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## A Rough Review of British Politics

BY WILL BAYLISS.

DAVID L. George has apparently been suddenly fired; and Bonar Law politely asked to take his place, and form a "new cabinet" out of old stuff. This upheaval in a tea-cup necessitated an untimely election. There were no startling platform phrases to catch the voter; but there was a phrase used by every brand and shade of parties which appealed to the "sober minded" voter. The phrase is "stability." The Coalition was an ideal management in war time, but for peace (?) time they need an executive with minds governed by the "Prince of peace." That is, in reality, a mind governed by interests needing peace and stability in order to develop the trade peculiar to the "after the war" period. D. L. George & Crew, Bonar Law & Co. and Labour Ltd., all seek stability in order to put capital, and incidentally, labor, on its feet. To place capital and labor on its feet it is absolutely necessary to check, and if possible, throttle the Bolsheviki movement. Mr. McKenna does not fear labor. No statesman of brains fears labor, but it is the Socialist element within the rank and file which bothers D. L. George, Bonar Law, Asquith, Churchill, Birkenhead and many others too numerous to mention.

The election aims of all parties, besides the socialist party are very similar. This admittance has appeared in the public press. It is questionable, however, whether the mass of workers will observe and digest so important an admission. If they do, it is all up with capitalism. The Marxist has known this for 70 years or more. But the great mass do not study economies relative to the basis of society and the aims arising therefrom. Whether the executive of the capitalist class is called Conservative, Liberal, Unionist, Labor or Coalition, make no difference so long as the executive efficiently carries on the business of their masters. To accomplish this, any executive has to declare upon oath in favour of private ownership of property. That property is sacred. That they will protect it at all costs to the advantage of the private owners. That property held as a means of exploitation is within the law.

Seeing that most statesmen have come to realise that Labor as well as capital is necessary to produce commodities, these same gentlemen have become piously interested in a scheme of co-operation of masters and slave. As if the co-operation has not existed before. It has existed in all slave societies, but the tendency to separate shows itself, and an anxiety arises from that condition which forces the master's mouthpiece to propagate this apparently new doctrine. The relationship, however, must ever widen, even though the workers consciously co-operate with the owners and produce for them more efficiently. In fact, the more efficiently the producers work, the quicker the severance of the relationship between them and the owners will occur. The more staple or peaceful the capitalist world becomes, the greater will the crises be.

Seeing that all the British political parties, excepting the Socialist party, are out for one objective: stability in order to develop trade equal to exploitation and profit, or the maintenance of a society consisting of masters and slaves, seeing this, why an election? Is there any danger of the fall of capitalism? Is the danger within the British Isles? Or,

is it an international danger? If so, what kind of danger is it?

To stabilise trade is to save society; so Bonar Law and his supporters say. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to remove Lloyd George and his gang of war lords. Peace, profit, and prosperity require parliamentarians of a different temperament than times of war, waste and wrangling; even though profit and prosperity follow the bellowing of guns and the groans of dying slave soldiers.

The stability referred to requires both a national and an international character. Contented slaves at home and a stabilised market abroad are the two essential characteristics necessary to peace and profit commonly called stability. The Coalition has made blunders in diplomatic circles. It has made enemies where friends should be made. It has widened the breaches where they should be cemented. So great has the bungle become that the greatest treaty ever conceived of has failed. The League of Nations has become a farce during the reign of Coalition. The seekers for power today blame the Coalition, but Lloyd George rightly blames conditions.

A Conservative government cannot mend matters, try as they will. Present day society, because of its basis, cannot again satisfy its human needs. Whatever is done will react adversely. Steady employment will soon result in unemployment.

Markets of fifty years ago are today themselves seeking markets. The new markets are situated in a dangerous zone, and found in a dangerous time. International capital is complicatedly interested. The Allies in War are enemies in the peaceful pursuits of producing oil. Oil is a commodity of great value when applied to the machinery used in producing other commodities. Some of the British Allies have common interests with war-time enemies. So there is a general mix-up over the oil fields of the Near East. To allow Turkey even the success she has gained, was, in the eyes of British capitalists, a big mistake. It has, in reality made France, by reason of its relations to Turkey, an enemy. In the meantime France is pacified; but the burst will come sooner or later, and a war between two sides must take place over oil. It may not be a military war; but it will be a war of some sort. It seems to me that England and Germany will join hands in this commercial struggle. The Conservatives think they can steer the international canoe safely through the rapids of "after the war" waters and find a peaceful Mediterranean.

Assuming the oil controversy were settled peacefully and oil was being produced in ever increasing volumes; that Mesopotamia was booming; that the Near East had become an Eldorado to capitalists and that the country had become dotted with towns. What effect would this have upon England? They would suffer in the coal industry because oil displaces it as a fuel. Coaling vessels would be no more, and thousands at British ports would be idle. British farm produce would not be wanted in the East because it can be produced there. Oil would revolutionise production, and cause greater instability than did steam. To adjust the social change would also be a greater problem than when steam took the place of water and hand. Oil will run to

where it is required, and few hands are required to attend to it. Instead of stability, the future stores up stability. That is, if the future is controlled by the present mode of production. Stability can come only by changing the mode from production for profit to production for use.

Is the danger within the British Isles? It is partly, but not wholly. The working class are becoming educated and restless. The educated element composes the Labor Party and officials of labor movements. There is no danger to Capitalism from these, in fact, they are somewhat like the early Liberals were, but the restless ones are the rank and file. Few there be who are educated in the bourgeois sense. Here lies the danger. These, along with the class conscious European workers, are forcing the hand of "dignified labor." Respectable labor must gain parliamentary power. They must, like their fore-runners the Liberals, etc, fail to satisfy those they are supposed to represent, i.e., chiefly the working class. The final lesson will be learned by the workers during the reign of Labor. Emancipation cannot be passed by an executive representing the interests of capitalism. That is, a capitalist institution is too partial to its own interests to destroy the very foundation upon which it rests.

The Co-operative candidates in the British squabble for power say they approve of the Versailles Treaty, limited reparations and the League of Nations. At the same time they say they want a "new social order." This institution is not only utopian but reactionary as well. The Versailles Treaty is nothing else than an agreement between international capitalists for extracting swag by the modern method of exploitation. It is an international guarantee to national capitalists. In short it is the highest expression yet of the identical interests of capitalists world wide in relation to the peaceful exploitation of the slaves living by their permission. In conjunction with this treaty we must consider the League of Nations and reparations. They are inseparable.

The machinery of production calls for social effort; not only social in a national sense, but international. Capital is social. Labor is social. The product is social. Everything is socialised excepting the idea of ownership. Ownership in the broad sense is partly socialized and partly individual. Individual owners are not very powerful. The only part of capitalism which retains its individualistic character is the sharing of the swag, i.e., profit. Now, seeing production is socialised, and boundary lines in reality are wiped out, why is it that capitalism demands the protection of small nations? That definite boundaries be drawn here and there? That some countries be split and new countries made? These are the contradictions of the Versailles Treaty which the League of Nations is supposed to carry out. The economic reason is clear and plain. Small nations must keep the peace. Some must act as buffer states between more powerful competitors. Strong countries, such as the German Empire must be broken up, its grinding teeth extracted if possible. Capital, being social and international, places the small countries under ob-

(Continued on page 7)

## Book Review

**The Iron Man of Industry.** By Arthur Pound. The Atlantic Monthly Press.

THE author of this book considers that as a rule writers on industrial problems or such as he is acquainted with are either "coldly analytical or hotly polemical," and he undertakes "a calm synthesis." We can say without reserve he has succeeded. It is calm, and in the strict dictionary meaning of the word a synthesis—putting together.

Everything that has cropped up in the past half century is "put together"—materialist conception, great man theory, religious interpretation of history, instincts, complexes—superior and inferior,—morons, defectives, effectives, blonds and brunettes, profit-sharing, paternal and joint management, searching out God, the entire bag of tricks, as Burns has it:

In formless jumble right and wrang,  
Wild wandered through his bedm.

Happily, the materialist conception of history comes first, and as the Babbitts rarely read far into a work of this character we venture to hope that this point of view will find entrance, through the medium of this book, into minds which otherwise would be forever closed against it.

The first chapter sketches the development of mankind in terms of the tool: "First, the man and the beast; then, the man and the hand tool; now, the man and the machine-tool;" and, "This is the century of the automatic machine." With such a start we presumed this book well worth reading. The automatic machine broke up labor unions which had become a power in the land. It caused the cities to expand by first driving the men from the land, and then furnishing jobs for them in the cities. It reduced skill to mere automatic or, a better term, acrobatic stunt. So, where before its advent a term of apprenticeship was essential, now a few hours' instruction at most is necessary, and a few day's practice completes the "mechanic." Thus the boy or girl fresh from the country can be readily absorbed by the Iron Man. Our author traces many manners generally ascribed to chivalry or perversity to the Iron Fellow. When the farmer's boy left the country in such numbers as would tend to elevate the wage of those remaining, the farmer's girl donned overalls and worked the crops. "Not chivalry but economics had dictated their previous immunity from field labor; our prejudices against such work did not stand the economic test." This machine also tends to that abhorrent condition charged against socialism, equalization of reward. Wages tend to a common level. "A city engineering department can hire draughtsmen about as cheaply as common labor" (p. 25), so "the Socialist dream—equality of income" results from the automatic machinery owned by Capitalists. (p. 33).

Another task reserved for Socialism since time was,—the breaking up of the home,—has been accomplished by the machine. "The army of homeless, wifeless men and foot-loose women is growing, the automatic tool has cut marriage knots as well as steel bars," (p. 34)

Chapter III on Mind and the Machine is a characteristic piece of pedlar's logic. We are told that the machine needs hands and feet to tend it, with an eye and ear once in a while, but unhappily the only creature possessing these appendages has an aggregation of other organs, heart, brain, kidneys, liver, lights, to mention a few. These be bad enough but he also has "endocrinal glands," terrible things which somehow make tedious work torture. Now the machine has no use for this plethora of offal but is required to take it with the hand, foot, and occasional eye, hence complications arise. Aside from the exaggerated value given by the la-de-da investigators of labor troubles to what we may term the liver and lights complexion of industry, it is most disconcerting to find at the end of the chapter another explanation, entirely at variance with this physiological stuff. We read (p. 52) that the fellow who mans the machine and even the superintendent

is a moron, sixteen years old intellectually by test. The man who owns the machine is, of course, fully developed intellectually. The common man is a moron, yet the machine has no ill effects on the moron (p. 53); the evils which the average man suffers while operating it are disquieting (p. 45).

Whatever else might be said of the "common man," he could not by Benit test, or any other, betray a lighter regard for common sense than is shown here. As to the man who owns the machine being intellectually above the man who uses it, that is just plain ordinary nonsense.

No Benit test is required to appraise the mentality of the average owner, as evidenced by the speeches which he pays for, and pays for well, and listens to at his weekly dinners. What is more, the methods whereby such agencies as the Pinkerton and Burns blackmailed them for years, is complete proof not only of their intellectual bankruptcy but that so far as "guts" are concerned they have not developed beyond the intertidal scum, (which our author supposes is a theory of Wells and is opposed to Darwinism (see p. 39).

Inconsistency however does not worry Mr. Pound. While asserting "ability heads toward power" (p. 63) a few pages further on we are told that the decisions of the mighty are commonly made through their emotions, reason being used after success comes to justify their action. Hill was a dreamer of dreams. "Colt clung to his idea of a revolving pistol after other men gave theirs up, because he was more obstinate than they, not because he had better reasoning faculties" (p. 69). As a matter of fact both were guilty of bribing the law dreamer of dreams. "Colt clung to his idea of a redreams. The poetic nonsense our author indulges in about this old rascal is quite up to the hero-worship he ascribes to the common man." Hill's nearest friends, those who helped him complete the wreck of railroads Russel Sage had partially looted, considered him the meanest scoundrel alive, and a liar to boot; and the thousands he ruined, and his low paid and non-union railroads will long remember his corruption of legislators, and truckling to Roman Catholic priests. All this is recorded in the court records of Federal and State trials.

There's a lot of slush about Iron Dukes and nature's sons which helps to fill the book and might convince the Babbitts who gather at their weekly dinners to hear just that kind of sentimental moonshine, but our author sees these men rapidly disappearing, and instead of your old school-fellow for a boss you have "them Jews of Wall Street." ("Them Jews" forsooth).

Too bad! Little Billy with whom we were wont to frequent the old swimming hole, both sucking the same lollipop, is no longer our boss; Wall Street pirates grabbed his plant; Billy was too generous with the boys, called them by their first name, paid top wages. The new boss cuts wages and calls them by a number, so, Tom, Dick and Harry are full of mental poison. "Them Jews" now control and the contentment of Stilltown is departed forever, or until the boys are ready to follow the new boss. Our author thinks this is nonsense,—we concur,—it barely skims the surface and is purely a business man's view of how labor feels. His foot of twine will never fathom the worker's mind.

Yes indeed, "Life and human nature are primary; civilization and industry are secondary to them and cannot be maintained unamended much longer than the masses find worth while. He who forgets this elemental fact builds his theories upon the sand; the state which does not reckon with it at every turn is preparing for revolution" (p. 89). Apart from the metaphors this is fundamental, but ere long we find our mentor completely forgets his own teaching. Ere we proceed to that, however, let us take up one more example of ill-digested knowledge. "Political history reveals a never-ending conflict between mass and class for the control of the state's political machinery. In a democracy the conflict may be considered as resolved in favor of the mass, in theory, if not always in practice." So far so good; mark what follows: "The very existence of the state is, indeed, a triumph for the common man; the institution is his champion against ob-

jective and effective alike; the state is his and he made it." But what can we expect from a defective, a moron, an intellectual diminutive, who can seriously praise the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act and the Kansas Industrial Court and account them of value "in continuous corporate functioning." Neither Act has ever prevented a strike where either party had the economic advantage and an adverse legal award.

However, it is not our intention to follow Mr. Pound through his entire mass of contradictions. He mentions Butler's machinate mammal, and has no doubt read Erewhon, that masterly satire on the human animal; but if Butler had considered it proper to give us a translation from the works of one of the Professors of Inconsistency from the College of Unreason in Erewhon, he could hardly have improved upon Mr. Pound.

Truth is stranger than fiction.

Let us then turn to the last chapter, headed God and Man, and pass over even half of that. On page 225 we read: "The most durable bond that man has yet succeeded in discovering is belief in God. The fact that one can write indefinitely long of industry and make no mention of God may be at the root of more of our industrial and social trouble than we imagine." After rejecting all the known gods, even that of H. G. Wells, he says that at one time he believed man made god in his own image—"For all I know to the contrary," he adds, "this may be the case; but if man did invent god, I hold that invention to be the masterpiece of human wisdom, far-out-stripping in usefulness any and all subsequent innovations of the brave little biped. That, if so, was the first slip in progress from beasthood toward manhood, the essential without which self restraint and social order are impossible." We cannot quote further, though the temptation is great. God and back in the minds of the workers will accomplish wonders, the "endoctrinal gland" notwithstanding.

We can understand Mr. Pound when he introduces his god, even, as he says, if invented as a measure of "self restraint and social order." A sort of big policeman, beyond the reach of political or partizan influence. But in the closing passage of his book he forgets that he invented this monster for disciplinary purposes and appeals to it for guidance. It is almost unbelievable that anyone could get into such a ridiculous position, and we are inclined to regard these closing words as pure propaganda and absolve Mr. Pound from actual belief in them: "In escaping from one sort of travail man runs straightway into another. Consequently whatever the trend or pace of evolution, man needs Divine assistance toward wisdom and patience in order to emerge strong and serene from the struggle with the iron man."

What a lame and impotent conclusion to such an auspicious beginning! Not, as he said then, in an understanding of social laws, but in communion with an invented deity lies our salvation.

But Mr. Pound gives his case away when he says that any solution short of the abolition of the wage system would have his wholehearted support. There are many like him. But it cannot be done. Whenever Divine assistance has been invoked the result has been even more pitiful than Mr. Pound's absurd effort, and that is saying a great deal.

This book is but one more example of the stark stupidity which poses as and passes for wisdom.

It is hardly incumbent on us to point out that if human testimony has any value, the belief in God has restrained mankind from little, and that little of trifling moral value, but on the other hand has urged him to the foulest practices known. So much so that a very substantial basis is given to the theory held in some places that it is responsible for all the evils we suffer from. We need but mention the Salem Witches to go no further back. J. H.

### WINNIPEG, MAN.

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

Business meeting every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Economics Class every Monday at 8 p.m. Correspondence invited. When visiting Winnipeg visit the Local Headquarters at 530 Main Street.

# Students' Viewpoint

AS one who has been a student for some time at the Local Vancouver History Class, I am trying to put into writing the knowledge I have acquired by attending these classes, that it may bring to the notice of advanced scholars in Socialism the impressions that have been made on my mind, and permit them to have an opportunity to correct me and, if possible put me on the right track if my viewpoint is not in accordance with the scientific method in interpreting history.

The text-book used in the class (Socialism Utopian and Scientific) has given me the idea that society from its first inception has been a process of evolutionary changes, that these changes have taken place on account of economic influences and other causes, the main factor being, of course the human need for food, clothing and shelter.

When men began to make and use tools they were able to provide for a leisure class of people who, not having to worry about when they would eat, were able to devote their minds to other things. These fellows in the course of time produced the great philosophers, astronomers and inventors of ancient Greece and other countries. As the minds and intellectual ability of these men could be no more than a reflex of the advancement of the society in which they lived, with here and there a few evolutionary abnormalities, their viewpoint was kept within the bounds of the knowledge of the time in which they lived. Nevertheless, the law of change which never changeth still performed its work. So we find that when the duties of the feudal barons and lords had become unnecessary they had to disappear.

The discovery of the passage to the Indies by rounding the Cape of Good Hope and that of America which date from the end of the 15th century was the prime factor which brought to a close the reign of feudalism, and ushered in the beginnings of the present form of society in which we find ourselves today.

The change brought new ideas, new customs and laws, and also new champions who proclaimed the individual right of all to the pursuits of freedom and happiness. No doubt many of these people were sincere, but, (to quote from our own Harrington), this animal man is a very inquisitive being, and the contradictions which this new form of freedom brought forth caused some of the more inquisitive minds to undertake the task of directing and analysing this form of society known since the time of Marx as capitalism. This of necessity was done by consulting all of the known history of the past, but for the unscientific method of past historians who viewed all things as static and unchangeable Marx and Engels laid down the scientific method of viewing all things in motion, in a constant state of change, as Engels puts it—cause and effect constantly changing place.

From the laborious work and study of such men as Marx and Engels, and many others, well known to students of socialism, thousands of working men and women who have been willing to read and think have been intelligently able to see why they are the victims of a vicious system; they know how they are afflicted and why, and when understood it reveals to the workers one of the most colossal forms of appropriation this world has ever produced. Now, we as workers want to put an end to this form of appropriation, for we suffer want in sight of an abundance of things that we have produced. We realize it is a job that must be done by us; we also can see that the system has outlived its usefulness to society, whatever use it may have had in the past, that contradictions within it have reached the point where they cannot be reconciled and that sooner or later from its own superfluous weight it must fall.

The lack of knowledge of the working class who suffer under its oppression is the only thing that stands in the way of ushering in the new form of society which will emancipate the whole human family, having for its main object the production of things for use instead of for profit. In my opinion, the blindest idiot, if it were possible for him to have this knowledge, would work with us. We regret that a large majority of the working class have not yet seen the light.

In conclusion, I will say that I look upon the S. P. of C. as the educational body of the workers of this country. Their function is to take advantage of every opportunity that is available to instil into the minds of the workers the knowledge that they have received by work and study.

I meet many workers who, through lack of knowledge, seem to have become intolerant of our methods and think it is their special duty to hurl epithets with the object of obstructing our work. I don't think we can gain anything by descending to such tactics; rather let us answer them like Nehemiah of old to Sanballat and say, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down."

It is our earnest desire that all industrial organizations will find it to their interest to make use of the S. P. of C. to help them understand their problems. For, as we all know, the new order of humanity is coming into the world. Long and hard has been the struggle of its coming. The life of man beginning in savagery has risen by ages of toil and sorrowful evolution, but through the mists we can see glintings of the better days. Then let us work together for that day.

B. D. HUNTLY.

MAN is the product of his environment; any change in it will leave its mark on him in some form or other. When a European goes to a tropical country he takes on a dark complexion in a very short time. The continued excessive use of alcohol will bring about changes in the human body. The change from tool production to machine production brought in its wake a considerable physical deterioration of the human race.

The power applied to the tool was furnished by the body of the user; the power that drives the machine is steam or electricity. Any limb that is not sufficiently used weakens through atrophy. The skeleton of medieval man shows that it supported stronger muscles than those of a modern machine worker. Before the introduction of the street car and the flivver, children walked to and from school, grown-up people to their place of work and back again. I have known old people who walked ten miles each way to and from work and it is needless to say that the muscles of their legs were stronger developed, much better, at any rate, than those of the straphangers of the B. C. E. Ry. Co.

In machine production the eye has to concentrate on a given point, more so at least than in farm work, with the result that the eye gets strained and you have a lot of people wearing glasses to correct the effect of this strain. I admit, however, that excessive reading, for instance, and bad lighting in schools are to an even greater extent responsible for this affliction.

The vibration of the machine is also responsible for many modern ailments. The use of the "air-gun" has produced a sort of rheumatism in the arms, commonly experienced by shipyard workers. The spine and kidneys of street car conductors and railroad engineers become irritated and diseased through the vibration of those vehicles.

Dust is an unwanted by-product of machine production. There have been quite a number of accidents through dust explosions, but the damage done by this enemy of mankind in other ways is considerably larger. Very few workers in cement factories can live longer than ten years at this kind of work. The dust irritates the mucous membrane of the nose, eats down into the throat and lungs, and kills people ultimately through hardening of the lungs.

Stone cutters and miners acquire, or rather are predisposed to phthisis through their occupations. Cotton mill workers show also a big percentage of tuberculosis.

It was impossible before the advent of the modern machine process to produce the intense light of moving picture machines. The flickering glare of the screen has caused blindness of screen stare and operators. It has a harmful effect on the vision of school children looking toward the screen, and for that matter, it has a like effect on the vision of grown ups.

Nobody will deny the wreck of nerves through noise. Noise seems unavoidable in machine shops, especially shipyards and nail factories. The army of the insane grows from day to day. Irritation of the nerves, sleeplessness, drugs, insanity,—follow in each other's footsteps.

The production of the modern white flour was impossible with old fashioned grinding methods. It has been held a contributory factor in dental decay and appendicitis.

The question arises: Is the machine process a blessing? One thing is certain at any rate: Unless the worker acquires possession and control over the machine his health is doomed. He must regulate the hours and intensity of the machine work himself for, as long as there is a profit in sight the ruling class will not do it to his advantage.

KURSON.

EMPLOYERS in the United States are worried over the continued falling off of immigration from Europe, and the steady outgo of alien-born workers from this country to their home lands. Both factors cut in heavily upon the labor surplus on which the big industrial captains have depended as a means of controlling wages.

So a systematic and persistent propaganda is in progress to bring about a revision of the immigration restriction law. There is much editorial talk about letting in "quality rather than quantity." This is the main alibi of the propagandists for backtracking on the anti-alien preachments with which the press was filled for months before the 3 per cent. amendment was tacked onto the immigration act.

At least one government in Europe has agreed to co-operate with this altruistic motive of importing "quality immigrants" into the United States. The new Mussolini regime in Italy proposes to join in sifting out the bad from the good at the ports of departure. Emigration Commissioner Guiseppi de Michelis says Italy can send six or seven million persons if America wants them. He surveyed all countries last summer and found there was unemployment everywhere.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, immigration to the United States from all European countries totalled only 68.3 per cent of the number admissible. Present restrictions limit the number of aliens of any nationality admitted in any fiscal year to 3 per cent of the number of persons of that nationality resident in the United States in 1910. So 356,995 could have entered, but only 243,953 came.

Pushing the balance down still lower on the side away from this country was the emigration from the United States in that year of 198,712 aliens, returning mostly to their home lands. And an added cause for alarm, according to the Wall Street Journal, is the fact that in the same period the United States actually lost 10,000 men, the surplus of immigration over emigration being only in women and children.—Defence News Service.

## MANIFESTO

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VANCOUVER, B. C., JANUARY 2, 1923.

## THE LAW OF THE PROFITS.

In joining the plaint of our brother editors of this city, we do so, more in sorrow than in anger. We have been adjudged drunkards, blind-piggers, boot-leggers; and our beautiful city has been described as a sink-hole of iniquity. A minister of the gospel, the Rev. A. E. Cooke, has been abroad in Naishapur, telling of the wickedness of Babylon. Anger, indignation and horror arise from all sorts and conditions of our outraged community. Mr. Cooke is called a poor citizen and invited to go north, south, east, west, to the Crows Nest, or somewhere hotter, and entirely hypothetical. Some of us are loath to admit the charge; some plead guilty but positively resent the advertising of our guilt. We should be lacking in public spirit were we in this crisis, to remain neutral.

We wish then, primarily, to defer to the superior advantages a minister of Christ has in matters of this character over a common car-toad. It has long been admitted that English and Scotch ministers of Christ are the premier authorities on the vice dens of Paris, their particular vice, their exact location and the price. And travellers have recorded that in the "far flung" places of our Empire the missionary wots well of the abiding place of the prostitute and the rum bottle. So when Mr. Cooke tells the city council that he knows certain society girls by name, who carry a bottle on their hip, or in their stocking or next their heart, or wherever these dear delightful darlings secret their micky, we need not the dreadful inerminating silence which gives consent, to assist our credulity.

In the seclusion to which a life of toil has condemned us, these things are hidden from our view. Radiating to all points of the compass around our humble dwelling, exist thousands of our citizens, who, judging from the sober aspect of their homes on the few occasions we are able to stay out until the very late hour of ten p.m., (once in a while we see a light in all the sombre darkness, but the peevish cry of a sick child, or a doctor's auto, attest the fact that no festive orgy occasioned the untimely illumination) we say judging from this aspect of sobriety, we are more versed in the price of milk than the furtive ways of the micky; and the battalions of vice so forcibly described by Mr. Cooke have not passed our way.

Lest we be deemed unsophisticated, we freely confess, malt and spirituous liquors are consumed to our personal knowledge in Vancouver. To our personal knowledge also, wherever mankind has manifested any degree of comfort, the first surplus of foodstuffs which would ferment, was turned to that, which . . . with logic absolute:

The three and seventy jarring sects confute  
The sovereign alchemy that in a trice  
Life's leaden metal into gold transmut

David, a man after God's own heart, when he danced before the Ark of the Covenant did not get his jag in Vancouver. Nor did Lot and his daughters, under more distressful circumstances, (according to our mode).

The idea occurs to us that mankind fermented at least as early as he worshipped, and that gods and wine jointly entered the stage of human events.

For the same obvious reason they lend a lustre to life, not subject to sober judgment.

As the old fish wife said to Old Buck: "Ay, ay. It's easy for your honor and the like o' you gentle folk to say sae, that ha'e stouth-and routh, and fire and fending, and meat and claith, and sit dry and canny by the fireside; but an ye wanted fire and meat, and dry claise, and were deeing o' cauld, and had a sair heart whilk is warst ava, wi' just tippence in your pouch, wadna ye be glad to buy a dram wi't to be eilding and claise, and a supper and heart's ease into the bargain, till the morn's morning?"

And of such is the kingdom of heaven, cheaper, of course, than Maggie's dram and certainly lacking by that much in potency, but a drug nevertheless to drown out or at least dull the facts of life; which consideration will account for Mr. Cooke's loud needle.

Ask a fishdealer what he thinks of Xmas week, or a poultry dealer what he thinks of Lent. So too, he who would live by selling the cup that cheers and inebriates manifestly suffers in a market where buyers batten on the blood of Christ. So those who sell salvation find their wares go slowly where the wine flows freely, and if in their extremity foolish things are said—in the struggle of the slickest, let him without sin cast the first stone.

Well, witnesses attest that Mr. Cooke's speech, couched in Billy Sundayisms, the language of the pot-house (fit cloak surely for the creed he professes), was set in eastern papers side by side with advertisements of B. C. Big Red, Rosy Apples. Next to matter is the modern principle of our ad. men. But this is next to wrong matter. Who would buy a Big Red Rosy Apple grown in the Province where march the "Booze battalions, the sink hole of the continent." Who indeed! If one Big Red Rosy Apple remains to blush unseen in an Eastern garbage can, then, Mr. Cooke, with bitterness shall we eat our bread, and our children shall curse the mothers who bore them.

Nor is this the worst. Not 'alf! Mr. Farmer, fresh from the elevator with his check, would fain wave a fond farewell to sixty mile zephyrs and gloomy thermometers, whose mercury insists upon crouching into the little bulb at the foot of the glass, longs for B. C., the ocean and the mountains, picks up the "Gopher-burg Gimlet," and behold: next to our Board of Trade's rhapsody on fir and pine he sees the booze battalions marching in the sink-hole of the continent. He sees his daughter guzzling in a back alley from a micky, and he says, "Mother, moderation may be all right, but a hog-tight fence won't hold no chicken; I guess we'll go to Calay-fornay." So south he goes to the land of the palm and the sun-kissed, copper twist, grape juice, where the wine is red, and dago, and plentiful and cheap, and where the heaviest laden wine bibbler may stagger home in peace. Think how many sardines and crackers must languish and perhaps perish on the shelves of our grocery stores because of this. Think of the vacant apartments and empty houses. These too are the winter visitors. The potential losses magnify exceedingly when we realize that no respectable farmer who has amassed a competence and a cough could ever think of settling in this sink hole; we dare not dwell upon the long list of sales denied to our doctors, lawyers, undertakers, nor where the infernal circle would end.

That way madness lies!

Some among us are inclined to take the matter personally, reasoning that we each incur the guilt of all. A most selfish attitude. Particularly as it comes from a class whom Mr. Cooke evidently meant to succor. We understand he declared that our jobs were endangered by the invasion of these "drouthy cronies." Saving his reverence, we doubt it. The facts are against this theory. Any one foolish enough to pay his fare here and lucky enough to get our job at less wages than we get, would be reduced to slacking his prodigious thirst in pure Capi'ano. Besides, it would be so unnecessary. From the four corners of the earth toilers pass through our office on the great quest for jobs, and one and all relate the same experience; booze is the easiest thing on

earth to obtain. In fact, some have told us that after you order a pair of socks in a dry goods store, or a hair ribbon for little Mary in a millinery, you must be careful not to cough, or sneeze, or wink, or scuffle your feet, for if you do, the hair ribbon will cost you a dollar and you arrive home with a micky. We cannot vouch for these stories, but we were told by one who is not an inveterate liar, that upon the requirements of a maddening toothache, he in desperation stopped a citizen of a prohibition town and besought information. The citizen, pointing across the street to a building, asked our friend to take notice of it; who in his anguish cried, "But that's a church, you can't get it there." "I know," replied his saviour, "But it's the only place you can't get it."

No! No! We fear no exodus, leuiticus or numbers, so long as the prevailing rate of wages and the cost of living hold. The working class will not come here merely to get a drink. But this attitude of Mr. Cooke's might have been more regarded by those who have no peanuts to sell.

Well, Mr. Cooke, called before the City Council, came at the head of that other booze battalion, (the mental) ministers of the Gospel of Christ, who, it is recorded, had the finest recipe for home brew ever known: now alas, like tempering copper, dyeing Tyrian purple, scorning hypocrites and other priceless secrets of the old Roman world, lost for ever.

Before the council he repeated word for word, gesture for gesture, grimace for grimace, sob for sob, like water from a bucket, spilling never a drop, what he had said to the wise men of the East. We could not deny it. We could condemn. It was contrary to all the principles of pedlar's ethics, Rotarian, Kiwanis, Board of Trade: Of which the cardinal principle is

**If you can't boost don't knock.**

This is the first and great commandment; if there be any other it is:

**Don't hate yourself.**

Forgetful of the first, Mr. Cooke fell. His defence was its truth. Imagine such a defence before a tribunal of pedlars; as well have the lame plead pain, to stay the maw of the wolf.

We can't sell truth. You, Mr. Cooke, and other ministers of the hare footed consorter and abettor of the booze battalions of the times, realize that, or you would not sandwich your sermons in a bill of fare that would do credit to the Pantages or Orpheum circuit. We must sell or we perish. And anyone who by one jot or tittle prevents a sale violates all the laws of the profits.

Having rendered our duty to the philosophy of pedlardom imagine our chargin when in the Vancouver "Sun" of Christmas Day (Dec. 25), by the valiant champion who lead the charge on Mr. Cooke we find an item prominently displayed on the front page telling the world that dope is carried in Vancouver from dope depots by streams of autos.

It's enough to make every pedlar in the town quit "serving" and go to work for a living. How in Hell can we serve in such circumstances?

J. H.

## SECRETARIAL NOTES.

COMRADE La Marche reports from Anglia, Sask., that Comrade Lestor addressed a good meeting there on 18th December. Lestor himself reports a well attended meeting at Saskatoon on 24th December and sends along a report of his address as published in "The Saskatoon Phoenix." He addressed two meetings at Fiske, Sask., and Me-Gee, and is now headed towards Winnipeg, being routed to speak at Humbolt and Kamsack on the way.

## CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

Mrs. Annie Ross \$1; Marshall Erwin \$1; J. A. Goodspeed \$1; J. A. Mitchell \$1; W. Christie \$2; Bert Smith \$3; J. A. Untinen \$3; "B. L. J." \$2; J. E. Palmer \$2.

Above, C. M. F. receipts from 15th to 29th December, inclusive, total \$16.

# Which?

IN TWO PARTS

PART I.

HERE appear to be two views extant regarding the coming of the social revolution: One, that it is just upon us; that the reorganisation of society is on the eve of accomplishment, because the economic conditions of the world are such that social conditions have become completely intolerable. The other, that the revolution is a considerable distance away (probably measurable by decades), because the economic conditions of the world imply that capitalist interests can compromise sufficiently to ameliorate present social conditions, and so extend the life of class society.

Psychologically, truth may be as many pointed as there are psychologies. But scientifically one does not expect so wide divergence. Science is straight thinking; and if from the same premise, different conclusions eventuate, it is evidence of joints in the armour. Where those unfriendly joints exist, it is the purpose of science to declare. If it cannot, it presumes faulty knowledge, and of necessity lagging progress; waiting for material fact to fructify the inductions of ideation. This does not mean the power of the advance idea, but the correct interpretation of social phenomena. For, in that interpretation is the key to our activities, progress is the elimination of conflicting ideas in social development. Those ideas are the conditioned products of developing interests, and, as differing interests are the manifests of individual concerns, the symbol of social unity, in thought can be expressed only as the reflex of social unity in material. If material conditions promote unsocial interests, their divergencies are certain to be mirrored in dissociate thought. And dissociate thought, the reflex of disparate interest cannot intermingle in the harmony of social unity; and ultimately, in theory, the question of the social revolution is dependent upon social understanding.

Looking at the social conditions of the world, while they are hard enough, they are but questionably hopeful. They present no new features. They have been hard before, and miserable, and so abject; yet has society braced itself against them and endured for the next wave of "prosperity." But they have never been so world wide in practice, nor so socially questioned in origin. The worsening condition and the questioning mind are two new elements in world economy, but they do not yet spark with the live energy of consciousness. Discontent springs far more from servile unemployment than from any realisation of social servility. We are naively Capitalist-minded. Let us have a show—we shall make opportunity. Soothe us with a dole—and social institutions lose their offensiveness. Give us a job—and the system becomes civilized. Lop-sided conditions are the result of lop-sided thinking. Idleness is the proof of incapacity. Millionaires and monopolists may be scoffed at, but they are also laughed at, because—we await hopefully the same blythe occasion. Canada contains a large country element hostile to socialist concepts. New England indulges in a similar type. America has a wide spread body of like opinion. Australia fosters a similar growth and central-southern Europe is, more than ever, influenced by kindred movements. That is to say that the land, the food product, is in opposition to the town, the industrial technician. Or, in other words, the bread of life grows on a different stem from the bread of society. That, it appears to me, is a contradiction to be resolved before the dawn of "Der Tag." The recent electoral "disturbance" in the U. S. has merely strengthened the Democrats. In Britain the ultra Tories have received a sweeping mandate. Nationalist France pines for "national prosperity," and is stubborn on Imperialist reparations. Italy is in the hands of the anti-social Fascists. Poland, the type of anarchy;

the countries of the "Little Entente" in a rampant crusade of commercialism; and Germany, as usual, following the barren path of revisionism. Everywhere reform, "democracy" and class authority; nowhere social coherence or social consciousness. It is true, we do not know the intimate conditions of those countries, but we are not so unfamiliar with "our" own; and although analogy is "kittle" ground to tread on, it will be wiser not to endow them with too, too much vision. It is good to be enthusiastic; it is also well to be steady.

On the other hand, that social opinion, viewpoint and concept are changed is axiomatic. But the change is also axiomatic: not fundamental. Like placer mining, it is concerned with sifting surface material. It is not yet, after the leached essentials of social relations. It is cognisant of social destitution, but not of class antagonism. It feels social distinctions, but not slave status. And that is the essential fundament it must know. It is the preliminary to effective movement. Dare we avow we are on the verge of the preliminary? The gentility of American labor needs no comment. With "leadership" such as it has, it is no more than a watch dog to incorporated capital. With such leadership, it is difficult to conceive of it as socially understanding. Seesawing with class interests; torn with the wiles of party; and swayed with bourgeois platitudes of trade and law and ethic, it is little wonder it is accredited as the last word in reaction.

In Britain, labor has increased its 'representation' in Parliament. That may be preface to a labor government, but not of social revolution. It is a greater witness to labor conciliation than to working class unity. It presupposes party projects for trade and industry; fraternal co-operation for the "common good," not at all any realisation of the common good in economic equality. There is not a single socialist in the whole pack—I don't think there was one even standing—and but one lone communist. And it is almost a certainty that with "representatives" like Clynes and Thomas and Tillet and Hodges, labor will follow "the dear old dad" even unto the deep pits of illusion. However, we will let the future speak for itself, hoping our estimate may be falsified.

Let us glance at the position from the economic angle—the compromise of world capital. This compromise means the more or less harmonious association of interests, of hitherto competitive Imperialisms. That such a compromise would be welcome is probable. It is the day dawn of capitalist agony, and for them it imperatively demands appeasement. But that its consummation is probable is not evident. Although it is probable that between particular groups, such compromise has been tacitly implied, even tentatively suggested. But in no case has it materialized, and it is not so easy to see its practicability. If so, the future must prove a powerful solvent of master ambitions and economic antagonisms.

There is no doubt there have been attempts—or suggestions—at compromise between Britain and America. While the prime objective of the British election is peace with Turkey, agreement with France, and trade with Russia, all of them hard of attainment. Britain and America are direct competitors; rivals for world power. The war debts will always constitute a grievance: their ingathering constantly imperils the peace rivals for the world market. In cotton and textiles Britain and America are in active conflict; the tendency—the necessity—of each, being, not co-operative conciliation, but the elimination of aggressive competition. The "oil can" flares up ominously. America holds the present, which is alleged to be nearing exhaustion. Britain has secured the future—the key to world politics. Would it be to the interest of America to compromise for future oil? Will the new (?) com-

mercial policy of Britain influence American policy with "Red" Russia? Is it possible that those two elements may contain the impulse to an Anglo-Saxon association? Is it possible for two aggressive rivals for world dominion to effect a compromise on the essentials of their supremacy? I doubt it; but let us leave the wise to say.

In Europe, Britain and France are none too friendly. It is not easy to see how the new foxy Britain can turn an adverse economy to mutual advantage. The need of Britain, of Germany, of Russia is trade: the need of France, reparations and financial readjustments. Anglo-German trade and French reparations would not seem to amalgamate; nor do Anglo-Russian ventures and French finance afford a hopeful basis of reconciliation. The cancellation of French debts to Britain, in return for concessions in French policy in Germany, would relieve the immediate pressure between Britain and France—but ultimately at the expense of France. Franco-British hatred of the Bolsheviki is a binding tie, but their divergent ambitions appear to nullify the unity. Germany would seem to be forced into association with whatever power—by right of might—can claim her—Britain or France or Russia. Of them all, Germany would probably prefer Britain. Because German commercial aspirations would be better prospered in a fostering union with Britain than with a domineering France or a socially fundamentally different Russia (unless, of course, German political concepts undergo drastic change). The development of Anglo-German trade means basically the development of heavy industry. But the development of Anglo-German "heavies," is a direct assault on the French Metallurgical Trust; a direct negation of its Imperial ambitions; a menace to the Rhine and the Ruhr—therefor to security and solvency; and a fatal blow to the attempted hegemony of Europe, to the spoils and perquisites of Versailles. If French diplomacy—the first in the world—concedes any such advantages, French diplomacy will see to it that it derives in return, as measurable benefits. Benefits which will assuredly contain the fertilised germs of new irreconcilable transpositions. France and America is a far more likely combination than France and Britain; and were it "un fait accompli," it might carry Germany in its train. It would be a union of mutual advantage and material interest. While the other is a continual soldering of ever bursting issues vitally and dynamically antagonistic.

The case for Turkey is little more hopeful. With the disappearance of Greece, disappeared the symbol of "the thin red line." If another symbol can not conveniently be found, an associate who would take the durdom of unsavory necessities—for a "pro quo"—will have to suffice. It is safe to say that Britain will never relinquish control of Constantinople, the Straits, and the Levant. The Levant is one of the keys of the British Empire and till the British Empire "goes west," in British possession it shall remain. If that conflicts with France or Russia—so much the worse for France and Russia. For the good will of Turkey (the gateway of the Empire), Britain, France and Russia all contend. Unfortunately the nationalist aspirations of Turkey work against Soviet Russia. Obviously, Turkey will take all that Soviet Russia can give, will use Soviet Russia to whatever advantage, but an alliance with Soviet Russia and Nationalist Turkey must ever be precarious and unstable. The interposition of British interests would seem to offset any union with France and Turkey. For if Turkish intention, in league with France, found its interests hampered, nationalist Turkey would conclude a new alliance for the freedom of its cherished intention. Britain, with naval supremacy and financial prestige can allow Turkey a latitude no other nation dare afford. The Turk may set up house in Constantinople.

(Continued on page 7)

## Straws in the Wind

"One would suppose that Socialists would be very happy in Vienna, for rent and fixed interest have disappeared and with them the hated middle classes. For this advantage all true socialists ought to be grateful to the Treaty of Versailles, which has done most to deliver their country from the burdens of the middle and upper classes. Yet I heard no expression of gratitude; so incalculable is man." (\*)

AND so incalculable are the vagaries of bourgeois philosophy. If the tumbling process is the result of socialism, how comes it that the same socialism does not as mightily humble the same classes in France, in Britain and America? It is quite as virulent in those countries as in Germany and Austria, quite as responsive to the slogan of "immediate interests," and fully as patriotic to "their" country. And if such is the latest conclusion of liberal sapience, it is small wonder that the "stepping heavenward" brand of continental socialism—fluttering the borrowed rags of democracy—should stagnate in the Dead Sea of philistine idealism.

Over the fall, and suffering of the middle classes there is much ado. It is ominous and "fellowfeeling makes us wondrous kind." Experience of the class psychology of comfortable success induces a sympathy of understanding that is wholly absent in the presence of the far greater and more prolonged privations of the wage-slaves in the daily yoke of exploitation. Coupled, perhaps, with a vague fear for the final results of comfortable apathy, callous charity and insatiable greed, thus rudely impressed on the conscious chaos of their tottering supremacy.

Capital condemns society to hardship and ignorance. Its incentive and enterprise oscillate between those two points. It voids the talents of man, vitiates the genius of humanity. And its "success"—gilded with the tinfoil of egoism—depends not on the welfare of society, but on its deepening degradation. But the fallen middle class, and the anxious beneficiaries of commerce, about to fall, may take comfort in the assurance that their miseries will be short. For the system of which they are a worthy expression is definitely come to maturity and is "whitening to the harvest." Yet, even in decay, the type runs true. For the same writer says: "who are the people that crowd the opera house? Some are foreigners who have come—under the mistaken idea that living is cheap. A few are bankers, and other profiteers. The majority are relics of the middle classes selling their treasures, and enjoying life while there is a treasure left to sell." Cheapness, selling, profiteering, the holy trinity of success. And incidentally, it gives us an insight into their notions of suffering.

The fall of the middle classes, and their miseries, is neither the aim of socialism nor has it been brought about through socialism. It is wholly and entirely a product of bourgeois economy. The inevitable result of commercial enterprise and business acumen. The treaty of Versailles—wholly dictated by the political exigencies of business and finance—made Germany a pariah, and forbade her even the vaunted "freedom" of Liberalism. The Treaty of St. Germain partitioned Austria and flung her headlong among a revenging pack of trade competitors. She was ringed round with Customs Unions, business restrictions and foreign finance. She was cut off from her wonted exchange. And being cut off from the fount of her wealth, the beneficiaries of that wealth—the self complaisant middle classes and with them the professionals—were brought down from the murky vaults of idealist individualism, to the virgin earth of material reality. But their heads are still confused with the shock, and they are completely unable to realise the significance of the "evil" that has come upon them, or (characteristically enough) to distinguish between the socialist industry, which would prosper humanity and the commercial business that has ruined it.

Socialism means the levelling of class society,

not the levelling of the middle classes. The aim of socialism is not the destruction of man and property but the destruction of property right in the social means of life. It is founded, not on the altruism of moral relations, but on the deeper altruism of social and material fact. It expresses itself through no romantic appeal, or emotional moonshine, but through social perception of social change in the logical sequences of causation. And if it goes by way of a social dictatorship it is only as a means to an end. Because the social connection with the old political society forces it through the stormed ruts of autocracy to the realisation of socialised necessities. So that the weapons by which, or through which, it will be accomplished, can be neither the "absolute principle" of justice nor the petty reforms of "democrats," but by the progressive development of the inherent antagonisms of private property and social production in the artificial organisation of political society. To understand this is to understand society in general and socialism in particular; is to understand that socialism is not a thing nor a magic formula but a cycle of social evolution. If the general relations of social organisation can be comprehended, cognisance of the general drift of development may follow. On that cognisance lies the power to turn social energy away from the struggling confusions of sect and party; from class concepts of "right" and individual figments of "good," to the more fruitful preparations for the coming change and to abstract from that change every possible element of violence and chaos. When we have achieved unity of perception we shall have achieved all the unity that is necessary—or possible.

The fall of the middle class is not important; nor is the failure of its philosophy a calamity. The worthlessness of that philosophy has long been apparent, its idealism a long standing insincerity. And its failure, involving as it does the class whose material it is, implies no portentous destruction of society. It is merely the destruction of a commercial interest cankered with lust of possession, and whose life stream has become foul with political obsessions. It is the necessary prelude to a civilisation whose fundament is not the "eternal right" of a transient propertied class, but the social unity of common possession; of a society whose progress is unfettered by private gain; whose individualism shall grow to full stature in the heightened glory of social prosperity; and whose people shall no more be overwhelmed with the terrible burdens of Imperialist speculations.

(\*) Henry Nevinson, in the "Manchester Guardian, October 13, 1922.

## Life in Soviet Russia

### THE CIVIL CODE

The Civil Code which has just been adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the legal embodiment of the principles underlying the new economic policy, i.e., the permission of private commerce and small industry, within the general system of State ownership, State trade, and large-scale State industry.

The new economic policy is not a return to the economic system which existed before the revolution, and the Civil Code does not restore the old legal rights as they existed in Russia before the revolution. There are distinct limitations to the activities of private capitalism in Russia.

The Code permits two forms of ownership, and the overwhelming predominance of the former is preserved. The land, with the riches it contains, the water, the railways, etc., are owned by the whole people; they are commodities absolutely withdrawn from private ownership.

On the other hand, in order to encourage private initiative in trade and industry, the Code defines the commodities that may become privately owned.

They are non-municipalised buildings; enterprises employing not more than a legally fixed number of hired workers; tools, machinery, and other means of production; currency, securities, and other valuables, including gold and silver coin; articles of domestic and personal use, goods which may legally form the objects of trade and so forth.

Certain State enterprises may be transferred temporarily to private exploitation, but only on a concessionary basis.

But even in the objects so defined, private ownership, as conferred by the Civil Code, does not imply that sacred, inviolable, and inalienable right which it bears in other countries. There are important conditions limiting the enjoyment of private property in objects of public utility; one is that the Code defines how these properties are to be exploited and how they may be disposed of; a second is that their exploitation must involve an element of public service, i.e., it must contribute to the enlargement of the productive forces of the country. Just as in the law socialising the land there is a provision that the State may sequester land which is not being employed by its owners, so the Civil Code provides that the State need not respect the rights of private owners where these are using their possessions contrary to the good of the public. "Only with the purpose of developing the productive force of the country," runs the Code, "does the R.S.F.S.R. permit private individuals the civil right to property."

It should be clear that in no way is the Code concerned with former owners of property expropriated by the revolution, and to leave no misunderstanding on this head the Code contains a special clause to the effect that former owners have no claim to the return of properties expropriated under revolutionary law, or which passed into the social possession of the workers before May 22, 1922.

The Code contains various provisions regulating private possession and commerce; the right of building, bequest, mortgage; and the contractual obligations; hire, purchase and sale, loan, tender, guarantee, attorney, insurance, company formation, etc.

Private building is permitted by the Code. The destructive consequences of seven years' war have made it necessary to encourage private initiative in this direction. Building leases are limited to forty-nine years, during which period the rights to possession, leasing, and disposition are enjoyed. The plots on which structures are built are, however, the inalienable property of the State.

The Code permits inheritance, either by legal title or by testament, but the property left by a deceased person can be bequeathed only to the total sum of 10,000 gold roubles (approximately \$5,000); the remainder passes into the possession of the State. Moreover, the persons who may form the subjects of bequest are limited to direct descendants, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, the widow or widower of the deceased, and incapacitated persons who were dependent upon the support of the deceased for at least a year prior to his death.

The contractual obligations are essential for the protection and regulation of the private initiative and enterprise which the new economic policy has called into existence. Private persons must be able to conclude contracts in the knowledge that the State can be called in, if necessary, to enforce their fulfilment. On the other hand, according to Soviet law, a contract is not entirely an affair of the free will of the contracting parties. The State has a right to step in and annul a contract which is patently injurious to the public good. The Code lays down that even a private contract between individual citizens is a public concern. In accordance with this principle all questions of dispute arising out of private contracts must be decided in the public courts, so as to prevent the stronger person imposing on the weaker. In principle, the State is an interested party in all contracts.

These few simple principles form the basis of the whole Civil Code, and distinguish its provisions from the civil rights and obligations now in force in other countries.

—Russian Information and Review (London)

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

BY N. LENIN.

**Editor's Note:** The following article comprises a speech by Lenin at a plenary session of the fourth congress of the Third International, held November 13th, 1922. Our reproduction is from "Inprecorr" (Berlin); the article will be concluded in our next issue. In the meantime, it may be observed that "Current History" (New York) of January 1923 contains the full article, although apparently through a different translation.

Comrades! I have been named as chief speaker on the list, but you will understand that after my long illness I am not in a position to give a long report. The theme: "Five years of Russian revolution and the prospects of the world revolution" is much too extensive to be exhausted by one speaker in the course of a single speech. I shall therefore select a small part of the material—the question of the New Economic Policy. At present this theme is of the greatest importance, at least for me it is of the greatest importance, as I am working on it just now. I shall therefore speak on the subject: How did we begin the New Economic Policy, and what results have we obtained by this policy?

If I am to begin with how we began this New Economic Policy, I must go back to an article written by me in the year 1918. At the beginning of 1918 I had polemically touched upon the question of what attitude we were to adopt towards state capitalism. At that time I wrote: "State capitalism is a step forward compared with the present economic position of the Soviet Republic"—that is, compared with the economic situation at that time. If we could introduce state capitalism within six months, that would be a great success, and the best guarantee that within a year Socialism would be firmly established and unconquerable among us."

In the year 1918 I was thus of the opinion that, in comparison with the economic position of the Soviet Republic at that time, State Capitalism would be a step forward. That may sound very strange and even absurd, for at that time we adopted new economic measures daily, as quickly as possible, probably too quickly; measures which were distinctly socialist measures. And despite this I expressed the opinion that State Capitalism signified a step forward as compared with the economic situation of the Soviet Republic at that time.

I explained the idea further by simply enumerating the elements of Russia's economic structure. In my opinion these elements were: in the first place patriarchal, that is, those furnished by the most primitive forms of agriculture; and secondly, production on a small scale; to this category belong the majority of peasants dealing in corn. Thirdly, private capitalism; fourthly, state capitalism; fifthly, Socialism.

All of these economic elements were represented in Russia at that time. And so I set myself the task of explaining the relations of these elements to one another, and of ascertaining whether we should not perhaps estimate a non-socialist element, i.e., State Capitalism, higher than Socialism.

I repeat that it appears strange to everyone that a non-socialist element should appear to be higher, and should be acknowledged as higher than socialism, in a republic which has declared itself to be socialist.

But the matter becomes clear when you remember that we did not consider Russia's condition to be final, but fully recognized that: in Russia we have first the patriarchal system of agriculture, that is, the most primitive form, and then the socialist form. The question is, what role can state capitalism play under these circumstances?

I further asked myself which of these elements was stronger. It is clear that in a petty bourgeois

milieu the predominant element is petty bourgeois in character. The question which I asked myself was: what is our attitude to state capitalism? And my own reply was: state capitalism, although not socialistic, would be more favourable for Russia than the present form. This means that even then we understood, to a certain degree, that it would be better for us to arrive soon at state capitalism, and later, to direct Socialism.

I must lay special emphasis on this part, for I believe that this alone enables us to explain what the present economic policy represents; secondly, we can draw from it very useful practical conclusions for the Communist International. I am not prepared to say that at that time we already had our plans of retreat ready. This is not what was meant. The few lines of my polemical article were no plan of retreat at that time. No mention was made of free trade—a most important point and one of fundamental importance for state capitalism—but nevertheless there is a vague general idea of a retreat in it. And I am of the opinion that we, as a communist International, as the International of the Western European, advanced countries, must take this into consideration.

At the present time, for instance, we are occupied with the program. For my part I believe that we should do best if we were to first subject all programs to our judgment,—and not come to any hasty decisions this year. Why? One reason is of course that in my opinion we have not yet thought out everything thoroughly. But a special reason is that we have scarcely taken the thought of a retreat, or of securing the retreat, into consideration at all. We should not only consider how we are to act when we make an attack and are immediately victorious. In revolutionary times that is not so very difficult. In the course of a revolution there are always moments when the enemy loses his head. If we utilize this moment for attack, we may easily gain the victory. But there is no certainty in this, for the enemy, having thought the matter over, collects his forces. He is then likely to provoke us to attack, and then to defeat us for many years. The idea of the necessity of providing for a retreat is of great importance, not only from a theoretical standpoint. From a practical standpoint it is also necessary that all parties thinking of making direct attacks on capitalism in the near future should occupy themselves with the need of securing the retreat.

(To be concluded)

## ROUGH REVIEW OF BRITISH POLITICS.

(Continued from page 1)

ligation to the stronger by reason of foreign investment within their borders. To whoever lends there grow strong economic ties. The Versailles Treaty is but the most recent of many preceding ones. The Germanised capital threatened British and Western capital, thus the war. So another treaty is made. The British Co-operators support ancient thought and ideas and expect a "new social order." Such treaties, such leagues and reparations are a sandy foundation to build a new social order upon.

It is easy to prophesy what conditions will exist under decaying capitalism, by whoever managed. Ever since 1907 depressions have ruled in the main. There have been short periods of so called prosperity. From 1907 to 1914 each crisis worsened until it actually broke into a world conflict. From 1914 to 1918 a fictitious prosperity, as far as the actual producers were concerned, existed. The crisis from 1918 to 1922—and the end is not yet—has eaten up all the savings of the workers.

Normality today equals crisis. In other words, prosperity is an abnormal period within a developed

capitalistic society, and the crises is a normal state. The British elections have come and gone. The workers have a great deal to learn yet, it is true, but they will find and hold to a steady course in time.

## WHICH?

Continued from page 5)

tinople, but Britain will hold the pass-key. The League of Nations may internationalise the Straits, but the blue ensign shall flutter above the pennant of the League. The Turk may return to Thraee; it will be an intrigue for the dominance of British "glory." The Turk may pillage to his liking—if he will but counter the "designs" of the Bolsheviks. And for the power of his gods in Egypt, in the middle and the far East, he may enjoy the prestige of a favored nation of Europe.

(To be concluded)

## HERE AND NOW.

IT would be altogether too orthodox a proceeding to muster all hands and jointly resolve to rustle more Clarion subs. during 1923 than during the sub-famine year of 1922. Orthodoxy or no we must solve the sub. problem somehow, or shrink. Let's have the resolutions—accompanied by the subs. of course—the more the merrier. Commencing with next issue.

Following \$1 each: J. Mackenzie, A. Legg, H. P. Graham, W. Morrison, J. Woods, M. Mindlin, A. M. Neelands, Mrs. H. Stephens, R. Temple, A. W. Cantrell, Mrs. Mailey, E. Fiala, C. A. Harding, J. Harrington, J. A. Goodspeed, G. Beagrie, F. Noha, J. A. Mitchell, P. W. Robitzsche, J. C. Blair, J. Mitchell, P. Brendler, Jack Shepherd, C. Lee, C. F. Orchard, A. Leopold, G. L., G. Donaldson, H. Christians, Sr.

Following \$2 each: Oscar Motter, H. Taylor, Dr. Inglis, C. Lestor, J. A. Untinen, Bert Smith, Sturgis, Sask. (no name), B. E. Polinkos, Sam Guthrie, M. L. A., C. W. Springford.

T. G. Daly \$1.87; E. Hunt \$4.50; Oscar Erickson \$7.

Above Clarion subs. received from 15th to 29th December, inclusive, total \$62.37.

**Note:** Will the reader who sent a M.O. to the amount of \$6.40 (\$2 sub. and \$4.40 literature) from Sturgis, Sask., please send in his name? He omitted to mention his name in the letter accompanying M.O.

## ALBERTA NOTES.

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

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

## Socialist Party of Canada

### PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

SUNDAY DECEMBER 31st.

Speaker: SID EARP.

SUNDAY JANUARY 7th.

Speaker: J. HARRINGTON.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.

Questions. Discussion.

## The Clarion Mail Bag

BY SID EARP.

ALTHOUGH the volume of correspondence received since our last issue is less than usual, it contains much of interest and shows a fine spirit of enquiry towards the work we are carrying forward. It may be considered as painfully slow by some, whose desire for a drastic change in society is far ahead of their revolutionary understanding. The formative process of a deep seated and far reaching movement aiming at the conquest of Capitalist control demands careful and lasting work if success is to be attained. Irresponsible radicalism, in itself a menace to the advancement of the working class. A clear understanding of their real needs is the power by which they will conquer and win freedom.

Writing from Kentville, N. S. Com. C. McDonald sends a sub to the Clarion and an order for "Evolution of Man." From St. Catharines, Ont., Com. O. Motter sends a sub and a donation to the Maintenance Fund. From North Battleford, Sask., Com. H. Taylor sends in an order for literature to the amount of \$3.65. This is the useful propaganda.

A brief letter is received from Com. Cantrell, Shillingworth, Sask., enclosing a sub and commenting in a rather vague manner upon the Labor Party success in the British elections. He says: "It is to laugh!" What about?

Com. Wm. Morrison writes from Rabbit Lake, Sask., enclosing a sub to the Clarion and expressing his disappointment towards the pamphlet "Christianism and Communism" as an educator. He endorses an opinion recently advanced in the Clarion to the effect that "scientific habits of thought are, after all, of much more practical value than scientific information." He compares "Christianism and Communism" with "The Origin of the World" lately appearing in the Clarion, with all the honors going to the latter work as an educator in correct thought.

Writing from Beverly, Alberta, Com. J. McKenzie encloses a sub renewal and expressing a criticism of "Soviet Russia from the S. P. of C. standpoint," which undoubtedly would be interesting if it were more incisive and less sarcastic.

Com. Chas. Lestor sends a short letter from Calgary enclosing a sub. and commenting upon his visit to Medicine Hat and district. He is experiencing hard weather and long enthusiastic meetings; expresses much satisfaction with his trip so far and will have a full report for the Clarion later on.

Com. A. Lien, Edburg, Alta., sends in an order for literature and a dollar for the Clarion Maintenance Fund. He comments favorably on the articles "Origin of the World," R. M. McMillan, and wishes all success to the Clarion and its readers.

From Hardy Bay, B. C. Com. J. Woods sends a sub and a literature order. Two subs also come from Com. Inglis, Gibson's Landing, B. C. T. A. Barnard, Nanaimo, sends an order for the "Paris Commune" and says that after reading carefully both articles on the S. P. of C. attitude to Soviet Russia, he is not much wiser. Writing from Lookout Mountain, Saturnia Island, B. C., Com. John Staples sends a renewal of his sub and an order for "Communism and Christianity." He appreciates the Clarion and hopes the subscriptions will keep growing. A cheery letter and a dollar for the Maintenance Fund is received from Com. Moore, Lund, B. C. A nice letter also comes from Com. J. Carson, Smithers, B. C., containing a sub and donation to the Maintenance Fund.

Com. Oscar Erickson announces his return to the town of his adoption, Fernie, B. C., in a brief letter, also enclosing seven subs and an order for literature. Here's an old war horse getting back into the fight after a few month's absence. We're all for you Erickson, don't weaken.

Com. Fred Harman sends the good word from Victoria, the city of gloom. Encloses two dollars for the Maintenance Fund and mentions that Com. Housley of the Socialist Party of Great Britain has

recently visited the Victoria branch. Two short letters were received from Bishop Brown of Galion, Ohio, in which he expresses much satisfaction with the manifesto on our attitude towards Soviet Russia, recently published in the Clarion. He considers it to be a great and timely piece of work. Wishes the Clarion and those connected with it all success.

A long letter of criticism is received from R. B. Zones, Des Moines, Iowa in which he charges Com. McNey, the writer of the recent articles on the I. W. W. pamphlets, with not only being ignorant along Industrial Union lines, but as also having a prejudice against the J. W. W. After reading the last issue of the Clarion in which Com. McNey also receives some castigation, our friend will no doubt feel a little relief.

A kindly letter arrived from Hugh P. Graham, Illiopolis, Illinois, enclosing a literature order and sub renewal; also a sub from Morris Mindlin, Duluth, Minnesota. Writing from Emmett, Idaho, Com. J. Bone sends greetings to "every Canuck" and two dollars for the Clarion. Com. J. Yates, of Manchester, England, sends kind words also a sub and literature order. He considers the Western Clarion, with its fine variety of articles, as being an "intellectual treat." He also refers to the recent British election and the deluge of poison gas attendant upon it. We heard there was a dense fog!

(Period ending 23rd December).

### OBITUARY.

COMRADE J. H. Timmer, formerly of Holland and who left that country some twenty years ago died at Edam, Sask., on 3rd December, and was buried on the 6th. Shortly before his death he requested that he be given a Red funeral and that no sky-pilot be allowed to take part in the interment of his body. The comrades turned out in good numbers and the coffin was shrouded in the Red Flag. A number of other friends and sympathisers were present, some, perhaps, who for the first time witnessed a Red funeral. No clergyman was present.

Comrade Munts, of Holland, who came to this country with the late Comrade Timmer, spoke of his life's work in the Socialist movement. He spoke of Comrade Timmer's hard work in the ironworks of Holland and of how, after his day's toil was over he would go out advertising Socialist meetings, at times incurring police enmity.

Comrade J. H. Greaves of North Battleford said Comrade Timmer's insistence that no clergyman attend his burial arrangements was a protest against the shams and falsity of religion. The comrade held strongly to his sound socialist principles to the last, and he now lay wrapped in the Red banner emblematic of the blood of all mankind. His life example would serve as encouragement to all workers in the forces of emancipation. Comrade Graves said that as Socialists they held their dead in honor and he expressed to Comrade Timmer's widow and sons a feeling of sympathy and a sense of the loss now occasioned the Socialist movement.

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