, should guard against falling into the category of "corporations without a soul" whose membership, according to the principles of "business as usual," look to receive more than they give. Causes, especially causes in the minority stage of development, reverse that principle; they demand from and impose sacrifices on all loyal spirits.

* * *

Those who, for one reason or another are only able to do but little in our common cause and, because of the smallness of their contribution lose courage and think the effort not worth while, should emulate the tenacious Scotch who have a character-revealing saying, that "many mickles mak' a muckle." So I, who would like to write an article but can not rise to the effort, am scribbling these notes—doing my little bit.

* * *

We need more writers for the Clarion. Its present contributors are all workers who have little spare time and often the movement also makes other demands upon them. To write an article for the Clarion requires much reading and study, sometimes very much more than appears in the article and, in the interests of a still better output its contributors should not be called upon so often. More hands on deck then! Those who hang back because they have no grammar should let that be the least of their troubles; the subject-matter is the thing. I, myself, knowing no more of grammar than a wooden god, have had articles accepted. Let the aim be to bring to the working masses the most revolutionary things in existence—the socialist philosophy, science and the habit of scientific thinking. Therefore, read and study, keep up to date with the world of science. In the last three hundred years modern science has accumulated a vast fund of knowledge both on the nature of man and on that of his environment, natural and social; but it can not be utilized, in so far as the social problem is concerned, until men think on the problem scientifically. We have first, says Henry Harvey Robinson in his lately published work, "The Mind in the Making," which I recommend for reading,—“We have first to create an unprecedented attitude of mind (the scientific attitude) to cope with unprecedented conditions and to utilize unprecedented knowledge.”

The more I read of the latest scientific output, particularly that treating on the nature of man, the more I feel myself breaking away from the intellectual preconceptions of past times. To my surprise and delight, though I am getting on in years, I find myself becoming more and more revolutionary. I distrust the "findings" of the past and hate with a fanatic hatred dogmas that cramp a free intelligence in dealing with the facts of the present; mine the evolutionist's philosophy, that the one unchanging law is the law of change. More than three hundred years ago, one of the great figures of the 16th century renaissance (the birth of the new learning) was that of Francis Bacon. He might be said to be the father of modern science, a pioneer who, as protagonist of its method, insisted upon observation, investigation and experiment as the way of knowledge. Referring to those who think that the world will reject the sceptical attitude of science and return to the pre-renaissance ways of thinking—the reliance on supposed universal and eternal principles and faith in divine revelation—George Santayana says, "Far from the 16th century renaissance being over and done with, on the contrary, it is just getting into its stride."

* * *

The thought of the middle ages turned from commonplace realities to live in a world of abstractions. Experimentors and inventors were suspect as practitioners of the black art; curiosity as to natural processes was esteemed a mark of impiety, as prying into the secret ways of God. To try to introduce new ways of doing things, or to advocate changes in the established order, was to interfere with what God had ordained—the feudal lord in his castle, the serf in his hovel, God made them high and lowly and ordered their estate. It seemed that social evils were a necessity in God's scheme as fires of purification for the souls of men. To every God-fearing man, this life on earth was but a brief pilgrimage to his real home in heaven, so it was well to mortify the flesh that the soul might be saved. While the thought of the middle ages was dominated by the theological concepts of the Christian Church, the thought of the renaissance was essentially pagan. The latter exhibited a love for the world and a delight in the refinements of the flesh. Men's minds turned from heavenly to earthly visions, because the earth had become in the 16th century an intensely interesting place. The stale, stagnant atmosphere of feudal society was drifting away before the freshening winds of social change. Daring navigators had ventured over the wastes of ocean to the fabulously wealthy and populous orient and to the Americas where a virgin continent offered a new and experimental future for mankind, where what was good in human experience might be established and the bad left behind on old Europe's shores. Trade and commerce between countries was on the increase; seaports and commercial and industrial towns and cities were growing in importance and wealth. On top of this material progress, the arts and sciences flourished, science itself being utilized in further prospering industry and commerce, while the arts brought refinements into the lives of the wealthier classes. So the 16th century renaissance marked the dawning of a new era of material and intellectual progress whose end is not yet.

* * *

I like to think of the Socialist movement as in the broad current of the renaissance tradition; and of working class emancipation as one of its fulfillments. And I conceive of Marx principally as a restless, untiring investigator, a breaker of social idols, a radical innovator, greedily seizing on the latest in the science of his day, on Darwin's intellectual output and on Lewis H. Morgan's: I see him in the great and glorious army of light marching with Bacon of Verulam. Come then, let us fall in with them.

Come then, O Pioneers! Every one to his bent. Rescue the Editor from the Slough of Despond. Remember, though only one man, besides being editorial writer, preparer of Clarion material for the press, proof reader, overseer of printing and dispatcher, he is also Party Secretary, correspondence Secretary, Financial Secretary, Party literature agent, father confessor and indispensable factotum for Party members and for Clarion readers resident in all four quarters of the globe. Yet it is not work, but care that kills. Writers, get busy and let an increased circulation and the Clarion paying its way be the objective of every reader. H. G. Wells, British author, publicist, and now I suppose we must call him historian also, says that civilization has reached a pass where it is a race between education and catastrophe. Haste! C.

ON A PIECE OF CHALK

A Lecture to Working Men

By Thomas Henry Huxley

IF a well were to be sunk at our feet in the midst of the city of Norwich, the diggers would very soon find themselves at work in that white substance almost too soft to be called rock, with which we are all familiar as "chalk."

Not only here, but over the whole country of Norfolk, the well-sinker might carry his shaft down many hundred feet without coming to the end of the chalk; and on the sea-coast, where the waves have pared away the face of the land which breasts them, the scarped faces of the high cliffs are often wholly formed of the same material. Northward the chalk may be followed as far as Yorkshire; on the south coast it appears abruptly in the picturesque western bays of Dorset, and breaks into the Needles of the Isle of Wight; while on the shores of Kent it supplies that long line of white cliffs to which England owes her name of Albion.

Were the thin soil which covers it all washed away, a curved band of white chalk, here broader and there narrower, might be followed diagonally across England from Lulworth in Dorset to Flamborough Head in Yorkshire—a distance of over 230 miles as the crow flies.

From this band to the North Sea, on the east, and the Channel, on the south, the chalk is largely hidden by other deposits; but, except in the Weald of Kent and Sussex, it enters into the very foundation of all the southeastern counties.

Attaining, as it does in some places, a thickness of more than a thousand feet, the English chalk must be admitted to be a mass of considerable magnitude. Nevertheless, it covers but an insignificant portion of the whole area occupied by the chalk formation of the globe, which has precisely the same general characters as ours, and is found in detached patches, some less and others more extensive than the English.

Chalk occurs in northwest Ireland; it stretches over a large part of France,—the chalk which underlies Paris being, in fact, a continuation of that of the London basin; it runs through Denmark and Central Europe, and extends southward to North Africa; while eastward, it appears in the Crimea and in Syria, and may be traced as far as the shores of the Sea of Aral, in Central Asia.

If all the points at which true chalk occurs were circumscribed, they would lie within an irregular oval about 3,000 miles in long diameter; the area of which would be as great as that of Europe, and would many times exceed that of the largest existing inland sea—the Mediterranean.

Thus the chalk is no unimportant element in the masonry of the earth's crust, and it impresses a peculiar stamp, carrying with the conditions to which it is exposed, on the scenery of the districts in which it occurs. The undulating downs and rounded coombs, covered with sweet-grassed turf, of our inland chalk country have a peacefully domestic and mutton-suggesting prettiness, but can hardly be called either grand or beautiful. But on our southern coasts, the wall-sided cliffs, many hundred feet high, with vast needles and pinnacles standing out in the

sea, sharp and solitary enough to serve as perches for the wary cormorant, confer a wonderful beauty and grandeur upon the chalk headlands. And, in the East, chalk has its share in the formation of some of the most venerable of mountain ranges, such as the Lebanon.

What is this widespread component of the surface of the earth? and whence did it come?

You may think this no very hopeful inquiry. You may not unnaturally suppose that the attempt to solve such problems as these can lead to no result, save that of entangling the inquirer in vague speculations, incapable of refutation and of verification.

If such were really the case, I should have selected some other subject than a "piece of chalk" for my discourse. But, in truth, after much deliberation I have been unable to think of any topic which would so well enable me to lead you to see how solid if the foundation upon which some of the most startling conclusions of physical science rest.

A great chapter of the history of the world is written in the chalk. Few passages in the history of man can be supported by such an overwhelming mass of direct and indirect evidence as that which testifies to the truth of the fragment of the history of the globe, which I hope to enable you to read with your own eyes to-night.

Let me add that few chapters of human history have a more profound significance for ourselves. I weigh my words well when I assert that the man who should know the true history of the bit of chalk which every carpenter carries about in his breeches-pocket though ignorant of all other history, is likely, if he will think his knowledge out to its ultimate results, to have a truer, and therefore a better, conception of this wonderful universe and of man's relation to it, than the most learned student who is deep-read in the records of humanity and ignorant of those of Nature.

The language of the chalk is not hard to learn, not nearly so hard as Latin, if you only want to get at the broad features of the story it has to tell; and I propose that we now set to work to spell that story out together.

We all know that if we "burn" chalk the result is quicklime. Chalk, in fact, is a compound of carbonic acid gas and lime, and when you make it very hot the carbonic acid flies away, and the lime is left.

By this method of procedure we see the lime, but we do not see the carbonic acid. If on the other hand, you were to powder a little chalk and drop it into a good deal of strong vinegar, there would be a great bubbling and fizzing, and finally, a clear liquid, in which no sign of chalk would appear. Here you see the carbonic acid in the bubbles; the lime, dissolved in the vinegar, vanishes from sight. There are a great many other ways of showing that chalk is essentially nothing but carbonic acid and quicklime. Chemists enunciate the result of all the experiments which prove this, by stating that chalk is almost wholly composed of "carbonate of lime."

It is desirable for us to start from the knowledge of this fact, though it may not seem to help us very far towards what we seek. For carbonate of lime is a widely spread substance, and is met with under very various conditions. All sorts of limestones are composed of more or less pure carbonate of lime. The crust which is often deposited by waters which have drained through limestone rocks, in the form of what are called stalagmites and stalactites, is carbonate of lime. Or, to take a more familiar example, the fur on the inside of a tea-kettle is carbonate of lime; and, for anything chemistry tells us to the contrary, the chalk might be a kind of gigantic fur upon the bottom of the earth-kettle, which is kept pretty hot below.

Let us try another method of making the chalk tell us its own history. To the unassisted eye chalk looks simply like a very loose and open kind of stone. But it is possible to grind a slice of chalk down so thin that you can see through it—until it is thin enough, in fact, to be examined with any magnifying power that may be thought desirable. A thin slice of the fur of a kettle might be made in the same way. If it were examined microscopically, it would show itself to be a more or less distinctly laminated mineral substance, and nothing more.

But the slice of chalk presents a totally different appearance when placed under the microscope. The general mass of it is made up of very minute granules; but embedded in this matrix, are innumerable bodies, some smaller and some larger, but, on a rough average, not more than a hundredth of an inch in diameter, having a well-defined shape and structure. A cubic inch of some specimens of chalk may contain hundreds of thousands of these bodies, compacted together with incalculable millions of the granules.

The examination of a transparent slice gives a good notion of the manner in which the components of the chalk are arranged, and of their relative proportions. But by rubbing up some chalk with a brush in water and then pouring off the milky fluid, so as to obtain sediments of different degrees of fineness, the granules and the minute rounded bodies may be pretty well separated from one another, and submitted to microscopic examination, either as opaque or as transparent objects. By combining the views obtained in these various methods, each of the rounded bodies may be proved to be a beautifully constructed calcareous fabric, made up of a number of chambers, communicating freely with one another. The chambered bodies are of various forms. One of the commonest is something like a badly grown raspberry, being formed of a number of nearly globular chambers of different sizes congregated together. It is called *Globigerina*, and some specimens of chalk consist of little else than *Globigerinae* and granules.

Let us fix our attention upon the *Globigerina*. It is the spoor of the game we are tracking. If we can learn what it is and what are the conditions of its existence, we shall see our way to the origin and past history of the chalk.

A suggestion which may naturally enough present itself is, that these curious bodies are the result of some process of aggregation which has taken place in the carbonate of lime; that, just as in winter, the rime on our windows simulates the most delicate and elegantly arborescent foliage,—proving that the mere mineral water may, under certain conditions, assume the outward form of organic bodies,—so this mineral substance, carbonate of lime, hidden away in the bowels of the earth, has taken the shape of these chambered bodies. I am not raising a merely fanciful and unreal objection. Very learned men, in former days, have even entertained the notion that all the formed things found in rocks are of this nature; and if no such conception is at present held to be admissible, it is because long and varied experience has now shown that mineral matter never does assume the form and structure we find in fossils. If any one were to try to persuade you that an oyster-shell (which is also chiefly composed of carbonate of lime) had crystallized out of sea-water, I suppose you would laugh at the absurdity. Your laughter would be justified by the fact that all experience tends to show that oyster-shells are formed by the agency of oysters, and in no other way. And if there were no better reasons, we should be justified, on like grounds, in believing that *Globigerina* is not the product of anything but vital activity.

Happily, however, better evidence in proof of the organic nature of the *Globigerinae* than that of analogy is forthcoming. It so happens that calcareous skeletons, exactly similar to the *Globigerinae* of the chalk, are being formed, at the present moment, by minute living creatures, which flourish in multitudes, literally more numerous than the sands of the sea-shore, over a large extent of that part of the earth's surface which is covered by the ocean.

The history of the discovery of these living *Globigerinae*, and of the part which they play in rock building, is singular enough. It is a discovery which, like others of no less scientific importance, has arisen, incidentally, out of work devoted to very different and exceedingly practical interests.

When men first took to the sea, they speedily learned to look out for shoals and rocks; and the more the burthen of their ships increased, the more imperatively necessary it became for sailors to ascertain with precision the depth of the waters they traversed. Out of this necessity grew the use of the lead and sounding line; and, ultimately, marine surveying, which is the recording of the form of

coasts and of the depth of the sea, as ascertained by the sounding-lead, upon charts.

At the same time, it became desirable to ascertain and to indicate the nature of the sea-bottom, since this circumstance greatly affects its goodness as holding ground for anchors. Some ingenious tar, whose name deserves a better fate than the oblivion into which it has fallen, attained this object by "arming" the bottom of the lead with a lump of grease, to which more or less of the sand or mud, or broken shells, as the case might be, adhered, and was brought to the surface. But, however well adapted such an apparatus might be for rough nautical purposes, scientific accuracy could not be expected from the armed lead, and to remedy its defects (especially when applied to sounding in great depths) Lieutenant Brooke, of the American Navy, some years ago invented a most ingenious machine by which a considerable portion of the superficial layer of the sea-bottom can be scooped out and brought up from any depth to which the lead descends.

(To be continued).

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HERE AND NOW.

Our "S. O. S." of last issue has found some sympathetic response. It was our intention Here and Now to reproduce some of the remarks made by our correspondents bearing upon our distress signal, but we find ourselves crowded out for space. So we rely on the figures below, for the time. We are denuded with kind words and "Kind words will never die" as the faithful in the little Bethel at the corner remind us persistently and discordantly, but unfortunately kind words are not found to be rich in vitamins. Our remarks further are suspended until next issue. In the meantime we recollect what Sam Weller said in matters financial: "Hope our acquaintance shall be a long 'un, as the gentleman said to the fi' pun note." Our financial bench mark is a minus quantity and represents simply how much less we owe. We rely on the interest of Clarion readers to even us up.

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