

THE PROMISE OF THESE LEADEN DAYS (Continued from page 1)

dom. Hungary, a land of agrarian reaction, attempted to follow the blazed trail. And Serbia, a land of peasants, was the one and only country whose socialist representation voted against the war-credits, and hence against war. Nevertheless, usually, and in general, town and country are opposites, with opposite aims and interests. What then? One of two things: Either the hard pressed and partly socialist towns in the opportunities of social connections seize and control the state, using the food producers, by acceding to their primary demands, as a bulwark of their power, and holding that power against time until, through further capitalist decadence, counter revolution is disarmed by progressive understanding and new adherents to communist opinion. Or, through lack of food, of disrupted industry, of organized foresight, of the common unity of purpose that is the basis of power they are crushed in the helpless impotence of destitution, disunity and ignorance. Which of those two ways loom nearest us at the moment? Apparently, the latter.

The reaction of North America has become a "hissing and a reproach." But by the terms of its "hustle" and "go" it is highly adaptive and capable quickly of new social transformations. Britain, the excellence of "radical" and "labor" democracy, wanders in the bloomless garden of Proserpine. While Europe generally presents a highly ornate effect of Fascism. Germany and Austria have demonstrated that suffering and misery alone are not only not enough to accomplish revolution, but are not even the forces for its achievement. They are but the harbingers of coming events; the soil into which are driven the lusty roots of necessity. The threatened disintegration of the capitalist centralization in industry does not presume the disintegration of the power of the state. Not at all. That great nerve centre of oppression not only keeps its power intact, but draws to it, in the clash and turmoil of proletarian struggle, every weapon and force of reaction and privilege. Nor is it to be forgotten that although capitalist democracy is "government by consent," nevertheless that government is but the variegated camouflage of capitalist property; and that, by its ultimate force — military power — its identity will be preserved at all costs until such time as a social majority can take that power and make it the agent of its interests. The military power of France has beaten Germany to the dust, and who can say her nay? Not even sovereign Britain, mightily as she would like to do so. Austria was crushed, and resuscitated by loans (even in the lean years of "financial stringency") from the powers that crushed her, in the interests of democratic commerce. Bela Kun was crushed in Hungary; and Horthy governs by the White Terror. Italy devastated both socialism and radical labor, and supported the "democratic" Mussolini. All Central Europe is a festering hotbed of reaction, puppets of imperialism, nursing political ambitions aplenty but with little visible semblance of understanding or revolution.

The revival of capitalist industry to adequate proportions being impossible, and the forces of progress struggling for necessary expression being unpreventable; the continued and enhancing restrictions of capitalist industry must reduce a greater mass of society into the needy ranks of the proletariat. Everywhere the hall-mark of capitalist decline; masses striving in misery; pitiable in degradation; helpless in the grip of the repressing state; hypnotised with its lying gods; and the false psychology of their nothingness. Everywhere the means of life are equipped, but idle; organized, but privately owned; co-ordinated, but market bound; waiting, ready for the will of awakened society. The interrelations of capitalist industry, although not destroyed entirely, will be ruptured and dislocated, the connecting thread of social life strained and taut in the struggle of social forces. And in their suppression, the struggling nations will engage in a deeper struggle for bread and life against power and possession. For it seems hopeless to look for a social change among

the industrially correlated, but socially antagonized, ranks of labor division and repetition, so long as the social forces can juggle with subsistence; operate with expectation; and intermittently realise a modicum of their hopes. To expect a revolution before the capitalist relations are broken, and aborted, and incapable is to expect a miracle—the miracle of cognitive wisdom antecedent to its causal condition.

Industry and production cannot, of course, altogether vanish. Life must and shall live. But movement will be languid and desultory. There will be growing tumults. Yet some will "make money" from its suffering. There will be greater fruitless effort. Yet some will prosper in its misery. There will be a deepening weariness of intolerable struggle. And even here content shall lie soft. Nevertheless, capitalist industry and commerce will steadily decline. Conferences may confer, but markets do not grow from deliberation. Economic commissions may readjust, but imperialist rivalries are not therefor set aside. Ambition may inaugurate new economies; but cheap production vitiates its endeavors. Merger and monopoly may intensify exploitation; but their consummated effort ruins both the society and the condition that made it necessary. Ships will lie rotting at their anchors, their builders idle, their machineries in want. Town and country will negate each other's necessity. There will be need and stint; hunger and riot; revolt and repression; probably war and desolation.

Yet pitiable as it is, it is the necessity of change. For, as stated, it seems that so long as society can labor and live, even niggardly, in the tradition of the old regime, it cannot be induced to put forth its strength and build the new "city of the good god." It can only progress, like a little child, on its own growing experience, gathering the elements of reality from the empirical reactions of trial and error, and disappointment.

Thus the answer of the present to the future is trial, not triumph; hope, not consummation; struggle, not supremacy. It is the building up of conscious power from the wreckage of an effete civilization. It is the laggard organization of common social unity, fashioned invincibly from the sparkling forge of life. The leaden days now upon us will test the institutions of capital with the reagents of a more rigorous necessity; exposing their class nature, and thereby arresting the waverers in social uncertainty. The politics of the capitalist state will be forced, by explicit fact, to the sanctity of property right, thus thrusting aside the illusion of its class bound "equality." The repressive purpose of government will become unmistakably apparent, thus denying the travesty of "liberty." The aim of imperialism will become more undeniably exploitative; its methods more corrupt, thereby shattering its last stronghold—"humanitarian idealism." Clear as the frosty skies, the nature of capitalist civilization will bear witness against itself. Everywhere, idle means and starving men will evidence their own absurdity. Intricate organizations of production, fruitful, bounteous, unlimited; and famine and nakedness, and cold, overshadowing the piles we call home. The wonders, the treasures, the triumphs of science—itsself a classbound "ware"—and yet unceasing toil; premature decay; and the plague and disease and emaciation (physical and mental) of malnutrition. Boundless expanses that will not, or can not, produce; and beleaguered towns that are not allowed to, will constitute, altogether, forces too imperious to be denied.

Hence the needs of man will furnish man with the vision of a new world, and widen the horizon of life with the conscious purpose of a greater destiny. And it will also furnish the moral impulse that will lift society out of its rut of apathy; that will inspire it with the kindling consciousness of perception, and sweep it in the flood tide of its passion to social victory. Economics will be the base of its necessity, the bedrock of its movement; but it will not be through the thirsty realms of economics that the great trial will come. The final stand will be made under the shimmering standards of a moral issue, because it is only a moral issue in those times of specialized confusions, that can unite a harried, stricken, broken, destitute and untutored proletar-

iat, with the vim of purpose; the strength of will; the impassioned fervor; the single mind and reliant intensity of inflexible execution. And the moral issue will be no antique "rights of man," but the rights of society; not a fair wage and the right to work, but the individual right of social life and its amassed grandeur of social effort; and the socialization of the bounteous means which alone make life possible, its gladness a delight, its endeavors a triumph, and lead it "by the right hand of righteousness to the soaring exultations of reality." R.

UNEMPLOYMENT—CAUSE AND CURE

(Continued from last issue)

To sell there must be markets, and owing to the rapid industrialisation of the last 50 years there is now relatively little demand for the manufactured products of the advanced nations.

The competition for the markets causes wars, but far from solving these only aggravate the problem. During the artificial prosperity of war time great strides are made in powers of production, and when peace comes the glut is worse than ever. The Right Hon. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., writing in the "Daily Chronicle" (14th September) pointed out that the steel industry of this country after the war was developed much above the demand of the market for its products. And it is foolish to suppose that trade depression and unemployment can be avoided by reducing wages or by lowering the cost of production in any other way. The enormous wage reductions in Great Britain which followed the Labor leaders' campaign for increased production, certainly did not stem the tide of unemployment. And if it were true that lower prices would cause a trade revival, the capitalists are perfectly free now to lower their prices by cutting into profits. They would do so if this policy would lead to a corresponding increase of sales. But the world economic position is such that no reduction of prices would cause any appreciable increase in demand. In fact in many industries (cotton for instance) this has been clearly realized, and the policy is being followed of deliberate and agreed restriction of output in order to raise prices. Sir Charles Macara stated this explicitly for the cotton trade ("Business Organization," March, 1923). He argues that the loss of foreign markets led to cut-throat competition at home without any material growth in home sales. The producers sold no more by lowering prices and merely sacrificed profits. It has been said that the Capital Levy, by reducing taxation, would enable manufacturers to sell cheaper, and thus would revive trade. The argument is fallacious, because it assumes that capitalists who now do not reduce prices, would do so then; ignoring the fact that they could do so now if they wished, and that they would not be compelled to do so then if they did not wish. They do not reduce now because it does not pay to do so, and unless the world situation as a whole were changed, it would still not pay them to do so after a Capital Levy. Assuming a reduction in taxation occurred, only profits would benefit.

If then, as we say, unemployment is a necessary adjunct of capitalist production, there is only one remedy. The workers must deprive the capitalist class of their ownership and control of the means of production. Once made the common property of society, they can be used for the purpose of satisfying society's needs; not the unstable demands of a market, but the direct human needs of the people.

For the application of this solution only one thing is lacking. The political machinery exists through which the workers can constitutionally express and enforce their will. The knowledge of the productive process in all its branches is contained within the ranks of the working class. But the majority of the workers still support the capitalist system of society. The Socialist party is doing all it can to undermine that trust in capitalism, and it invites the immediate and active assistance of all workers who recognise the accuracy of our contention, that there is no future for our class except in Socialism.

—In the Socialist Standard (London)

Christmas Cogitations

ATTER his recent return from Europe, Judge Gary, of the U. S. Steel Corporation, stated that what the world needs most is full reliance on the Bible; and others in similar life stations have also made like remarks. Inasmuch as the Judge's own workers are still waging a class war against him, for the 8 instead of the 12-hour day, and that the undersigned had the privilege of subscribing to their Canadian appeal for fighting funds, we feel justified in retorting Christ's words against this transatlantic Holy Willie: "Physician, heal thyself!"

Yes, Judge, the Bible does carry messages of peace and hope, but not those you and your kind had in view. They are messages, too, that require deciphering, because they lie below the surface of the printed word. In short, what a German 19th century philosopher discovered and put into scientific form, was, as the Bible shows, intuitively known from the time of Genesis up to Christ and beyond that again.

The philosopher was Hegel, and his discovery was the law of the Negation of the Negation. It sounds like a nonsensical, childish jingle, but that's not surprising seeing that the law presents a paradox—a word meaning something which is apparently absurd, yet, on deeper scrutiny, is found to be entirely true. It is paradoxical to say that if something takes the place of another thing, not only is the first thing not thereby destroyed, but it is actually increased and developed. One example must suffice—a wheat seed, if sowed, becomes (or is "negated" by) the plant; the latter again becomes negated by, not one, but many seeds, several of which may be of superior quality as compared with the original seed they sprang from—which is how the various improved kinds of wheat were made possible. The progression, it will be noted, is not in a circle; because as the common saying has it, going around "in a (vicious) circle" (or cycle) gets us nowhere. So the better description is that the law works out in spiral form, because that means a circular development which ends, however, at a higher and different point from what it began.

Now we find, but in the crude circular conception, a hint of Hegel's law in Genesis 3:19, for there it states that man was made of dust and will therefore again become dust. So much, meantime, for Genesis; and now for Jesus. Although April, May, March, October and January were each at one time claimed as Christ's natal month, and celebrations were also held in June for centuries past, Christmas has been held in December. And so, while the Christian world rejoices over their Savior's birthday, it seems not inappropriate that we Socialists should reveal him as having been a thoroughgoing Hegelian thinker or dialectician.

As Engels remarks, nature herself proves and provides us with the evolutionary or dialectical method of reasoning. Hence, mankind's highly observant and thoughtful geniuses were bound, in an intuitive way, to have hit upon what is now part of scientific Socialist doctrine and principles. Therefore, Christ's paradoxically striking remark—Matthew 21:12—that whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted. Doubtless he had often noticed, as we do to-day, that when a person gets too chesty, he is simply preparing himself for a rude awakening—"Pride goeth before a fall." Put into the three-phase Hegelian "negation" form, in which the second phase negates the first, and the third phase negates, or is the negation of the negation, of that starting point; Christ's remark may be thus stated: 1st, normal behavior; 2nd, humble behavior; 3rd, promotion to superior sphere of activity. The opposite conduct to the foregoing, he says, ends in degradation and contempt, because the individual in his progression increases (instead of counteracting) his first attitude.

Take another still more remarkable saying of Christ's: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it;

but whosoever shall lose his life . . . the same shall save it"—Mark 8:35. In Hegelian three-phase form we have this: 1st, if normal self-regard is (2nd) cancelled by below normal self-regard; then 3rd, there results an enormous gain in individual (or social) advantages.

Although containing a certain amount of truth it cannot be sweepingly asserted, as Nietzsche does, that such doctrines are only suitable for the cowardly, the weak-willed and for slaves; because they are exactly the principles revolutionary Russia is now practising. As Trotsky recently said in his interview with the American Senator King (Clarion, Nov. 16), "The New Economic Policy is an absolute necessity for the 90,000,000 of our peasants. If we had in mind to break our own heads, then we should indeed abandon this policy. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary for us to issue formal assurance and manifestoes in order to prove the stability of the New Economic Policy. The very conditions of our internal life assure the absolute stability of the New Economic Policy." This means Russia temporarily and deliberately "lost" full-fledged Communism, because she knew that was the means, and the only means, of later on gaining far more than she is now losing.

As further proof of the truth of Christ's dialectical reasoning, take DeLeon's comparison between the Revolutionist and the Reformer, in which he points out that the revolutionist knows that discipline is essential for success, and that the word "obedience" is not found in the language of any people in the savage stage of development. He shows that the revolutionist doesn't practice anarchistic individualism because he realizes he must sink or "lose" his personality in order to "gain" results. "Hence," argues De Leon, "the cry of 'Bossism!' is as absent from the revolutionist's lips as it is a feature on those of the reformer."

When we turn to Christ's irrepressible, indomitable and executive "business man," Paul, we see that he was likewise an early Hegelian follower; for he distinctly tells us—I. Corinthian, 15:36,37—that what is sown only becomes alive after it has first become dead; and that what we sow is not the completed form, but "bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or some other grain." Stated in three-phase "negation of negation" language, Paul's ideas progress thus: Seed-life; seed-death; root-life. His object, of course, is to lead up to and prove the soundness of his dialectical progression in the 43rd verse and following, viz., that the corruptible body is first sown in dishonor and weakness, it then dies, and is finally again raised in power: incorruptible immortal spirit and glory. The writer neither feels compelled nor competent to contradict Paul's conclusions as to afterlife conditions; but would enter a protest against the idea that dishonor and weakness necessarily accompany the act of procreation.

It should be remembered, however, that Paul, in I. Cor. 7:1, 7 and 8, reveals himself as being a chronic bachelor; and his personal opinions were largely responsible for the later beliefs that women, as well as certain natural functions, are unclean. This led to the religious celibate life with all its attendant evils.

But, as a good counterblast to Paul's attitude, one should turn to Act I of Shakespeare's play, "All's Well that Ends Well," especially as it provides a magnificent example of the Hegelian dialectic, although the language reminds us that, in Elizabethan days, even fine ladies and gentlemen were permitted a freedom of expression that is not now tolerated; for Helen, the heroine, and a man called Parolles, are "joshing" one another on the subject of virginity. "Loss of virginity," says Parolles, "is rational increase; and there was never virgin got till virginity was first lost. That you were made of, is metal to make virgins. Virginity, by being once lost, may be ten times found; by being ever kept, it is ever lost: 'tis too cold a companion; away with't! . . . Keep it not; you cannot choose but lose by't: out

with't! within ten years it will make itself ten, which is a goodly increase; and the principal itself not much worse: away with't!"

As two more examples of the unscientific "circle" conception of the dialectic, first we have that stoic philosopher who lived in the first century A.D.—Epictetus—asking, "What is death? A bugbear. Turn it 'round; examine it: see, it does not bite. Now or later that which is body must be parted from that which is spirit, as formerly it was parted. Why, then, hast thou indignation if it be now? for if it be not now, it will be later. And wherefore? That the cycle of the world may be fulfilled; for it hath need of a present and of a future and of a past."

Then there is the German poet-philosopher, Goethe, who says that "By eternal laws of iron ruled, must all fulfil the cycle of their destiny."

That, as many maintain, Christ was a Socialist, is, from the standpoint of Socialist theory and industrial development, an absurdity. But he certainly gave both physical and mental proofs of his class-war attitude towards the rich. That he was an instinctive Hegelian reasoner, we have tried to show, and the value of that point consists in another Biblical application of the "negation of negation" dialectic to both society and government; for which it is necessary to return to Genesis.

The Hebrew myth of the Garden of Eden and of the man who was placed therein "to dress and to keep it" really refers to a stage of human development called Primitive Communism, which existed before later economic conditions had torn society into master and slave classes with all their accompanying horrors and strife, during which mankind must longingly have cast back their glances to the ideal peacefulness of the garden paradise. Because, like the herding horses, flocking birds, etc., mankind, imbued with ordinary horse commonsense, realized at the very start of their career that if they did not socially hang together they would certainly hang separately. Hence, both their society and government were run upon a communist basis.

Now, by virtue of the Hegelian dialectic, we know that we are destined to return (but on a higher scale) to the point of economic development we started from. That means that we are headed and are meant to head for, Modern Communism!

For that reason we venture to prophesy that men with Christ's and Paul's mental fairness and keenness, and qualities of heart, if living to-day, would be among the first to arrive at a logical conclusion by becoming Marxian Socialists.

High over all, like a colossus above us pigmy humans, wrapping, permeating and directing the mass movements of mankind, the Negation of Negation principle dominates everything as a natural law to which we are as much compelled to submit as was the powerful Capitalist civilization of Japan to the recent earthquake visitation. The only way we can use and become the master of it or of any other natural law, is by learning its character and obeying it.

This much at least may be said, that what, with greater or less clearness, was perceived by the writer in Genesis, by Christ, Paul, Epictetus, Shakespeare, Goethe and numbers of other gifted and noble thinkers, is well worthy of the attention of those for whom these others lived, thought, wrote and died. And the spirit of each one's labors points unerringly towards—COMMUNISM!

A word, then, to all Christians and Christmas celebrators. Start the coming New Year right by studying, in detail, the Hegelian dialectic for themselves. For that purpose procure, as advertised on the back page of this journal, "Engels' works, 'The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science,' and his 'Landmarks of Scientific Socialism.'" And so we conclude with sincerest wishes for Happiness and the Compliments of the Season to all "Clarion" readers!

—PROGRESS.

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COMING EVENTS

OF late the wage workers throughout the U. S. A. have suffered much advertising in the way of exceptional prosperity, a prosperity unique in its relation to the years after the war when there were five million wage workers unemployed.

Now, however, if we are to believe Roger W. Babson—head of the Babson Statistical Bureau, the U. S. A. industrial slaves are due to encounter an industrial depression and another period of unemployment. He says the basic industries of coal, copper, oil, fertilizers, leather, rubber and wheat are "flat on their backs." All other enterprises to which these are contributory must suffer sooner or later. The farmers, he says, are realizing nothing on their labor, and "some way" must be found to solve the farmer problem, particularly as it shows itself in wheat farming.

In connection with the wheat production problem, the farmers are apparently not the only people who are worrying. We gather from the annual statement of Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor of the Bank of Montreal, that in the wheat farming areas of the Canadian west the storekeepers and general merchants and banks are in the same fix as the farmers. Quite likely this is so, though, of course there is not manifested the same evidence of distress. At any rate, the financial and statistical experts seem to agree that diversified farming is required as an offset to specialisation in wheat. Babson predicts a trade depression next year in the U. S. A., and maintains that the financial structure of that country is receiving all the artificial bolstering possible in the meantime. "Don't stock up," he says, buy no more than you can do without, curtail credit and prepare to reduce wages.

The financial experts take quite an interest in the farmer problem, because on farm properties and produce they advance loans. Concerning wage labor, however, they calmly announce wage reductions and allow the wage workers to worry alone. The wage worker and farmers manage to identify their worries as producers. Each case, however, is capable of a somewhat different analysis. The farmer has upon him the responsibility of property concepts and he shows it in all his activities. Necessarily so, because he produces on the property basis.

But whatever prosperity there may be its visitation is of short duration to either wage worker or farmer. To that Mr. Babson would add industrialists and financiers, but the system he envisages rests upon the two latter. With us its basis is the producer.

PROPAGANDA ON THE PRAIRIE.

Comrade C. Lestor is somewhere on the prairies at present. Since leaving Vancouver he has spoken in meetings at Sheerness, Scotfield, Sunnybrook, Flowerdale, Silverleaf and Stanmore. He will be at Seal from December 17th to 22nd and will speak in Calgary December 23rd. Thereafter he goes to Seven Persons and Medicine Hat district for three weeks.

THE GRAIN CROP.

WE have harvested and threshed the golden grain, but methinks that we are none the better physically, mentally, or financially after the ordeal. In the first place—as usual we are confronted with the sluggish state of the grain market, which means a low price. Secondly, we are confronted with a state of affairs where marketing is impossible. The elevators are blocked with superabundance of grain. The transportation facilities, and storage at the eastern terminals, are inadequate. Thirdly, owing to the bulk of the grain being of low grade and frozen, the harvesting, threshing, and hauling expenses, will about be equal to the amount received for the grain when it is marketed. Thus, you will clearly see that there is not even wages left for the farmer to maintain his family in food and clothing. Not allowing for seed, ploughing, drilling, and all the incidentals of spring work, let alone payments of taxes, interest on mortgages and the payments that accrue to the bankers, machine companies, and numerous other sharks who have been in the habit of drawing their toll from the farmer, it can be clearly seen that the grain ring, and the transportation companies are the only capitalist groups who will have the first draw on this year's grain crop. The banks, mortgage and machine companies, and the host of smaller capitalistic fry will not fare so well. This can be clearly seen by the activities of the latter bunch, getting judgments and other legal strangleholds on the farmers "property." This crop has been enormous, as far as yield is concerned, but I know plenty of farmers with low grade wheat (value about 35 cents per bushel) who quit threshing and left the grain in the stook—as it would not pay the two items of threshing and hauling a long journey to the elevator.

Next spring will see an exodus of farmers from the prairies to the slave market in the cities. Land in the west is worth nothing from an investment point of view. The C.P.R. and the grain trust, will shout for more slaves to fill the vacant farms. The former, (C.P.R.) although owners of a vast portion of the western wheat growing areas are more concerned about the transportation end of their huge concern, than in taking revenue direct, in the form of land payments. They no doubt realize that the farmer can't pay at both ends, hence their schemes of 10, 20, and 34 years to pay for land with their land offices and land agents in every country where capitalist civilization exists. The farmer's problems cannot be analysed by uttering a few Marxian phrases, or a few empty generalities such as production for use instead of for profit, etc. There are many intricate phases to this question which are deep rooted in the complexities of the capitalist system, and are inseparable from it. The Marxian student is better equipped mentally to tackle the task of throwing more light on the farmer's position in modern society, by virtue of his training in economics, and history, and his general knowledge of the sciences. A general knowledge of business monopolies, statistics and the credit system is also necessary to understand the details of the circulating process. And need I mention that a general practical knowledge of farming would not be amiss in tackling a task of this nature. I am sure we have men in Vancouver within the S. P. of C. who will fill the bill, had they the necessary time. It is sometimes painful to listen to a socialist speaker addressing a bunch of hayseeds, garnishing his generalizations by obscurities void of all meaning to the man with the property concept, and a psychology built up on the same. We must, as socialists and educational purveyors, attend to the industrial problem in some manner after the "case" method suggested by "C," and in this way the farmers' problem may be, in examination, freed from the method, so called, of obscure generalization with which we have sometimes treated it in the past. More anon.

D. MacPHERSON.

DOMESTICATED AND WILD ANIMALS.

BY J. HOWARD MOORE.

ALL domesticated animals have come from wild animals. Man was once a wild animal himself—before he had invented houses, and farms and clothes, and vehicles, and art, and science and before he had acquired the enterprise to domesticate other animals.

In many cases it is possible to put your finger on the particular wild species from which each domesticated variety has come. In other cases it is impossible. This may be due to the fact that the changes in the domesticated race have been so great that it is no longer possible to identify the ancestral species; or it may be because the wild part of the species; has been exterminated since domestication began and the species exists now only in the captive state. This last is true of the camels. There are no wild camels. All the camels there are in the world are associated with men.

"Wild" is an adjective which is applied to those races of beings which are not associated with man. Wild animals are sometimes thought of as being in an unnatural state. This is not true. It is the surroundings of the domesticated animals and of man that are artificial.

Animals are domesticated for various purposes—the sheep for its hair, the horse for its strength and speed, the cow for her milk, the pig for its "bacon," fowls for their eggs and feathers, the dog for hunting and companionship, the bee for its sweets, the canary for its song, and the goldfish for its grace and beauty.

Most domesticated animals have been greatly changed, both in body and mind, during the period of their domestication. These changes have been made in order to fit the animals more perfectly to human needs. And these changes are destined to continue to go through the ages to come. The mammoth apple and potato have come from wild ancestors so small and tasteless that our luxurious palates would today regard them with disdain. Probably we would not eat the wild potato in the condition it was in when the Indians began to cultivate it. We have too many other things that are better. But the Indians ate it because their sources of nourishment at that time were very few.

The great changes in domesticated animals (and plants) have been brought about by Selection—that is, by the long and incessant choosing of the more suitable for breeding purposes. Farmers select the best corn and the largest potatoes to be used for planting. And in the same way they select for breeding purposes the sheep with the longest and finest wool, and the best laying hens. The domestic chicken is a bird; and in the wild state it lays a nestful of eggs in the spring and hatches them, and then lays no more till the next spring, like other birds. But by selecting for breeding purposes those hens that had a tendency to lay more eggs man has developed breeds that now lay eggs the year round.

In the same way cows have been developed to give milk for a year or two after the birth of a calf, although naturally, in wild cows, milk is produced for only a short time after the calf is born and serves as food for the calf until it is able to get its own food. By repeated emphasis of any peculiarity, either of mind or body, it can be developed in time to an extent almost without limit. It has been by this simple method of selection that "green roses" have in these later times been produced, and the spineless cactus, and seedless grapes, apples, oranges, bananas, and pineapples. This process is called Artificial Selection, because it is carried on by man.

Science teaches us that it has been through a similar process of selection carried on by nature and extending over millions of years that all of the different species of animals and plants existing on the earth have originated. The first animals were the lowest, and from these through Natural Selection, operating throughout immeasurable periods of time, have arisen all the higher animals, including man.

Agriculture in the United States and Russia

By PROF. N. TULAIKOV (Moscow)

The writer of this article (not a communist, but a member of the Central Executive Committee) was sent by the Soviet government to the United States to study the agricultural conditions there. Although his conclusions do not altogether correspond to the views held in official circles of Soviet Russia, his report has aroused great interest in Russia.

The great war led to a tremendous extension of the area under wheat cultivation in America—this area was 75 million acres in 1919, an unheard of record in the history of the United States. This enormous extension of wheat cultivation took place chiefly in the north western states: Nebraska, Dakota, Montana, a part of Wyoming, Kansas, and a few others.

At this time the price of wheat rose rapidly, and the government guaranteed the farmer a price of two dollars per bushel.

In the wheat districts of America and Canada there appeared great numbers of people who frequently had had no previous experience in agriculture; these bought sites, set up farms, bought cattle and implements on credit, and began growing the wheat which promised them such large profits. Towns sprang up, houses and roads were built. All this required capital, and this was advanced by the banks.

The years of bad crops in the wheat areas and the rapid sinking in the price of wheat, which, by the end of 1922, fell below post-war prices (about 70 to 80 cents per bushel), completely discouraged the farmer; he lost all hope of finding any way out of this situation. Many, especially among the fresh emigrants, left their farms standing and then, completely ruined, started some new career either in the towns, or in more favorable districts.

The departure of the agricultural population was bound to take its effect on the banks. If the farmers were to be induced to remain, they must be granted some means enabling them to hold out during the years of crisis. The question of granting credits and seed from means provided by the Federal Government was raised, and the credits granted by the provincial banks, which were too short termed to be of aid to the farmers—were, up to November 1922, supplemented by the government by about 350 million dollars. The minister of agriculture, in his report on the year 1922, states that this action saved many thousands of farmers from ruin,

and that it is due to this operation that hundreds of banks in this wheat area escaped bankruptcy.

The general agricultural situation however did not improve in 1922, and the question of credits had to be brought up again. At the November and December sessions of Congress it was resolved to grant another 60 million dollars out of the federal funds, through the agency of 12 of the largest banks in the country. This credit was intended to bring fresh help to the farmers who had suffered great losses by the crisis, and to prevent the farmers from leaving the wheat district.

I had the opportunity of speaking with three members of the Federal Commission on the cause of the wretched position of the farmers, and on the means of alleviation to be adopted. One of these was the chairman of the Commission, Professor Becker. This Commission has already come to a more or less fixed opinion, which may be expressed as follows: The natural properties of that part of the great prairies (Dakota, Nebraska, West-Kansas) where so many immigrants settled during the war, are not particularly favorable for wheat growing, and therefore an artificial aid to the farmers (by credits) would not only be futile but actually harmful, as the emigration of a section of the agricultural population of these districts is inevitable in any event.

The whole of the great prairie district must be reconverted into a cattle-breeding district, as it was before the war, and the farmer must chiefly rely upon this industry. He can and must utilize a part of his land for growing corn and cattle fodder, but this must be regarded as a secondary source of income.

The experience already won in cattle farming in this district shows that the possession of 100 grazing animals suffices to enable a farmer to maintain his normal standard of living. In order to be able to breed grazing cattle in this part of the United States, every farm must have from 1,000 to 2,000 acres at its disposal. The farmer can use about 100 to 200 acres of this for growing wheat, and as much for maize; the wheat straw will also provide him with a valuable winter fodder. Under such conditions the farmer will almost always be able to feed his 100 head of cattle, earn a steady income, and live without his present risks.

In the hilly districts the farmers must each have over 4000 acres of land, as the conditions are less favorable. This signifies that the population of the western parts of the great prairies must be reduced.

The increased development of corn growing in these districts, so little adapted for the purpose, has thus proved a complete failure. It was only possible at a time when the price of corn had been raised by speculation and must now give way to cattle rearing.

In one of Becker's articles he states that, during recent years, the population of the United States has increased more rapidly than the production of agricultural necessities. This is doubtless connected with the increasing shortage of land in the United States, suitable for agriculture.

The minister for agriculture, in his Congress report—and Prof. Becker is of the same opinion—states, that all districts in the United States suitable for agriculture without the aid of artificial irrigation or drainage, or considerable improvements, are already being utilized, so that the population of America is confronted with the question as to how an ever-increasing population, accustomed to a high standard of living, is to be provided with food and clothing. The solution to this problem consists in either cultivating the areas already being utilized much more intensely, or in letting America, like England, become dependent on foreign imports—or, finally, in expending enormous sums from national funds on great irrigation and drainage works. The

first and third solutions are only practicable when the prices of agricultural produce are high, that is, when it is worth while to invest so much capital and labor in agriculture. But this pre-requisite does not exist at present.

The possibility of the second solution depends on the world production of wheat, and on the supply of cheap corn in the markets of the world. If the question of providing the United States with corn can be advantageously settled, and the Americans are relieved from this care, then the United States can make use of the increased population, for increasing industrial production. The natural conditions of the United States render it eminently possible to convert it into an industrial country: the maritime routes for export to the West (to China) and to the East (to Russia), whose markets could be won at the present time with comparative ease, offer cheap means of transport for American industrial products to almost unlimited markets; the coal and naphtha of the eastern districts, and the enormous energy stored in the waterfalls of the western mountains, provide energy for many years; the great mineral wealth of the country, and finally the high level of technique and of working power in industry, all ensure for America the possibility of developing her industry to a very high degree.

The unexampled amount and extremely favorable geographical position of the natural riches of the country, create extraordinary advantageous pre-requisites for the industrial progress of the nation, and in the words of the American economists, Russian Siberia can become that granary from which America can supplement her inland food supplies in the future; in the opinion of these economists, the inland supplies will be fully consumed in about 25 years by the home demands.

The main point of interest for American economists today is, to ascertain when Russia will re-appear in the markets of the world with her corn. The majority are not interested in the question from the standpoint of competition in the Western European markets, but from the standpoint of the necessity of a corresponding, reorganization of the whole of American agriculture. All economists in the United States clearly admit the possibility, that Russia will recapture her former corn markets. The only question which makes them uneasy is with regard to when and how American agriculture is to be so reorganized that a further depression be avoided, a depression which might be greater than that by which America was overwhelmed after the war.

HERE AND NOW.

We have nothing to rejoice over Here and Now, and now that the press men and publicity agents have encountered the festive season there is something decidedly amiss.

However, the hopeful people who always manage to kid themselves into believing something is about to turn up would have us believe that next year, now almost upon us, will bring the desired results.

Meanwhile, we record our meagre financial returns with a sigh.

Following \$1 each: J. Harrington, H. Norman, G. Hubbard, C. E. O'Brien, J. Terrill, Hy. Myers, W. Tairney, H. Garrett, Mrs. Annie Ross, T. Anderson, H. A. Wiertz, E. A. Bartholomew, T. B. Miles, J. F. Maguire, L. E. Thust, M. Stewart, M. Livingstone (per M. Goudie), J. Staples, C. Lester, R. F. Bayliss, J. E. McGregor, F. W. Thompson.

Following \$2 each: Wm. Allen, D. Morrison, Alf. Lien, G. Beagrie, F. E. More.

Parry and Sim \$3.
Above, Clarion subs received from 1st to 14th December inclusive, total \$35.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Following \$1 each: Alf. Lien, L. E. Thust, W. Bayliss.

Following \$2 each: Everett Erwin, J. Terrill, Wm. Ashton.

St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) \$8.00.

Above, C. M. F. receipts from 1st to 14th December, inclusive—total, \$17.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

EVERY SUNDAY

THEATRE ROYAL

SUNDAY DECEMBER 16th.

Speaker: J. HARRINGTON

All meetings at 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion.

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

ARTICLE NINETEEN.

HAD BISMARCK lived in 1913 it is quite possible he might have laid claim to have had a vision of Germany's industrial greatness, and to have had that end in view during all his diplomatic villianies. He could have, mankind being exceeding prone to just this kind of rationalization, furnished a reasonable amount of evidence to justify his claim, if he had not published his "Reflections and Reminiscences," which leave no doubt of the source of his inspiration.

It is just here that the Materialist Conception of History confounds the great man theory. A very limited amount of common sense compels us to credit the influence of some men in the development of mankind. But a very limited knowledge of history warns us that development did not depend exclusively upon any one man. We can no more deny the intellectual greatness of some men than we can the physique of others. One man is six foot six, weighs two hundred pounds and can hold at arm's length a fifty-six pound weight and raise from the ground to arms length above his head two hundred weight. Another, five foot one, who turns the scale at a hundred and ten pounds can only marvel that such things be possible. One man's heart sustains him in a rush of a hundred yards in ten seconds, while another in a ten-pace trot almost succeeds in an effort to tear itself from its moorings. That we should recognize this of some organs and deny the superiority of some brains is hardly consistent with good sense. Given then, a position wherein to exercise their mental excellence there can be no question of the influence of some men in the affairs of mankind. We are quite ready to admit that a statesman who has sense enough to see and admit the facts of existence, sufficient brains to recognize their significance, and training enough to utilize them, will have more influence in the affairs of a nation than one who lacks these essentials of statecraft.

But the crediting of a nation's greatness to this individual is quite another matter. Bismarck was born early enough to realize what the ravishes of war meant, and during his official life he had seen Prussia humiliated by many European powers. He had seen this humiliation become a settled policy of Austria. Thus Prussia had a glorious past, in which she had emerged victorious from a struggle with all the great powers of continental Europe. And just previous to being called to the chancellorship he had seen Prussia gradually slipping under the heavy handicap of a mad monarch. In 1861 the mentally deranged Frederick William returned to dust, and his brother, as William I, ascended the throne of Frederick the Great; he brought along with the blood of his great ancestor all his ambitions, if but little of his ability. This ability, however, was to be found in manifold splendor in the three men we referred to last issue.

The creation of a nation strong enough to resist her powerful neighbors—Russia, Austria and France—was the purpose of Prussia's rulers. This could only be accomplished by welding all German-speaking peoples outside of Austria into one nation. The heterogeneous and conflicting states of Italy had in 1859 become a nation, an example, and mankind with all his precepts and proverbs, is particularly moved by example, of what could be done. One man swims the English Channel and receives the plaudits of a proud people; ere long a score are striving to perform the difficult and dangerous feat. One statesman achieves a stroke of statecraft, and there arises a number of ambitious imitations.

Prompted by Von Roon, William I commenced a reorganization of the army. The first need was a more generous gathering of young men. The two-year term was therefore raised to three. This was bitterly opposed by the Prussian Diet; a compromise

was effected whereby money was voted for one year only. When the Diet again assembled the army was reorganized; when they realized how they had been tricked another rumpus ensued, which again ended in the same compromise. Von Roon continued his policy, and, following the election of 1861, when a large Progressist majority was returned from the new industrial districts of Silesia and the Rhineland, which appeared determined to use the army question to force a decision on where the power in Prussia resided, the struggle between King and Parliament arose. This time there was no compromise; the Army Bill was rejected, and the deputies declared that henceforth they would exercise fuller control over the finances of Prussia. The King dissolved Parliament and the ministry resigned with the exception of Roon. The electors returned an even greater majority of deputies determined to rule, and the Army Bill was rejected almost unanimously; Princee Hohenzolobe and his ministry resigned, and the King, probably due to some family defect of blood, lapsing into an inferiority complex as had his brother before him, contemplated retiring to quieter if less exalted paths, and for the moment King Capital seemed about to enter into his pre-appointed sphere. Roon advised calling Bismarck to the helm, and it was so. The deputies rejected the Army Bill for a third time; it was then passed in the Upper House and Bismarck continued to conduct the affairs of the country after Parliament had adjourned. The country was now in a state of ferment, but the new chancellor ignored it. A kindly fate soon furnished him with the opportunity to advance his already formed scheme for enlarging the frontiers of Prussia.

An agitation had been for years carried on in Poland for the restitution of their country, which carried the sympathies of all Europe. Russia, we have seen, was the ally of Austria, and for Prussia to attack Austria would obviously be utter madness. The Czar in the early days of 1863 executed an order which would either kill the Polish movement or bring it into the open where it could be crushed. An army levy of one-half per cent. of the population was made, and it was made effective in Poland in towns only, and every one known to have been active in the disturbances and agitation was to be pressed into the army.

With the inevitable insurrection which followed the attempt to enforce this levy we are not concerned just now. The people of Europe and not more than the people of Prussia were more sympathetic; several governments prepared to intervene; Liberals and rebels everywhere raised their voices, Marx foremost among them, and it was at a meeting of delegates from the workers of Europe, called to protest against the terrible measures used to suppress the insurrection. It was from this protest that the "First International of Glorious Memory" arose, although it did not take definite form until a year later. But "order is restored in Moscow" and how many of the Revolutionists of that day would be satisfied with the order of restoring? After revolutionary Europe, longing for almost a century for that restoration, they got it from their masters, and Poland is the one great safeguard against the international revolution.

Such is fate. And such the limit of human vision. Bismarck offered the Czar his help, and secure in this proffered assistance the Czar proceeded to the most drastic suppression of the revolt. When it was over Austria had lost a powerful friend and Bismarck had gained one. This had hardly been consummated when fate again favored Bismarck. The King of Denmark died, and the question of the German-speaking duchies of Schleswig-Holstein was again in the diplomatic fire.

Germany, we remember, had been humiliated in this matter in 1848, and the question again aroused much feeling. Without going into the intricacies of succession, we can proceed to its results. The German Bund and Assembly of Princes determined to

see these provinces separated from Denmark. Accordingly the federal government ordered Hanover and Saxony to formally seize them. But Bismarck had other fish to fry. He represented this action to Austria as a return to the revolutionary days of 1848, and succeeded in drawing her into an alliance wherein they would jointly seize the prey. To do this he had to overcome the antagonism of every one, even King William, except of, course, Von Roon. The Danes were driven from the disputed territory, and much bluster was heard from England and France about the Treaty of London, the same we heard so much of in 1914. The unfortunate Danes, expecting intervention, held out long enough to permit Bismarck to obtain the precise boundary he required, which included Kiel harbor. Notwithstanding England's having received the Daughter of the Sea King across the water, as Tennyson sang on the occasion of the marriage between Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, and Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, the rights of small nations and France and Britain's heroic efforts to protect the poor Turk's bag and baggage a few years previous, Austria and Prussia were now two lusty dogs with one miserable bone. The former was yet too powerful for Bismarck to attack, as she was sure to have the support of all the other German states, although her action in Denmark had lost her much prestige.

Bismarck prudently retired every time the Austrian dog growled; meanwhile seeking alliance in the only possible country available. Italy had an army of experienced fighting men, only too delighted to have another whack at Austria's heroes of 1848. The Italian rulers, more pragmatic, gazed lovingly, as they had long gazed, on Venetia, still under Austria's barbarous rule, which, with Rome, still barred their complete unity, and formed a wedge and offered a pretext for Austrian aggression at any time. Barkus was willin' but Napoleon III had assisted the Italian to defeat Austria, in fact, had practically done the job himself with his trusty revolutionary Frenchmen, and he might object. His warriors had seen service in the Crimea and in Italy, and so Bismarck had to make an afternoon call on his Imperial Majesty. They met in September, 1865, at Biarritz without witnesses. Napoleon claimed he was offered Belgium, or some Rhine side territory, as the price of his neutrality. Bismarck denies it. We are not concerned with who's got the button; we note however, that Napoleon acquiesced. The alliance went forward: Italy in the event of success to have Venetia.

But it looks as though we can't get through with Bismarck's villianies this time, so we will require further space in next issue.

Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency, is a unit of force, constituting, with other such agencies, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction, leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, aspirations and beliefs, is not an accident, not a product of the time. He must remember that, while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him that he may not carelessly let lie. . . . The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter, knowing that, let what may come of it, he is playing his right part in the world—knowing that, if he can effect the change he aims at—well: if not—well also; though not so well.

—Herbert Spencer.

The Latest Developments of the Ruhr and Reparations Crisis

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin)

In the Reparations question we must be more careful than ever today to differentiate between appearance and reality. On the one hand, we cannot fail to observe the apparent endeavor being made by the Entente Governments to obtain the reparation payments in cash. The place where this comedy is played is the Reparations Commission. On the other hand, we find the actual reality when we turn to the Ruhr, and see it annexed by French capitalism. The Reparations Commission here signifies General Degoutte and Comite des Forges.

It is true enough that France, in view of her shaken financial situation, is desperately in need of German payments on account. And it is equally true that the confidence of the French middle class in the state papers and in the franc is chiefly maintained by means of the formula: "The German will pay." And when it becomes perfectly clear that the German cannot pay, then there will be a rough awakening indeed. The fact that Poincare's Ruhr policy still meets with the support of broad strata of the French middle class is only explicable by their hope that Poincare's policy of the mailed fist in the Ruhr will compel the German to pay. Then the deficit in the French Budget would vanish, the franc would rise in value, and the annuitants need not fear that the French state will melt into nothing in their hands, like the war loans of the German Empire.

We can, however, certainly assume that M. Poincare himself, as also the mighty ones of the Comite des Forges, possess sufficient insight to see through the comedy of German solvency. Any bank clerk could teach the politicians of Europe that if one country is going to give another real payments, this can only be done in the form of goods. Should Germany really pay the reparation sums demanded, then woe to her creditors! Then the German reparation goods would flood the markets of the world, and many millions of families in the victorious countries would suffer from unemployment, which would show them very effectually what it means if Germany really pays. It is very characteristic that up to now every Franco-German agreement relating to deliveries in kind has been shipwrecked on the sabotage of French industrialists! How great the sensation aroused at the time by the Wiesbaden agreement between Rathenau and Loucheur, and again by the contract between Stinnes and Lubetkin! But both agreements have proved worthless scraps of paper. The French big industrialists, who want to monopolize all the profits to be got out of the restoration of the devastated areas, have prevented the Germans from making payments in kind, to any extent worthy of mention, to the devastated provinces of northern France. This is the best proof that France cannot obtain German reparation payments, and in point of fact does not want them. The supplies of Ruhr coke to France are another matter. The bond which France holds against Germany, in the form of the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty, is merely the pretext for the subjugation of the West German colliery and iron ore areas by French heavy industry.

Those to whom all this is clear will be able to look on without much emotion at the latest endeavors of the Reparations Commission. The Passive Resistance in the Ruhr area having been abandoned, the Entente Governments have to keep up the appearance of seeking seriously for a solution of the Reparations problem. For this purpose they are harking back to the well-known Belgian plan worked out last June. The English, French, and Italian Governments have declared themselves agreed that the Reparations Commission should base its next efforts on the Belgian plan. The Belgian plan contains all manner of combinations in connection with

payments by Germany. It provides for the formation of certain international monopolies in Germany for the sale of sugar, salt, tobacco, wine, spirits, matches, etc. The exercise of the rights of monopoly is to fall to international syndicates, in which not only foreign capitalists are to be represented, but German capitalist circles as well. The German Railways are to be dealt with in a similar manner. The proceeds of all these undertakings are to flow into the Reparations exchequer. It is obvious that such a combination would enormously increase the cost of living for the working masses of Germany, and would at the same time provide very agreeable payments, in the way of commission and expenses of various descriptions, to the international capitalists participating in the administration of the monopolies. But of what assistance would all this be in the matter of reparation payments? The proceeds of all these monopolist administrations would naturally consist of paper marks, or of other German currency valid at the moment. But what are the Entente States to do with such quantities of German money? The possession of German money signifies the possibility of buying goods from Germany. We are therefore confronted by the old difficulty, that Germany is only able to pay the Reparation in goods. Beside this, German currency would have to be stabilized before such amounts of German marks would be of any use at all to the reparation creditors. But in spite of the rentenmark, the stabilization of the German currency remains a castle in the air.

The Reparations Commission will weigh every possible consideration of this description, and perhaps the whole inquiry into German solvency will be renewed. Such considerations and inquiries require time, and time is what Poincare is particularly anxious to gain. He is anxious to divert the current of British energies into the work of the Reparations Commission. Mr. Baldwin may rack his brains as to whether Germany's total debt should be assessed at 40 or 50 milliard gold marks, as to what percentage of interest is to be paid on the German Reparations debt, as to who is to have priority when Germany begins to pay, and similar speculations respecting the chickens which are not yet hatched. Meanwhile Poincare takes action in the Ruhr.

The tendency of French Rhine and Ruhr policy is perfectly clear: The fate of the Rhine and Ruhr areas is not to be discussed any further with the Berlin Government. Poincare finds ever fresh pretexts for avoiding any such discussion. At the present time he formally demands, very cleverly, that the conditions obtaining before the Ruhr occupation shall be restored with regard to the delivery of coal. But the German collieries only want to supply coal to France on the condition that the German government pays them. And this is beyond the powers of German finance. The country is therefore incapable of fulfilling its obligations with regard to the delivery of coal and coke, and M. Poincare need not negotiate with Stressemann.

An exceedingly simple series of conclusions. And what is the further logical conclusion? France will come to independent agreements with the separate concerns of Ruhr industry, after the manner of the Wolff agreement and the negotiations with Stinnes. Under some circumstances France may even advance cash to Ruhr industry in order to facilitate the sending of supplies. This will place Ruhr industry completely in the hands of France, the Comite des Forges will arrange all further details with Stinnes, Klockner, and Wolff, and the economic affiliation of the Rhine and Ruhr country to France will become an actual fact. The French railway regime in the Rhine and Ruhr areas will be made a permanency along the same lines, German industrialists partici-

pating in it, as suggested by Stinnes in his well known propositions to the German government. It need not be said that the French troops will meantime remain in the Ruhr valley, in order to cover all these manipulations. The exact political form which will be found for this actual separation of the Rhine and Ruhr area from Germany has not yet been settled, and is besides a matter of indifference. After the economic affiliation of the Ruhr and Rhineland to France has been accomplished, then Poincare will condescend to negotiate with Stressemann again.

It will be seen at once that certain of the fundamental ideas of the Belgian Reparations plan coincide with Poincare's practical Ruhr policy. The running of the railways and of the collieries of the Ruhr and Rhineland, by groups of mixed French and German capitalists, fits excellently into the Belgian plan. The sole difference is that this rearrangement of the economy of the Ruhr area will be for the benefit of the private capitalists participating, and that the Reparations account will receive no benefit. However, after Poincare has got the Ruhr area to this point, he will doubtless find the international formula enabling him to show the perfect harmony between his robberies and the Reparations paragraphs of the Versailles Treaty. And then the German Government will be forced to set its signature to the whole thing—if the German proletariat has not already cancelled the account.

NEW SONGS FOR OLD.

ALICE PARK.

DISARMING the nursery of military toys which teach young children their first lessons in war and therefore make the deepest and most lasting impression upon their minds, has been widely recommended by international peace organizations and by teachers of young children as well as by parents.

There are other nursery influences as dangerous as toy guns. It is high time to disarm the nursery and school of military songs. The influence of such songs is as deep and as lasting as that of military toys.

First impressions are hard to uproot. But the songs about army and navy forever and bombs bursting in air so familiar to all, that many people fail to recognize their true character as lessons in wholesale murder and delight in warfare.

The earliest song the writer remembers is "Jeanette and Jeannot," with its chorus:

Let those who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight—

Yes, let those who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight.

When anyone wishes to arrange a program for peace exercises for schools, it is extremely difficult to find appropriate songs in the ordinary books. The demand has been for war songs and therefore the books fit the demand. A new demand for peace songs will result in their creation and eventually in familiarity with them.

As admiration for war and for those who fight has been deliberately and systematically cultivated, so new peace education may be intelligently and profitably cultivated.

Music has always been recognized as stimulating to the emotions and so to action. It has been used in all countries to allure and to stir soldiers, and even to prepare the future generation to be soldiers.

Songs can be used and should be used to teach all children a belief in peace, the benefits of peace, the human happiness of peace, as well as an enthusiasm for peace and individual pledge to live for peace.

THE TRIAL OF JOHN BALL (1381)

Sir John Tresilian.

John Ball, you are accused of stirring up
The poor deluded people to rebellion;
Not having the fear of God and of the King
Before your eyes; of preaching up strange notions,
Heretical and treasonous; such as saying
That kings have not a right from heaven to govern;
That all mankind are equal; and that ranks,
And the distinctions of society,
Aye, and the sacred right of property,
Are evil and oppressive;—plead you guilty
To this most heavy charge?

John Ball.

If it be guilty

To preach what you are pleased to call strange notions:
That all mankind as brethren must be equal;
That privileged orders of society
Are evil and oppressive; that the right
Of property is a juggle to deceive
The poor whom you oppress; I plead me guilty.

Sir John Tresilian.

Did you not tell the mob they were oppressed,
And preach upon the equality of man;
With evil intent thereby to stir them up
To tumult and rebellion?

John Ball.

That I told them

That all mankind are equal is most true;
Ye came as helpless infants to the world;
Ye feel alike the infirmities of nature;
And at last moulder into common clay.
Why, then, these vain distinctions? . . . Bears not the earth
Food in abundance? Must your granaries
Overflow with plenty, while the poor man starves?
Sir Judge, why sit you there clad in your furs?
Why are your cellars stor'd with choicest wines?
Your larders hung with dainties? while your vassal
As virtuous and as able, too, by nature,
Tho' by selfish tyranny depriv'd
Of mind's improvement, shivers in his rags,
And starves amid the plenty he creates,
I have said this is wrong, and I repeat it—
And there will be a time when this great truth
Shall be confess'd—be felt by all mankind,
The electric truth shall run from man to man,
And the blood-cemented pyramid of greatness
Shall fall before the flash!

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of
Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegi-
ance 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, conse-
quently, all the products of labor belong to the capital-
ist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the
worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession
of the reins of government 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-
swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever
increasing measure of misery and degradation.

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

The irrepressible 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 un-
der the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with
the object of conquering the political powers 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, factor-
ies, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective
means of production.
- 2—The organization and management of indus-
try by the working class.
- 3—The establishment, as speedily as possible,
of production for use instead of production
for profit.

Sir John Tresilian.
Audacious rebel!

How darest thou insult this sacred court,
Blaspheming all the dignities of rank?
How could the Government be carried on
Without the sacred orders of the king
And the nobility?

John Ball.

What does the Government avail the peasant?
Would not he plow his field, and sow the corn,
Aye, and in peace enjoy the harvest, too?
Would not the sunshine and the dews descend,
Tho' neither King nor Parliament existed?
Do your court politics aught matter him?
Would he be warring even unto the death
With his French neighbors?—Charles and Richard contend;
The people fight and suffer:—Think ye, Sir,
If neither country had been cursed with chief,
The peasants would have quarrell'd?

—From Robert Southey's "Wat Tyler."

Correspondence

"BY THE WAY."

Editor Clarion:

I have followed with some interest the articles by Com-
rade "C." under the heading "By the Way," in which he
sets forth his antagonism to that "state of mind" which
can conceive of no other road to freedom than that which
is battered open by physical force.

He apparently leaves his case on the all-pervasive in-
terlocking and interdependent nature of social activities
under modern capitalism, together with the character of
the means of making human beings in the mass now in
the possession of the modern state. The latter element,
in "C's." opinion, banishes from the realm of possibility
any prospect of success through physical force exercised
by a revolutionary class. Consideration of the former el-
ement convinces him that even if successful, a revolution
by force would involve a condition of "irremediable social
chaos" and could only result in providing the "grave of
revolutionary hopes and ideals." (Vide Clarion, Nov. 16).

Comrade "C." seems to be obsessed with the weight,
power and efficiency of the capitalist regime, its industrial
and economical efficiency, domination of mental view
points, ideals, traditions, etc., etc. He seems to have
overlooked entirely the fact that the civilization of any
dominant class produces its own antithesis in the form
of ideals, mental conceptions and viewpoints in the heads
of the class which suffers under that domination. These
viewpoints, etc., which gradually force their way through-
out the social milieu, are in diametric opposition to those
of the ruling class, and produce in their adherents the
sense of class consciousness, their potential class power,
and implacable hostility to the dominant class, with its
inculcations of respect for its own law and order, tradi-
tions and viewpoints. As the ruling class increases in
wealth, power and arrogance it but feeds the flame of re-
sentment and revolt in the ranks of that class which feels
its own struggle for a bare existence becoming more diffi-
cult under the oppression of a wealth and power which
it realizes is based on its own sweat and toil.

Every capitalist country has this revolutionary move-
ment knawing at its vitals, circulating its literature, organ-
izing its study classes, and forcing its propaganda farther
and farther afield. Force used in the hope of suppressing
it but drives it underground, where it proceeds to accumu-
late until it bursts forth in destructive eruption, and the
rulers find that their methods of repression have resulted
in a sympathy for the revolutionary class being mani-
fested in quarters where it was previously absent. Organ-
ized anti-propaganda only succeeds in advertising the
movement, whose qualified spokesmen can vanquish the
best apologists the capitalists can produce. Like Ban-
quo's ghost, "It will not down." It breaks out in the most
unexpected quarters. See the increasing number of arti-
cles by recognized experts, technicians, professors, scien-
tists in every field of research, social workers, financial
experts, and so on, confirming and reinforcing the argu-
ments of the anti-capitalists, that are finding their way in-
to channels of publication that are closed to the frankly
revolutionary movement. The support and confirmation
they give is doubtless involuntary and unconscious in the
majority of instances, but the cumulative effect is not the
less valuable. It is corroborative evidence from the oppo-
site camp and is of valuable assistance in undermining the
enemy morale. Press, courts, parliaments, schools, relig-
ion, statesmanship, are all targets for this destructive crit-
icism, so busily engaged in removing "the alp of tradition
from the brain of the living."

Capitalist ideology is not invulnerable. Like all others,
it is based on a certain method of social production and
distribution of wealth. While there was room for it to
function in the process of developing and perfecting its
social production of wealth, it was socially valid, being
justified by social necessity. Now that the process is com-
pleted and production organized to the point where social
ownership is an imperative necessity, it is no longer valid,
but an anachronism, out of joint with and an impediment

to further progress. As such it is being rapidly under-
mined and swept aside. Modern machine production is
constantly making important changes in technique, and the
minds of those who live in its environment are far more
susceptible to rapid changes in their mental outlook than
were the minds of those who lived under the stable con-
ditions of pre-capitalist production.

Viewing the subject from this standpoint the writer is
unable to endorse the pessimistic attitude taken by "C."
If the task of the revolutionary movement is a gigantic
one, so is its reservoir of strength needed to accomplish it.
It must prove equal to its task, or history is falsified. To
assume that the transformation from the last form of slav-
ery to freedom will come merely as the result of slow
changes in social viewpoints and patchwork reforms se-
cured by or granted to the slaves by the masters appears
to be as visionary and unpractical a state of mind to me
as does a revolution by force to "C." Neither does it seem
to be within the bounds of probability that the present
dominant class can be legislated reformed and trans-
formed out of its function as a social parasite without be-
ing fully aware of the process and developing all the
means of resistance at hand. The services of the old mid-
wife force will be requisitioned as before. The compar-
ative slenderness of their numbers as compared to their
enemies tends to make them more class conscious and
jealous of their powers and privileges, which they will not
surrender to anything less than an overwhelming display
of force.

To cultivate and diffuse the knowledge to guide that
force and its exercise is our present task. The final out-
come is as heartening and encouraging to the thinking
worker as it must be dark and full of foreboding to the in-
telligent capitalist who has given it serious study.

J. H. B.

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